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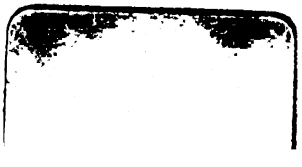

BISHOP HALL'S WORKS.

VOL. XI.

LATIN THEOLOGY, WITH TRANSLATIONS.

1574
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3-3

THE WORKS

OF

JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

SUCCESSIVELY BISHOP OF EXETER AND NORWICH:

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND SUFFERINGS,
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

A NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED:
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS, A TRANSLATION OF ALL THE LATIN PIECES,
AND A GLOSSARY, INDICES, AND NOTES.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. XI.

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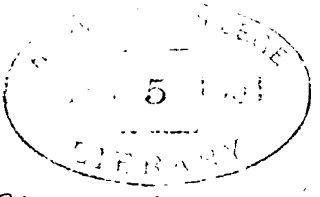

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It is the wish of the Editor to exonerate the Publisher, as far as may be, from the delay attendant on the production of the present volume. He could say much of the weariness and painfulness, with which, in the midst of overwhelming duties and failing health, he has brought another portion of his labours to a close: but he will content himself by observing, that to the production of the Latin Theology of Bishop Hall in a creditable manner,—with a correct text, a careful translation, and notes of reference diligently collated, and many either amended or supplied,—that to these objects he has devoted not only a large amount of time, but the best of his powers, bodily as well as mental.

Among scholars like himself, the language of the Bishop will find admirers enough, without any such commendations as the Editor could presume to offer. The sportive panegyric applied to his Latinity by one of old,—"Cui nihil inest acre, nihil acerbum, præter stranguriæ calculique cruciatus;"—would suggest a degree of excellence far below the truth. More justly observes the venerable friend, to whom the public are indebted for the recovery of the "Roma Irreconciliabilis" in its present shape:—"His Latin style is much better than that of most of the learned persons of his day, and exhibits the same easy natural sweetness, which so remarkably distinguished his English compositions."

It may be right perhaps for the Editor to explain the arrangement adopted in the second and fifth of the pieces comprised in the ensuing pages: which, as presented to the eye of the reader, may naturally lead him to suppose, that the English is the original, and the Latin the translation. The fact is, that with the "Meditatiunculæ" such was really the case: and the thought arose at first out of an accidental circumstance, that it might be well (for want of a better expedient) to adopt the like method for distinguishing the "Roma Irreconciliabilis" also, as being, both in Latin and in English, the composition of the Bishop, from those pieces, of which the translation has been supplied by other hands.

The Editor has now only to add, in the name of the Publisher as well as in his own, that by the time that vol. xi. has reached the hands of subscribers, vol. xii. will be half finished; and may be confidently promised in the course of the ensuing month.

P. H.

Chelsea, April 2, 1839.

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COLUMBA NOÆ,

OLIVAM ADFERENS

JACTATISSIMÆ CHRISTI ARCÆ.

CONCIO SYNODICA, AD CLERUM ANGLICANUM

(PROVINCIÆ PRÆSERTIM CANTUARIENSIS)

HABITA,

IN ÆDE PAULINA, LONDINENSI:

FEB. 20mo 1623.

A JOS. HALLO, S. T. D. DECANO WIGORNIENSI.

NOAH'S DOVE,

BRINGING AN OLIVE OF PEACE

TO THE TOSSED ARK OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

A SERMON PREACHED IN LATIN,

IN THE CONVOCATION HELD IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,

TO THE CLERGY OF ENGLAND,

AND ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY:

BY JOSEPH HALL, D. D. AND DEAN OF WORCESTER.

DONE INTO ENGLISH BY R. H.

REVERENDISSIMO PATRI AC DOMINO,

D° GEORGIO,

ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI,

TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMATI AC METROPOLITÆ:

REVERENDIS DOMINIS

EPISCOPIS:

TOTIQUE FLORENTISSIMO CLERO ANGLICANO,

CANTUARIENSIS PRÆSERTIM PROVINCIÆ,

IN SYNODO LONDINENSI CONGREGATO:

QUIBUS HABITA EST QUALISCUNQUE CONCIUNCULA;

J. H.

MINIMUS ECCLESIÆ SERVUS,

OPELLAM HANC SUAM, PERTENUEM QUIDEM ILLAM,

HUMILITER VOVAT DICATQUE.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN:

TO THE REVEREND LORDS

THE BISHOPS:

AND TO THE WHOLE FLOURISHING CLERGY OF ENGLAND,

ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY,

GATHERED TOGETHER IN THE CONVOCATION AT LONDON:

BEFORE WHOM THIS MEAN SERMON WAS DELIVERED;

J. H.

THE LEAST OF ALL THE SERVANTS OF THE CHURCH,

HUMBLY DEDICATES

THIS HIS POOR AND UNWORTHY LABOUR.

In *æde* Pauli, *déque* Pauli *oraculis,*
Pro concione prævià Synodo sacræ,
Varias ab uno Spiritu, Domino, Deo
Distinctiones esse donorum *probans,*
Ostendis, Halle, *quanta spiritualium,*
Quàm multiformis dos tibi fluat affatim,
Charismatumque multiplex peculium.
Quæ nempe tractas, per tui specimen doces.
Theologe nate pulpitis, calami potens,
Cui suavitatis conscius semper stilus,
Cui pectus almi condus est sacrarii,
Et lingua promus pectoris, cujus latus
Loquentis ambit auribus rapax cohors,
Humerisque densa; non sat est semel tua
Hausisse vocis impetu fugacia.
Ni perlegendo te recognosci sinas
Auri invidebit oculus, et Templo Schola.
Nosti, Decane *flexanime, quàm te recens*
Jam tunc ab ipso ambone redeuntem, manu
Prensum, rogator vellicavi fervidus,
Manare sineres hæc in absentum sinus
Reliquisque nostri fratribus Cleri dari.
Quid mirum? ubi ipsi postmodùm cudi typis
Provinciales postulant Episcopi.
Audin', Josephe? *Nolo jam: te nil peto.*
Non est, amicus quod roget. Domini regunt.
Parere justum est: parere te certum est: age.
Quàm facilis isthic obstetricanti labor!
Post tam verenda jussa quid restat mihi,
Nisi ut adprecantis suppleam idiotæ locum,
Amen *sacrato succinens Patrum choro?*

Lambethæ, Feb. 21, 1623,
sic approbavit Thomas Goadus, s. t. d.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

EDWARD, LORD DENNY,

BARON OF WALTHAM, ALL HEALTH AND HAPPINESS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE :

I MIGHT well perceive by the Author, that this Sermon was never intended to be published in any other language, than that, wherein it was first spoken; being, in respect of the matter, in a sort appropriate to that Auditory wherein it was delivered. But, besides the common desire of many, finding the translation attempted by divers, and performed by some in such a manner as did not altogether satisfy; it pleased my Father herein to improve my leisure: wherein, howsoever I may have somewhat failed of the first elegancy, yet I have not been far short of the sense. I have presumed to dedicate the same to your Lordship, in respect of your many favours and my obligations; for which, besides this officious though unequal requital, I shall still vow my prayers for your Lordship, and remain,

Your Lordship's

Most humbly devoted,

ROBERT HALL.

COLUMBA NOÆ.

QUOD felix faustumque ac sacræ huic Reipublicæ salutare sit, convenistis huc, Reverendissime Domine Archiepiscope, Episcopi Reverendi, Venerabiles Decani, Archidiaconi, Compresbyteri, jussu auspicatissimi Regis, Sanctam hodie Synodum, cum Deo, habituri.

Salutat vos ore meo B. ille Paulus, cujus titulo superbit hæc antiqua moles; quasique præsens, presentes compellat simul, et hortatur,

Prioris ad CORINTHIOS duodecimo; versu quarto.

Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων, &c.

Sunt autem distinctiones donorum; sed idem Spiritus: distinctiones ministeriorum sunt; sed idem Dominus; distinctiones operationum; sed idem Deus.

VIDETE pulchram hanc rerum *ἀναλογίαν*. Convenistis in unum; et hîc identitas est: convenistis frequentes ab ultimis dissitisque procul amplissimæ provinciæ oris; et hîc multiplex diversitas: convenistis flos Cleri Anglicani, cultissima Capita; et hîc dona sunt: convenistis ministrorum cum Plebe Principes; et hîc ministeriorum diversitas: convenistis ad sacra Ecclesiæ negotia peragenda; et hîc operationes sunt: convenistis spiritu, quod spero ac precor, uno; et hîc idem Spiritus est: convenistis, denique Domino Deo vos, vestraque dona, ministeria, operationes dicaturi; hîc Dominus, hîc Deus est.

Idem verò ille Deus, idem Dominus Jesus Christus, idem Spiritus Sanctus, præsto nobis esse velit hodiè; sacraque huic cœtui, divinis afflatibus, præsit præsideatque; consiliaque nostra ac studia universa dirigat ducatque fœliciter ad æterni nominis sui gloriam, animarum nostrarum salutem, certam denique Ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem, per Jesum Christum, &c!

En vobis, Honorandi Præsules vosque Symmistæ Venerandi, fibulam utriusque mundi; mundi, inquam, utriusque Theologici: macrocosmi, Dei; microcosmi, Hominis. Ecquid est, quod æquè nostra scire interest, æque speculari?

NOAH'S DOVE.

YE are here met, which I humbly wish may prove every way prosperous and happy to the Church of God, Most Reverend Father in God, Reverend Bishops, Venerable Deans, Archdeacons, Brethren of the Clergy, by the Providence of our good God, and the command of our gracious Sovereign, to hold a Holy Convocation this day.

Blessed Paul, in whose name this ancient pile doth not a little pride itself, salutes you by my unworthy tongue; and, as if he were present, addresses himself to you, and exhorts you,

In his former Epistle to the CORINTHIANS, the xiith Chapter; verse 4.

There are diversities of gifts; but the same Spirit: there are diversities of ministries; but the same Lord: and there are diversities of operations; but the same God, &c.

SEE, I beseech you, the meet *correspondence* of all things. Ye are met in one; and here is unity: ye are many of you met from the utmost parts of this large province; and here is manifold diversity: ye are met the flower of our English Clergy, learned and exquisite Divines; and here are diversities of gifts: ye are met, the Lords and Commons of our sacred function; and here are diversities of ministries: ye are met for the holy affairs of the Church; and here are operations: ye are met, as I verily hope and wish, in unity of spirit; and here is one Spirit: ye are, lastly, met, to consecrate yourselves, your gifts, ministries, operations, to the service of our Lord God; and here is that Lord, that God, whom we profess to serve.

Now that same God, that same Lord Jesus Christ, that same Holy Spirit, be present with us all this day; and, by his blessed influences, guide and govern this sacred meeting; and happily direct all our councils and endeavours to the glory of his own great name, the salvation of our souls, and the assured edification of his Church, through Jesus Christ!

See here then, Honoured Prelates and Beloved Brethren, the loop or combination of both worlds; both the worlds of our Divinity: the greater world, God; the lesser world, Man. What is there, that can so much concern us to know, to behold?

Vultis Deum contemplari? Unus ille est; ὁ αὐτὸς: Trinus est; Deus Pater, Dominus, Spiritus: Trinunus est; Spiritus, Dominus, Deus ὁ αὐτὸς.

Vultis Hominem intueri? Non unum hunc conspicietis, sed vix finitâ diversitate discriminatum; non nudum, sed donis instructum; non superfluum, sed destinatum ministerio; non otiosum, sed operationibus occupatissimum: neque istæ operationes, ministeria, dona, uniformia sunt; sed multiplicitèr distincta ac variegata.

Unde verò huic tam multijuges gratiæ, munera tam diversa, nisi ab uno eodemque Deo; Patre, Domino, Spiritu? Quorsum denique ista; nisi ut hæc opera, ministeria, dona, ab uno Deo, Domino, Spiritu profecta, in unum, in unitatem dirigantur?

O miram planèque inexplicabilem rerum divinarum humanarumque *συζυγίαν! συγκοινωνίαν* cœli ac terræ! quâ Deus sibi per *ὁμοούσιαν*, Deus homini per munificentiam, homo Deo per gratitudinem, homines sibi invicem per charitatem, dona ministeriis, ministeria operationibus sive intimè uniri sive consociari perhibentur.

Nolo jam, neque verò expedit, hodierno die in tam verendâ Theologorum coronâ, Catecheticis, de Sacro-sanctæ Trinunitatis mysterio, disquisitionibus immorari: quanquam dignus vobis alibi labor iste, Fratres; quemque, si me audietis, exantlabitis domi strenuè. Nimium profectò, obsolevit familiare illud docendi genus *τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγος*. *Ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερόμεθα*, ambitiosi oratores, spretâ populari hâc operâ. Cernitis ut altissimè volare norint ardeæ, quæ tamen imâ, plerumque, valle victitare solent; nidos in abiete, in palude pastum quæritant: ita et vos facite, Cooperarii mei; non tam soliciti vosmet probare doctos, quàm præstare vestros.

Illud modò obiter. Qualis est Deus, talem se nobis exhibet; qualemque se nobis exhibet, tales nos sibi efformat: uti sol, nubem ritè dispositam intuens, imaginem sui aliquam imprimit humido illi speculo; ita et Deus Ecclesiæ. Sublunaris, ergo, quædam Trinitas, ab illâ Cœlesti deduci istic cernitur; Donorum, Ministeriorum, Operationum: à Spiritu, Dona; à Filio, Ministeria; Operationes, à Patre, fluunt affatim ac dimanant: *Distinctiones sunt Donorum, sed idem Spiritus, &c.*

Apage Pythagoricos calculatores. Pariter se mihi habent numeri omnes, nisi quos præiverit Deus; præivit autem hîc

Will ye look up to God? He is one in essence, ὁ αὐτὸς: Three in person; the Father, Lord, Spirit: he is Three in One, and One in Three; the Father, Lord, Spirit, *one and the same* God.

Will ye cast your eyes to Man? ye shall see him not single, but branched into infinite diversity; not bare and naked, but furnished with gifts; not superfluous, but destined to due services; not idle, but busy in meet operations: neither are these operations, services, gifts, all of one kind; but diversely distinguished and varied.

And whence are these so manifold graces, so diverse employments, but from one God; the Father, Lord, Spirit? And, wherefore are all these; but that these operations, ministries, gifts, proceeding from one God, Lord, Spirit, may be directed to one, and may end, as they began, in a perfect unity?

O marvellous *conjunction* of divine and human things! O unutterable *communion* of heaven and earth! wherein is laid forth unto us, the entire respects and union of God to himself by *consubstantiality*, of God to man by munificence, of man to God by the bond of thankfulness, of men to each other by the bond of charity, of gifts to ministries, of ministries to operations, of all to all.

I shall not now need, neither indeed would it befit me, in so awful an assembly of Divines, to dwell upon Catechetical points, concerning the mystery of the Sacred Trinity: although this labour is well worthy of you elsewhere, my Brethren; and such as, if I may persuade you, you shall carefully bestow at home. This familiar kind of teaching *the word of the beginnings of Christ* is grown out of fashion. Like ambitious orators, we overlook this popular strain, and *are carried to an affectation of perfection.* You see how the heron can soar high, yet lives, for the most part, in the lowest valley; builds in the tallest trees, yet feeds in the humble marshes: so do ye, my dear Fellow Labourers; not so much caring to shew yourselves learned, as to make your people so.

This by the way. Such as God is, such he expresses himself to us; and such as he expresses himself to us, such he forms us to himself: as the sun, looking upon a cloud fitly disposed for that purpose, imprints in that moist glass a certain bright image of himself; so doth God to his Church. From that Celestial and Divine Trinity, therefore, is here apparently deduced another Trinity, sublunary and human; of Gifts, Ministries, Operations: from the Spirit are derived Gifts; Ministries, from the Son; Operations, from the Father: *There are diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit; of Ministries, but the same Lord; of Operation, but the same God.*

Away with all niceties of Pythagorean calculations. All numbers are alike to me, save those which God himself hath

apertissimè. Verbo dicam, Monade ac Triade absolvitur aurea hæc clausula. In Monade, Trias est; in Triade, Monas: Trias perfecta, id est, Trina est; est Trias Distinctionum, est Trias Munerum, est Trias Largitorum; tot sunt διαιρέσεις quot munera, tot munera quot largitores. Munera tria; Dona, Ministeria Operationes: tres Largitores; Pater, Filius, Spiritus, qui tamen unâ Monade, τῷ αὐτῷ, concluduntur. Sed et in illâ Monade sua διαίρεσις est, dum Spiritui, Dona; Filio, Ministeria; Patri, Operationes, quasi singulatim ascribuntur.

Ne spinosior paulò videatur oratio, nos, Apostolum secuti, DISTINCTIONES MUNERIBUS, MUNERA LARGITORIBUS, Triada Monadi, quanta possumus cum facilitate, APPLICABIMUS; et, dein, brevi perorabimus.

I. Triplex ΔΙΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ multiplicitatem innuit.

1. Quid sibi tres Charites somniant Veteres? Mille istic χάριτες sunt; ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ infinita. Intuere omnes, quotquot uspiam fuerunt, Adæ nepotes: inter tot millenas mille capitum myriadas, aliquam in vultu varietatem facilè observabis. Immane quantum à se differt diversiformis pulchritudo. Nec ipsi quidem mencœchmi non aliqua sibi tenus dissimiles. Non est tanta, mihi credite, facierum, quanta animorum diversitas: ut vultui formæ, animis charismata: singulis aliqua, omnibus plurima, nemini omnia contigerunt: Ecce διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων.

Gratias gratis datas intelligit, Caietanum secutus, Salmeron; et verè quidem istud: sed ampliandi favores; et quæ gratum faciunt, gratissima omnium charismata censentur meritissimè. Non malè Hugo tria numerat Dei in homine dona; naturæ, gratiæ, gloriæ: per prima naturæ dona, homines sumus; per dona gratiæ, justi; per dona gloriæ, erimus beati. Dona naturæ, memoria, ratio, voluntas; quibus præstamus brutis: dona gratiæ, fides, spes, charitas; quibus dæmones superamus: dona gloriæ, æterna et vera fœlicitas, fœlix et æterna veritas, vera et fœlix æternitas; quibus angelis æquamur. In donis naturæ et gratiæ, quædam comperit idem author minima; quædam, media; quædam, magna: ac minimis quidem, corporis pulchritudinem ac sanitatem; mediis, facultates animæ; magnis, virtutes accenset: Ecce nunc διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων.

Regenerationis sunt quædam dona; sunt dona Vocationis:

chalked out unto us; as here, he hath manifestly done. In one word, an Unity and a Trinity make up this golden sentence. There is a Trinity, in this Unity; there is a Unity, in this Trinity: first, here is a perfect, that is, a triple, Trinity; a Trinity of Diversities, a Trinity of Faculties, a Trinity of Givers; for there are so many *diversities* as faculties, and so many faculties as givers. The Faculties are three; Gifts, Ministries, Operations: the Givers three; the Father, the Son, the Spirit, which all are included in one Unity, τῷ αὐτῷ, *the same God.* And yet even that Unity hath his *distinction*, while Gifts are, as it were, by a specialty ascribed to the Spirit; Ministries, to the Son; to the Father, Operations.

That our discourse may not seem too perplexed, we will follow the footsteps of the Apostle; and, with all possible perspicuity, will APPLY THE DIVERSITIES TO THE FACULTIES; THE FACULTIES TO THE GIVERS; these Trinities to their Unity; and, this done, draw to a brief conclusion.

I. A threefold DIVERSITY argues multiplicity.

1. What meant the Ancients to dream but of three Graces? There are a thousand graces; GIFTS infinite. Look upon all the grand-children of Adam, that ever were: amongst so many thousand millions of faces, ye shall easily observe some variety of favours. It is a wonder to see what diversity of forms there is in that which we call beauty. No twins are so like as not to bewray some dissimilitude. Certainly, there is not so great variety of faces, as of minds: as features are to the countenance, so are gifts to the mind: each one hath some, all have many, none have all: *There are diversities of gifts.*

Salmeron, with Cajetan, understands here those gifts, which we call *gratias gratis datas*, "graces freely given;" wherein he says true, but not enough: for, as the old word is, "Favours must be enlarged;" and those gifts, which make us gracious, are best worthy of this name. It is not amiss that Hugo reckons up three sorts of God's gifts to man; gifts of nature, of grace, of glory: by the gifts of nature, we are men; by the gifts of grace, we are holy; by the gifts of glory, we shall be blessed. The gifts of nature, are memory, reason, will; wherein we excel the brute creatures: the gifts of grace, are faith, hope, charity; wherein we go beyond the devils: the gifts of glory, eternal and true blessedness, blessed and eternal truth, true and blessed eternity; wherein we are equal to the angels. Amongst the gifts of nature, [and grace. EDITOR. See the original.] the same author reckons some to be of the lowest rank; some, of the mean; some, of the highest: in the lowest, he accounts beauty and health of body; in the mean, he accounts the faculties of the mind; in the highest, the virtues of the soul: Thus *There are diversities of gifts.*

There are some gifts of Regeneration; there are some gifts

illis, renascimur, ut nobis benè sit; his, instruimur, ut prodesse possimus aliis: hæc hominibus singulis singula; illa Sanctis omnibus omnia, communi quâdam proprietate, tributa. Ut, enim, in sapientissimâ hâc universi dispositione, optima quæque ac vitæ sustentandæ necessaria, veluti aer, lux, ignis, aqua, cessere omnibus abundè; quæ verò ornatui voluptatique inserviunt, ut aurum, teretes gemmæ, lapidesque pretiosi, parciùs quibusdam indulgentur: ita, gratiæ quæque salutares Sanctis omnibus suppetunt ubertim, ab illâ largâ Dei manu; linguæ verò, prophetia, potestas miraculorum, sed et eloquentia, scientia, honoris apices, et ejusdem classis reliqua, paucioribus adservari solent. Quanta autem istorum diversitas! Differunt illa scilicet, ratione sui; naturâ quippe alia atque alia: differunt, ratione subjecti; aliis atque aliis concessa; *ου γαρ παντα θεοι πᾶσιν*, cæcus vates verissime: differunt, ratione gradûs; magis minusve indulta: Verè *διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων.*

Naturæ illa è trivio vox est, Idem, manens idem, aptum non esse facere nisi idem; sed, ubi de Naturæ Deo sermo est, veriùs Bonaventura, *Ab unissimo Deo manant multiforma; ab æterno, temporalia. In te variatur, qui in se non mutatur,* pulchrè Hugo. Creasset unum modò divina potestas, dignum Deo fuisset solitarium illud opus; quodque à solâ potuisset omnipotentiâ proficisci: atqui creavit multa; creavit innumera. Creasset Deus multa hæc omnimodò uniformia, soloque numero distincta, majus fuisset hoc longèque adhuc mirabilius, quàm unius cujuscunque opificium: sed jam, ubi multa hæc, hæc innumera, æquè etiam varia effinxerat, formarumque discrimen cum numero concertet, *ὦ βάθος σοφίας*! O stupendum artificium omnipotentiæ! Neque tamen est, ubi æquè se exerat divina virtus et providentia, atque in unius hominis variformi *οἰκονομία.* Fallor, nisi in hoc minore mundo, mundus occurrat *διαιρέσεων.* Miramini vosmetipsos, mei Fratres; et obstupescite. Sive oris formam intueamur, sive partium *συμμετρίαν,* sive colorem cutis, sive corporis staturam, sive dotes animæ, facultatum gradus, indolem naturæ, mensuram gra-

of our Calling: by the former, we are born again, for our own good; with the latter, we are furnished, for the good of others: these latter are peculiarly bestowed upon several men; the former are, by a certain common propriety, bestowed upon all the Saints of God. For, as in the most wise disposition of this universe, the best things and those which are necessary for the sustentation of life, as air, light, fire, water, are abundantly given to all; but those things which serve only for ornament and pleasure, as gold, pearl, precious-stones, are more sparingly bestowed upon some few: so, every saving grace is abundantly dispensed to all Saints, by the liberal hand of God; whereas tongues, prophecy, power of miracles, as also eloquence, skill, honour, and the rest of this kind, are reserved only for some few receivers. And in all these what strange diversity there is! They differ, in respect of themselves; being in nature divers from each other: they differ, in respect of the subject; as being diversely given to one and other; for, as the blind bard saw truly, *God doth not give all to all:* they differ, in respect of degree; as they are more given to one than to other. Thus every way *There are diversities of gifts.*

It is the common voice of nature, That, the same remaining, the same cannot produce but the same; but, when we speak of the God of Nature, that word of Bonaventure is more true, *Ab unissimo Deo manant multiforma; ab æterno, temporalia:* "From that most one God flows multiformity of effects; and from that eternal God temporal effects." Hugo said well, *In te variatur, qui in se non mutatur;* "He is varied in thee, who is not changed in himself." If the divine power had made only one creature, that alonely work of his had been worthy of a God; and such as could proceed from no less than an omnipotent hand: but now he hath created many things; yea innumerable. If God had made these many creatures altogether uniform and like themselves, only distinguished in number not in form, the work had been more excellent and admirable, than the frame of any one creature alone: but now, that he hath made these many, these innumerable creatures, no less different from themselves, and so as that the difference of their forms strives with the praise of their number, *O the depth of divine wisdom!* O the stupendous workmanship of omnipotency! And yet there is no subject, wherein the power and providence of the Almighty doth so much magnify itself, as in the diverse *œconomy* of man. Insomuch as in this little world, there is a world of *diversities.* Marvel at yourselves, Brethren; and be astonished at your own prospects. Whether we look at the fashion of the face, or the *proportion* of parts, or the colour of the skin, or the stature of the body, or the endowments of the mind, the degrees of faculties, the disposition of

tiarum, stationum opportunitates, externam denique vitæ conditionem; Deus bone, quàm nusquam in oculum incurrat idem, quaqua versum spectemus! Ecce *διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων.*

Exesto nunc procul istinc omne sive elationis supercilium, sive murmur invidentiæ. Nimirum illa duo pericula imminent vel justissimæ inæqualitati: invidet nudus; ornatus superbit. "Negligor ego scilicet misellus; beantur alii: cocco nitent alii ac murice; ego sordidis squaleo laciniis: alii affluunt divitiis, luxu diffluunt; ego inediâ contabesco: altis alii soliis insident conspicui; ego imis scabellis conculcor: eloquio pollent alii; balbus ego sum: præcellunt alii artium linguarumque scientia; rudis ego et *ἀναλφάβητος*: Quin ego?" Fatue, dona sunt ista, *χαρισμάτα*, gratìs ergo donata quibus placet Largitori. Quid tibi debet, qui dedit ista aliis? Sed, et *διαιρέσεις* sunt donorum: negavit tibi Deus metallorum cumulos; indulsit robur corporis: quanto, emerint istud magni rerum domini! Negavit eloquentiam; aciem dedit ingenii: negavit honoris titulos; blandam quietem ac securitatem concessit: dignitatem negavit; non negavit valetudinem. I nunc, et invide potenti cuique debilem stomachum, insomnes noctes, curarum equuleos, lubricitatem Aulæ, plurimorum invidiam. Et illi desit aliquid, quod suppetit tibi; et quod illi suppetit, pernegatur tibi: mallet ille tua; tu, illius: utrique sua, neutri utriusque bona obveniunt: *διαιρέσεις* sunt *χαρισμάτων.*

Quin, et nos, udæ vesiculæ, quàm facilè quovis donorum spiritu inflamur! "Non sum ego sicut cæteri. Quàm mihi sordet vulgus hominum! Ego purpuratus sedeo; alii atrati vilesque homuli lambunt subselliorum pulverem: ditavit me tota scientiarum *ἐγκυκλο παιδεία*; *turba hæc, quæ non novit Legem, maledicta:* ego linguas calleo; apage idiotas: stupentem ego coronam auribus duco quò volo, disertus rhetor; languent alii in cathedris frigentque." Audi, Superbe: tua non sunt ista, quæ jactitas: *Quid habes, quod non accepisti?* Dona sunt hæc omnia: tune verò solus fœlix? Nescis, Gloriosule, nescis alios; teipsum nescis: Sunt *διαιρέσεις*, quas tu ignoras, *χαρισμάτων.* Sede sublimis, genibusque te clientum flexis solare; sunt te multò fortè beatiores, qui latent ultrò, litantque tutæ obscuri-

nature, the measure of graces, the opportunities of stations, or lastly the outward condition of our life; O good God, what wondrous diversity is here; how impossible is it for the eye to meet twice with the like object, whithersoever it roveth! Thus *There are diversities of gifts.*

Away now from hence with all haughtiness of pride, all mutinies of envy. These two dangers will be sure to haunt the most just inequality: the needy is envious; the rich is proud. "Poor I am contemned; others are set up: others shine in scarlet and purple; while I am patching of nasty rags: others wallow in their wealth and excess; I famish for hunger: others lord it in lofty seats; I am trod under their footstools: others are eloquent; I am a stammerer: others excel in the skill of arts and tongues; I am a silly *ignorant:* And why should not I?" O Fool, these, that thou talkest of, are *gifts;* and therefore freely bestowed where it pleases the Giver. What doth he owe to thee, that hath given these things to others? Withal, know, there are *diversities* of gifts: God hath perhaps denied thee heaps of red and white earth; but he hath given thee strength of body: at how high a rate, would the great ones of the world buy that blessing of thine! He hath denied thee eloquence; he hath yet given thee sharpness of wit: he hath denied thee honour; but he hath given thee sweet rest, quiet security: he hath denied thee preferment; he hath not denied thee health. Go then, and envy the great man's weak stomach, sleepless nights, racks of cares: envy, to him, if thou canst, the slippery stairs of the Court, and the common envy of the most. He wants something, that thou enjoyest; and something he hath, which is denied thee: he would rather make choice of thy condition; thou, of his: each of you hath his own; neither of you shall have all; neither shall have both: *There are diversities of gifts.*

Yea, and we, new-blown bladders, how easily are we puft up with every blast of gifts! "I am not like other men. How base are the vulgar of men! I sit gloriously impurpled; other fellows may be glad to lick the dust of my footstool: I am enriched with all liberal sciences; *this people, which know not the Law, are accursed:* I have skill of tongues; others are rude idiots: I lead the amazed hearers by the ears whither I list, through the power of my oratory; others freeze and languish in their pulpits." Hear, O thou Proud Man: these things, whereof thou braggest, are not thine own: *What hast thou that thou hast not received?* All these are gifts. And art thou thus happy alone? Vain Boaster, thou knowest not others; thou knowest not thyself: *There are diversities of gifts,* which thy thoughts reach not unto. Sit thou aloft, and cheer thyself with the bowed knees of thy suppliants; they are happier men than thyself, that are glad to lie close, and affect a quiet and safe

tati: doctior tu sis aliis; est te alius prudentior: facundiâ tu superes alium; te alius judicio: lingua tibi ditior est; mens alteri.

Magni illud Lutheri privato lari inscriptum dicitur, *Res et verba, Philippus; Res sine verbis, Lutherus; Verba sine re, Erasmus.* Sua cuique dos est: nec tu donis omnibus instructus; nec ille alter nullis: ne tibi ille invideat; ne tu illum habeas despicatui: adjicite animum potiùs uterque, ut symbolum studiosè conferatis publicæ rei. Quorsum enim depluere è cœlo jussit varia hæc donorum genera Benignissimum Numen; nisi ut humani generis utilitati communique saluti consuleret? Quorsum cæco pedes, claudo oculi; nisi ut *commodet ille oculos, commodet ille pedes?* Tuamne unius in gratiam, ut te donis cumularit Deus? Vah turpem philautiam. Canaliculum te fecit, ilicet, qui fecit, non cisternam. Induit vos Deus, quod non nescitis, Amplissimi Præsules, sacrâ hâc purpurâ; ut aliis præfulgeatis, conspicui duces viæ arduæ; utque, honoribus vestris, Ecclesiam cohonestetis, sitisque servi plurimorum.

2. Cernitis, opinor, quàm nos insperatò à Donis ad MINISTERIA prolapsi. Ducit nos, Paulinâ manu, donorum ille Auctor, Spiritus: qui, donis illicò, ministeria subjunxit; ministeriis, operationes.

Scilicet munificentissimum illud τὸ πνεῦμα, (ut cum St. Athanasio vim notemus articuli) plerosque vestrûm, Patres Fratresque, donis instruxit cumulatissimè. Quibus dotibus animi, quàm singulari eruditione, quàm potenti eloquentiâ, quantâ sapientiâ, quantâ gravitate, quantâ dignitatum amplitudine! Magnum est, quod dicturus sum; dicam tamen, procul omni fastu et assentatione; ringantur, rumpantur invidi; *Stupor mundi Clerus Britannicus.* Tot doctos theologos, tot disertos concionatores, frustrà uspiam alibi hodie sub cœlo quæsieris. Quìd memorem magna illa Ecclesiæ lumina, jam nuper occidua; Juellos, Humfredos, Foxios, Whitgiftos, Fulcones, Whitakeros, Rainoldos, Bilsonios, Greenamios, Babingtonios, Eedios, Hollandos, Playferos, Abbotios, Perkinsios, Fieldios, Hookeros, Overalios, Willettos, Whitos, Massonios? Sub his tectis nunc estis,

obscurity: be thou more learned than another; that other perhaps is wiser than thou: be thou more eloquent than another man; that other is perhaps more judicious: if thy tongue be richer than another's; his mind is richer than thine.

It is reported, that in the house of worthy M. Luther was found written, *Res et verba, Philippus; Res sine verbis, Lutherus; Verba sine re, Erasmus:* "Melancthon was words and matter; Luther, matter without words; Erasmus, words without matter." Every one hath his own share: neither art thou furnished with all gifts; nor that other with none: let not him envy thee; neither do thou contemn him: rather both apply yourselves, to cast in the shot of your contributions to the public good. For to what end hath our Bountiful God showered down these divers kinds of gifts from heaven upon man; but that he might hereby provide for the common profit and welfare of mankind? Why hath the blind man legs, and the lame man eyes; but that the one may exchange with the other, for the benefit of both? Thinkest thou, that God meant to heap his gifts upon thee, for thine own sake only? Fie on this shameful self-love. Surely, he that made thee, made thee for a conduit-pipe to convey, not a cistern to hold, the water of his graces. God hath clothed you, as ye well know, Reverend Prelates, with this sacred purple; that you should shine before others, as conspicuous guides of that strait and hard way of life; and that, by your well-bestowed honours, you should credit his Church, and be the servants of many.

2. Ye perceive now, I imagine, how unexpectedly my speech is glided from Gifts to MINISTRIES. The Author of these gifts, the Spirit of God, leads me by St. Paul's hand: who, presently upon the mention of gifts, subjoins ministries; and, upon the mention of ministries, adds operations.

This most munificent *Spirit*, *τὸ πνεῦμα*, (that with Athanasius we may note the force of the article) hath enabled the most of you, Fathers and Brethren, with an eminent measure of gifts. With what powers of the mind, what singular learning, what powerful eloquence, with how great wisdom, with what gravity, with what titles of honour, with what large dignities! It is a great word, that I shall speak; and yet I must and will say it, without all, either arrogance or flattery; *Stupor mundi Clerus Britannicus:* "The wonder of the world is the Clergy of Britain." So many learned divines, so many eloquent preachers, shall in vain be sought elsewhere this day, in whatever region under the cope of heaven. What should I reckon up those great lights of our Church, not long since set; Juels, Humfreys, Foxes, Whitgifts, Fulkes, Whitakers, Raynolds, Bilsons, Greenams, Babingtons, Eedeses, Hollands, Playfers, Abbotses, Perkinses, Fields, Hookers, Overalls, Willets, Whites, Masons? There are now of you under this very roof, that hear me

meque auditis hodiè, quorum laudibus, non horam modò, sed et vitam profectò terere non pigeret; mutua mihi modestia os obstruit. Quanti quanti estis, vestri non estis. Dona hæc omnia desinunt in ministeria. Velitis uberem hanc gratiam ἀναζωπυρεῖν: et dona hæc universa exornando ministerio vestro fidelissimè collocare. In vitæ praxi, ut et in orationis nostræ curriculo, διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων excipiant διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν.

Sunt ergo, uti donorum, ita et Ministeriorum distinctiones. Quæ vero illæ? officiis nimirum variæ, ac gradibus. Fuerunt Apostoli, Prophetæ, Evangelistæ: sunt, fuerunt, erunt Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi: διαιρέσεις sunt istic, non unus ordo, ministrorum. Aeriana fuit exsibilata quondam hæresis, quæ sustulit hosce τρεῖς βαθμοὺς κλήρου, ut cum Synodo loquamur Carthaginensi. Sed et est, ubi vapulet hoc nomine Hieronymus; quasi qui Aerium non minùs forsan oleat, quàm Ciceronem: immeritò quidem. Sed non vacat avias persequi vindicias. Neminem, spero, vestrûm ita insanire posse, ut hæc Ministeriorum discrimina in discrimen adducat. Legeruntne illi historias, qui istic hæsitent? Profectò, ne viderunt quidem. Evolve temporum omnium monumenta, quaqua patuit Christianismus, nihil istis ubilibet apertius. Nolo contrahere ætatum omnium regionumque Annales. Vide mihi modò Concilia; magnum illud, imprimis, meritòque Oecumenικων primum, Nicenum. Cernes ibi trecentos octodecim Episcopos: quot scilicet Abrahamo de regibus victoriam reportanti milites, ut scitè allusit Ambrosius. At qui novi hi fortè jam tum erant, recensque nati: minimè verò gentium: τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη agnoscunt illi Patres, "ut," interprete Ruffino, "Alexandrinus Episcopus Egypto, Libyæ, Pentapoli præesset, sicut Romanus Ecclesiis Suburbicariis." Audi modò Polycratem, Episcopum Ephesinum, senem jam plusquam sexagenarium, sanctè profitentem, se avis, abavis, atavis, septenâ serie, in eâdem Cathedrâ successisse. Audi Irenæum, Tertullianum, Clementem, Dorotheum, Eusebium, Antiochenæ, Alexandrinæ, Hierosolymitanæ, Romanæ sedis Episcopos sibi indubiò ordine succedaneos, non numerorum modò notis, sed et nominibus designantes. Nullus profectò ab Apostolorum ævo illuxit dies, in quo Paranymphis hisce caruit Sponsa Christi. Sed quìd ego ista? Sol in cœlo est, lucetque. Etiam ipse ille presbyter Hieronymus, strenuus assertor sui gradûs, discrimen hoc à primi schismatis natalibus

this day, in whose just praises I could be content to spend, not an hour, but a life; were it not that mutual modesty enjoins me silence. How great soever ye are, ye are not your own. All these gifts end in services. Oh let it please you *to stir up* this grace of God in you; and faithfully to employ all these your gifts to the happy advancement of your ministries. In the practice of your life, as in the course of my speech, let the *Diversities of Gifts* be taken up with the *Diversities of Ministries.*

There are then, as differences of gifts, so of Ministries. And which be they? differences in offices, and in degrees. There were Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists: there are, were, shall be Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons: these are more than one rank of Ministers. It was part of the exploded heresy of Arius, that took away these *Three steps of the Clergy*, as the Synod of Carthage calls them. Yea, and somewhere Jerome himself smarts with the lash of this censure; as if perhaps he did more savour of Arius, than of Tully: not without open wrong in both. But I may not now stay upon needless apologies. There is none of you, I hope, can be so witless, as to question these diversities of Ministries. Did they ever read histories, that doubt of this point? Sure, they have never so much as seen them. Turn over all the monuments of times and places, so far as ever Christendom hath spread itself, you shall find nothing more evident. I will not here stand to abridge the Annals of all ages and regions. Look upon the Councils; and, first of all, the first and chief of those which are stiled General, the great Council of Nice. You shall there see three hundred and eighteen Bishops: so many as Abraham had soldiers in the victory over the kings, as Ambrose wittily alludeth. But perhaps they were then but newly instituted, newly received in the Church: no such matter: those Fathers profess it to be *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη, the ancient guise*, "that the Bishop of Alexandria should be over Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, as the Bishop of Rome was over his Suburbicary Churches:" do but hear Policrates, Bishop of Ephesus, an old man of above threescore, solemnly protesting, that he succeeded his grandfathers and great-grandfathers, for seven successive generations, in the same Episcopal Chair. Hear but Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Dorotheus, Eusebius, describing and recording the Bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Rome, in the undoubted order of their successions, not only by their numbers, but by their names also. Certainly, never day looked forth since the age of the Apostles, wherein the Spouse of Christ wanted the attendance of these Bridemen. But what do I urge this? The sun is in heaven, and shines there. Even Jerome himself, though but a Presbyter, and a stout champion of his own order, yet deduceth this difference of degrees from the cradle of the first schism, from the common

et apostolicâ traditione, decretoque communi deducit. Sed et scribente hæc ad suos Corinthios Paulo, sonuerat vox illa discors, *Ego Pauli sum; ego Apollonis; ego Cephæ:* etiam tum tamen fuerant hæ διαιρέσεις.

"Ordine fortasse," inquies, "non gradu:" Quin et gradu, mi homo, et potestate. Ilicet sunt B. Paulo προεστῶτες καὶ ἡγούμενοι; Ignatio, κρατοῦντες; Dionysio, ἱεράρχοι; præpositi, Cypriano: quibus ἐπιδιόρθωσιν attribuit Paulus; γνώμην, Canones Apostolici; ἀρχην καὶ ἐξουσίαν, Ignatius; θρόνον ἐπισκοπῆς, ex Egesippo Eusebius; *Vigorem auctoritatemque cathedræ*, Cyprianus; *totius Ecclesiæ apicem*, Origenes; *exortem et super omnes eminentem potestatem*, Hieronymus; ἀψίδα της ἐπισκοπῆς, Concilium Sardicenum; πατέρων γεννήτικην τᾶξιν, Epiphanius. Quid ego, post tantorum messem hæc spicilegia?

Oh, quoties, quàmque non sine imis suspiriis, suo sanguine emptum, optaverit florentissima ac fœlicissima Ecclesiarum Anglicana, à charissimis sororibus suis retentum, hunc antiquissimum optimumque regiminis morem: qui utique obtinuisset forsitan, si, quæ nobis, Dei beneficio, eadem et ipsis reformatio monarchica obtigisset. Jam, "provisionaliter tantùm," si Frigevillio, consultissimo Gallo, credimus, ab illis hæc, quomodo incumbit, pro tempore, necessaria, suscepta est administratio. Deus, Deus ipsis Reginas nutrices, nutricios Reges indulgeat; ut liceat illis aliquando nobiscum tanto hoc frui τὴς τῶν βαθμῶν ἀκολουθίας, ut Nazianzeni verbo utar, beneficio. Ego, interim, cum Ignatio, ἀντίψυχος τῶν φυλαττόντων ταυτὴν τὴν εὐταξίαν: quæ, si regioni ulli aut Ecclesiæ parùm commodè unquam cesserit, personæ profectò vitio fit, non institutionis; quæ non alia censeri potest, quàm salutaris, sancta, divina.

Sed memineritis, interim, obsecro, Patres, *ministeria* hæc esse, διακονίας: ab ipso pulvere petita vox est, ne non sat humilitatis innuat. Honoribus auxistis piâ regum munificentiâ: sed Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, uti nostis, honores vestros metiri solet servitiis. Patres estis Cleri, sed Filii Thalami; proceres Reipublicæ, sed Ecclesiæ servi; duces hujusce militiæ, sed cum B. Paulo συστρατιώται; principes domûs Dei,

decree of the first Church, from tradition apostolical. Yea, when St. Paul wrote this to his Corinthians, that jarring word had sounded in the Church, *I am Paul's; I am Apollos's; I am Cephas's:* and therefore even then had these *differences* been.

"Differences perhaps in order," you will say, "not in degree:" yes, both in order, and in power, too. There were those, whom St. Paul calls *Presidents and Rulers;* whom Ignatius calls *Governors;* Dionysius, *Hierarchs;* Cyprian, *Overseers:* to whom St. Paul attributes *Power of reformation and correction;* to whom the Canons of the Apostles give the *Power of sentence or constitution;* Ignatius, *Chiefty and authority;* Eusebius, out of Egesippus, *The throne of Episcopality;* Cyprian, *The vigour and authority of the chair;* Origen, *The highest pitch of the Church;* Jerome, *A peerless and eminent power;* the Council of Sardis, *The height of government;* and, lastly, Epiphanius, *An order generative of Fathers.* But what do I, gleaning after the harvest of so great authors as have discussed this point?

Oh, how oft, and with what deep sighs, hath this most flourishing and happy Church of England wished, that she might, with some of her own blood, have purchased unto her dearest Sisters abroad, the retention of this most ancient, and every way best form of government: which might happily also have taken place, if they had met with such a monarchical reformation, as, through the blessing of God, was designed unto us. Now they are fain to undergo that administration, "provisionally only," if we may believe wise and learned Fregevil, which the necessity of their condition doth, for the time, cast upon them. The God of Heaven raise them up Queens for their nurses, and Kings for their nursing-fathers, that they may once enjoy with us this happy blessing *of the sequence and subordination of degrees*[a]! In the mean time, I dare, with Ignatius, profess *to put my soul, ἀντίψυχος* &c., *in pawn, for the safe observation of this excellent order:* which, if it have ever not happily succeeded to any region or Church, it is the fault of the person, not of the institution itself; which cannot justly be deemed other, than wholesome, holy, divine.

But remember, I beseech you, in the mean while, Reverend Fathers, that these are *διακονίας, ministries:* a word raked out of the very dust, lest it should not imply humility enough. Ye are graced with honours by the pious munificence of princes: but our Lord Jesus Christ, ye know, uses to measure your honours by your services. Ye are Fathers of the Church, but Sons of the Bridechamber; peers of the State, but servants of the Church; generals of this warfare, but with St. Paul *fellow-soldiers;* rulers in God's house, but withal *fellow-*

[a] "To use the words of Nazianzen," the original adds here.—PRATT.

sed et *συνδούλοι*. Clerum vestrum compellate comiter; excipite familiariter: ut qui vos noveritis dignitate, patres; fratres, ministerio. Agnoscitis consilium Ambrosianum: Instar membrorum sint vobis, quibus præestis, Clerici: stellas vos angelosque salutavit Deus; imitamini stellas, quæ, quò altiores sunt, eò minores apparere solent; imitamini angelos, qui, cùm sint cœli magnates, *πνεύματα* se tamen præstant *λειτούργικα*: odiosissimum spectaculum fastidiosus Præsul.

Sed et audite, Sæculares. Nolite contemnere sacra hæc nuncia. *Ministeria* sunt ista; sed splendida, sed honorifica. Imperare est scilicet, servire Deo: quin si et vobis? Cœlestes illi spiritus, potestates principatusque, nobis idem faciunt affatim, quos tamen nihilo viliores reddidere amor et obsequium. *Rogamus vos, Fratres, ut agnoscatis eos qui laborant inter vos, et præsunt vobis in Domino, et admonent vos; et quàm maximè charos ducatis, propter opus ipsorum.*

3. Exegimus *Distinctiones Ministeriorum:* sequatur ΤΩΝ ΕΝΕΡΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ.

Non otiosa sibi sacravit ministeria Deus, sed operosissima. Regit ille: hic docet: docet alius regitque; duplici honore dignus *προεστῶς, κοπιῶν τε*. Sed et qui regit, est ubi virgâ feriat; est ubi, gladio: est ubi, blandè alliciat; est ubi, coerceat severiùs: labantes sustineat; retineat anxios; vagos reducat. Et, docenti, non una incumbit *διδασκαλία*; est ubi *ἔλεγχος*, est ubi *ἐπανόρθωσις*, est ubi *παιδεία*: idem, nunc, dirigit consiliis; nunc, promissis erigit; nunc, dejicit minis: sanos vulnerat; sanat ægros; nunquam non operatur.

Nempe *καλὸν ἔργον ἐπισκοπὴ*. Si quis ludat in cathedrâ, lugebit in gehennâ. Pulchrè Bernardus, in celebri illâ ad Henricum Senonensen Epistolâ: "Multi non tantâ fiduciâ et alacritate currerent ad honores, si esse sentirent et onera: gravari profectò metuerent; nec cum tanto labore et periculo quarumlibet affectarent infulas dignitatum."

Sed placetne audire insuper, quod satis salsè exprobavit suo ævo pius ille censor: "Sola attenditur," inquit, "gloria, et non pœna: curritur in Clero passim ab omni ætate et ordine, à doctis pariter et indoctis, ad ecclesiasticas Curas, tanquam sine curis quisque victurus sit, cùm ad Curas pervenerit." Satin'

servants. Intreat your Clergy kindly; use them familiarly: as knowing yourselves to be fathers, in dignity; brethren, in service. Ye know the counsel of Saint Ambrose: Let those of the Clergy, within your charge, be as limbs of your own body: God hath called you stars and angels; imitate ye the stars, which, the higher they are, the lesser they are wont to appear; imitate ye the angels, who, though peers of heaven, yet are wont to approve themselves *ministering spirits* for the poorest of God's Saints: no spectacle can be more odious than a proud Prelate.

But hear me also, O ye Laics. Take heed of contemning this sacred function. These are *Ministries* indeed; but glorious, and honourable. To serve God, is to rule and command: and what is it, even to serve you? Surely those heavenly spirits, those principalities and powers, do the very same to us continually; whom yet their love, and service, hath never drawn into contempt. *We beseech you, Brethren, that you know them which labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and hold them dear, for their work's sake.*

3. We have dispatched the *Diversities of Ministries:* now follows that of OPERATIONS.

God hath not ordained to himself idle services, but busy and painful. One governs: another teaches: a third doth both teach and govern; worthy therefore of double honour, *for his rule, for his labour.* And he, that governs, sometimes must strike with the rod; sometimes, with the sword: one while, he must kindly allure; another while, he must sharply punish: he must uphold the falling; retain the wavering; reduce the wandering. And, for him that teaches, it is not only the charge of *doctrine* that lies upon him; but of *reproof*, of *correction*, of *instruction in righteousness:* one while, he directs with counsels; then, he erects with promises; then again, he dejects with threatenings: he wounds the whole; salves the wounded; works always.

The office of a Bishop is, καλὸν ἔργον, a worthy work. Whosoever plays in this holy chair, shall once wail in hell. Saint Bernard said well, in that famous Epistle of his to Henricus Senonensis: "Many would not so eagerly run to honours, if they could think them burdens: certainly they would fear to be crushed with this weight, neither would with so much pain and peril gape for every promotion." Thus he.

But will it please you withal, to hear what that pious censor casts in the teeth of his own time: *Sola attenditur gloria, et non pœna: curritur in Clero passim, &c.* "The dignity only is cared for, not the duty; men of all ages and ranks in the Clergy, learned and unlearned, run to spiritual Cures, as if they might live for ever, *sine curis,* when once they have gotten Cures of

attenditis hoc ab Oraculo Clarevallensi vaticinium? Utinam hic non esset idem etiam nostro sæculo morbus! Ambiunt delicatuli opima sacerdotia, ut genio deinceps indulgeant; torpeantque otio: Sunt quæ, pravæ consuetudinis ergò, unam fuliginem Indicam redolent jugiter ora Deo sacra; maluerintque fumosam nubem edere, quàm Legis fulmina: sunt qui cutem suam curant, non gregis animas, desidiosi pastorculi. Nuda nudè loquor, ut fidus ille olim monitor.

At at sinite vos, Fratres, vel tantillâ hâc oratione commoveri. Etiam culicum stimulis leones solent dormitantes excitari. Hæccine sunt illa *ἐνεργήματα*, quorum *διαιρέσεις* Deum salutant Patrem? Deum certè; sed Deum ventrem; turpissimum numen: horresco, cætera prolocuturus, dicenda tamen; *quorum gloria in confusionem, finis interitus.* An modò tempus est feriandi, exercendæque amœnitatis? Ecce duo nobis imminent hostes atrocissimi, Impietas et Superstitio: et nos, vel, complicatis manibus, considemus; vel surgentes, nostrâ incuriâ, portas hosti irruenti reseramus? Magnus ille noster Herus, Mundi Paterfamilias, peregrè profecturus, imò æternam sibi nobisque patriam repetiturus, unicuique nostrûm talentum saltem unum commisit; jussitque *Negotiamini dum venio.* Negotiari jussit, scilicet, non nepotari. Hoccine verò negotiari est demum, nostra quærere, quieti indulgere, studere silentio? Immunda sunt hæc sudariola, quibus elocanda potiùs trapezitis talenta, segniter reposuimus. Exiget à nobis aliquando rationem redux ille Cœli ac Terræ Judex; quam, si pro otioso verbo reddituri sumus, quipini et pro otioso silentio; scitè Ambrosius? Quid nos tunc miseri regeremus? Ubi comparebimus? Horrenda vox est, *Serve nequam;* horribilior adhuc, *Adducite, interficite.* Per vestras ipsorum animás, per viscera, per vulnera Jesu Christi, per tremendum illud cui sistemur olim Tribunal, liceat vos orem, liceat adjurem, Fratres, ministeria vestra sanctis operationibus ornare sedulò velitis ac perficere. *Prædicate; instate, tempestivè, intempestivè; arguite, redarguite, exhor-*

souls." Do you mark well this prophecy, for such it might seem, of the Oracle of Clarevall? Would to God this were not the very disease of our times! There be some delicate pieces that thrust themselves into fat benefices, only that they may make much of one; and give themselves over to their pleasure and ease: Even of those mouths, which are sacred to God, there want not some, which, out of a wanton custom, savour of nothing but Indian soot; and take more pleasure to put forth a cloud of smoke, than the thunderings and lightnings of the Law: some negligent pastorlings there are, which have more heed to their own hides, than to the souls of their people. I speak plain truth, in a plain fashion; *nuda nudè*, as that faithful monitor professes.

Howsoever I beseech you, Brethren, suffer yourselves to be stirred with this poor speech of mine. Even sleeping lions are wont to be awakened with the sting of a gnat. Are these the *Operations*, the *Diversities* whereof call God their Father? God indeed, but *Deum ventrem;* that beastly deity, the belly: I tremble to add the rest, but I must; *whose glory is their shame, whose end is damnation.* Is it now time for us to play, and keep holiday? Behold two cruel enemies are upon us, Impiety and Superstition: and do we either sit still, with our hands folded; or rise, and, in a wilful carelessness, open the gates to our enemy? That Sovereign Master of ours, the great Householder of the World, when he was to go forth into a far country, yea rather when he was to return to his own everlasting country and ours, committed to every one of us one talent, at the least; to some, more; and bade us, *Negotiamini dum venio; Traffic till I come.* Lo, he bade us *negotiari*, not *nepotari;* "to trade," not "to trifle," to labour, not to debauch. And is this the traffic which he requires, to seek our own, to take our ease, to say nothing, to do worse? No; these are those unclean napkins rather, wherein we have slothfully hid the talents, which we should have improved to the gain of our Master, by putting them into the hands of the exchangers. That awful Judge of Heaven and Earth will be sure, upon his return, to call us to an account; which, if we must give for our idle words, why not also for our idle silence; as Ambrose wittily? What shall we wretched creatures then answer for ourselves? where shall we appear? It is a fearful word, *O evil servant;* but more fearful that which follows, *Bring him hither, and kill him before me.* Oh then, let me entreat you, let me adjure you, Brethren, by the dear respect to your own souls, by the bowels yea by the wounds and precious blood of Jesus Christ, by that dreadful Tribunal before which we must all one day stand, that you carefully endeavour to set forth and accomplish your ministries with all holy operations. *Preach the word; be instant, in season, out of season;*

tamini, cum omni lenitate et doctrinâ. Studeat quisque probare se Deo, *operarium qui non erubescat,* quique *rectè sermonem secet veritatis.* O vocem suavissimam; et præ quâ discors est ipsa cœlestis harmonia; *Euge, serve bone; fidelis fuisti in minimo, intra in gaudium Domini tui!* Ambiamus hanc, mei Fratres, ambiamus importunè. Operemur nos, quæ jussit; coronabit Deus, quæ operamur.

Sed, et vos, Honorandi Patres, qui hodierno die de arduis Ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ negotiis consulturi confluxistis, operamini modò: Sicubi unquam hactenus operati estis, siquando unquam deinceps operaturi estis, modò operamini. *Ostium nobis apertum est magnum et efficax, et adversarii multi.* Cernitis quàm nos invaserit pridem audax *ἐθελοθρησκεία*; quàm superbè cristas tulerit Fides Tridentina, inque oculos ferociter involarit sacrosancto Dei Evangelio. Expatant palam, neque classicum modò canere ausi velites Pontificii, sed (quod redeat quis magis an indignetur?) triumphum. Erigunt sibi istic suam vestræ æmulam Hierarchiam; etiam vobis vivis vegetisque, hæredes designant. Hoccine ut quis ferri patiatur cordatus spectator? Hoccine prætereundum silentio? Exsuscitate vos, Sancti Patres, si quis ardor pietatis, et Tyberinum hoc monstrum, (Papismum intelligo) spiritu oris vestri debellate: quâque estis apud pientissimum Regem, proceres, plebem, gratiâ et authoritate, vestris precibus ac consiliis curate, quantum potestis, ad suos inferos relegetur omnis idolomania; expugnatisque erroribus vincat, valeat, vigeat, regnet Veritas.

II. *Operationes, Ministeria, Dona,* horumque omnium *διαιρέσεις* citò, uti videtis, pede pertransivimus. Unum illud modò nobis restat pensiculandum; Omnia hæc *Ministeria, Dona, Operationes* ab uno eodemque Spiritu, Domino, Deo, Triada hanc à Monade, proficisci. Deprehenditis verò facilè, non tam in Authore, quàm in *Identitate, τῷ αὐτῷ,* emphasin. Nolo ergo vel *πολυποίκιλον σοφίαν,* absolutissimamque perfectionem, vel amplissimam Dei munificentiam oratione persequi: expendite modò LARGITORIS Benignissimi Unitatem.

Nos unum aliquod alicui elargimur, homines munifici: Deus unus omnia universis, sua singulis, impertiit: neque alium cogitare fas est, sive fontem, sive oceanum boni. Quare verò adeo solicitè ingeminat Apostolus; non tam quòd beneficus

reprove, exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine. Let every of us study to approve himself unto God, *a labourer that shall not be ashamed,* and *a right divider of the word of truth.* O sweet word; and such, as, in comparison whereof, the very harmony of heaven sounds harshly; *Well done, good servant; thou hast been faithful in a little, enter into thy Master's joy!* Oh let it be our only ambition, Dear Brethren, that we may once hear this word. Let us work that, which God hath commanded; and God shall be sure to crown that, which we have wrought.

Yea, and ye, Honoured Fathers, who are this day met to consult of the weighty affairs both of Church and Commonwealth, work now: If ever ye have wrought heretofore, if ever ye will work hereafter, now work. *A large door and effectual is opened unto you, and many adversaries.* Ye see how audacious *Will-worship* hath of late set upon us; how proudly the Tridentine Faith hath advanced her crest, and hath dared to fly fiercely in the very face of the Gospel. The Romish forces put themselves openly into array, and have dared to sound not an alarum only, but (which no wise man knows whether he should more stamp at or scorn) a victory. They presume to erect here amongst us a Hierarchy emulous to yours; and in the time of your life and health and vigour, appoint what heirs shall succeed in your sees. What wise spectator can think this indignity to be endured? Is this to be smothered in silence? Is this to be longer winked at? Rouse up yourselves, O ye Holy Fathers, if there be any ardour of piety in your breasts, and destroy this Tyberine Monster, (Popery I mean) with the breath of your mouths: and whatever grace and authority ye have with our gracious King, with the peers, and commons of this realm, improve it all with your best prayers and counsels, to the utter extermination of idolatry; to the happy victory and advancement of the sincere Truth of God.

II. And thus ye see with how swift a pace I have run over these *Operations, Ministries, Gifts,* and the *Diversities* of them all. One thing only remains to be duly considered of us; and that is, That all these *Ministries, Gifts, Operations* do flow from one and the same, Spirit, Lord, and God; this Trinity from an Unity. Wherein ye easily discover the emphasis to lie, not so much in the Author, as in the *Identity,* τῷ αὐτῷ. I shall not therefore in the remainder of my discourse prosecute, either *the wonderful wisdom,* or absolute perfection, or the bountiful liberality of God: but rather drive my speech to the consideration of the Unity of this Gracious GIVER of all these.

We, silly men, in the height of our bounty, bestow some one favour upon some one subject: but this one God hath bestowed all upon all, and upon every one some: neither may we conceive of any other, whether fountain or ocean of good. And why hath our Apostle so carefully beaten upon this point;

dederit, quàm quòd unus? Nimirum rectè Salmeron, ut schismatum radices evelleret: nam, si diversi essent donatores, justa subesse posset sectarum causa, ut quisque pro sui doni ministeriique authore æmularetur; jam, cùm Spiritus unus idemque diversa hæc cuique dona, unus idemque Dominus diversa ministeria, unus Deus Pater operationes diversas distribuerit, quin omnia hæc dona, ministeria, operationes ad unius Datoris gloriam unanimiter colliment collineentque?

Certè, omnia hæc unitatem sonant. Corpus est Ecclesia, uti hic postmodum Apostolus: nos membra. Hic oculus est; auris, ille; hic, lingua: ille, palatum; manus, hic; pes, ille: hic, pollex; ille, digitellus; vel, si quis adhuc humilior, digituli articulus est. Omnes ad unius corporis constitutionem salutemque conjunctis oportet operis conspiremus: secus qui fecerit, ille profectò, non modò violatæ incolumitatis publicæ, sed et Divinæ Unitatis læsæ, reus meritò judicatur.

Sentio me, Patres, in locum amplissimum, et, in quo tabernaculum mihi, cum Petro, figi mavelim, incidisse. Utinam vacaret vobis tantillum per amœna hæc unitatis, communisque studii vireta, mecum expatiari! Neque verò tam laudandæ, (quorsum enim perditio hæc?) quàm vindicandæ, quod curæ pretium fuerit, unitati, opellam hanc reliquam locaturus sum.

Grave profectò crimen, flagitium, si quod aliud, atrox est, cujus non insimulant Pontificii, à Catholicâ Ecclesiâ dissiliisse; tunicam Christi inconsutilem discidisse, immò, fregisse ossa, corpus lacerasse: cujus si nos meritò rei peragimur, indigni sanè fuerimus vitali hâc aurâ; sed et imo barathro dignissimi! Atqui nos terram cœlumque palam testamur, falsissimè nobis impingi istoc, quiquid est, calumniæ; sed et, in ipsos authores meritissimè recidere tanti criminis invidiam, coram Deo ac hominibus, sanctissimè profitemur.

Audite brevem Apologum. Hospes quidam invitârat ad se convivam unum aut alterum, tractaveratque lautè ac benigniter. Consederunt illi suaviter; comederuntque; et blandè se mutuò exceperunt aliquandiu. In secundis, uti fit, mensis hospes propinat poculum; pomum apponit. Exederat pomum vermi-

urging not so much the beneficence, as the unity of the giver? Surely, as Salmeron guesses well, *ut schismatum radices evelleret*, "that he might pull up the roots of schisms:" for, if there were divers givers, there might be some reason for every sect, to stand for the author of his own gift, of his own ministry; but now, that one and the same Spirit hath given to every one these divers gifts, that one and the same Lord hath appointed to every one these divers ministries, that one and the same God hath distributed to every one these divers operations, why should not all these gifts, ministries, operations unanimously conspire to the glory of that one Giver and Founder of them all?

Certainly, every thing here sounds of unity. The Church is an entire body, as our Apostle speaks soon after: we are members of it. One man is an eye; another, an ear; a third is a tongue: one, is a palate; another, a hand; another, a foot: yea, one, is a thumb; another, a little finger; or, if lower yet, a joint of that small limb. We must all concur in our desires and endeavours to the constitution and maintenance of this one body: whosoever he be, that doth otherwise, he is justly found guilty, not only of the violation of the public weal, but of Divine Unity.

And now, O ye Reverend Fathers, I find myself entered into a pleasing and ample commonplace, and such a one, as wherein I could wish, with Peter, to fix the tabernacle of my abode. Would to God your leisure could allow you to walk along with me a while through these sweet and flowery meads of unity, and happy conspiration of thoughts! And yet I shall not so much bend the residue of my speech to the praise of unity (to what purpose were that waste?) as to the necessary vindication of it from the unjust challenges of the enemies of peace.

It is a heavy crime, and, of all other, the most heinous, wherewith we are charged by the Romanists, that we are fallen off from the Catholic Church; that we have rent the seamless coat of Christ, yea broken his bones, and torn his very body in pieces: whereof if we were indeed guilty, how unworthy were we to breathe in this air; how most worthy of the lowest hell! But we call heaven and earth to record, how unjustly this calumny is cast upon us; yea, we protest before God and men, that the envy of this so foul a crimination lights most justly upon the heads of the accusers.

May it please you to hear a short Apologue. A certain man invited to a feast one or two of his friends, and entertained them bountifully. They sat together lovingly; they ate together; and were merry one with another. In the second course, as the custom is, the master offereth them wine; sets before them an apple. Now a worm had somewhat eaten the

culus, inciditque fortè in poculum aranea: videt conviva, abstinetque: hospes urget; "Quin tu edis," inquit, "bibisque?" "Atqui parùm tutum est," regerit alter; "vides hanc in poculo bestiolam, in pomo illam?" "Quantula sunt hæc?" inquit hospes: "Ego apposui; ego miscui: in meam saltem gratiam, exhauri, manduca." "At, sine me," conviva inquit, "eximere priùs hanc araneolam, exsecare vermiculum: placet vinum, pomum placet: aranea, vermis, non placent." "Apage te," inquit hospes, "plus æquo curiosum ac delicatum: Abi in dierectum, ingrate, qui nostram flocci pendis amicitiam, apparatum contemnis!" simulque, patinas paterasque convivæ in os furibundus intorquet; sauciumque foras ejicit.

Dicite mihi, Auditores; uter horum violet hospitii leges? Applicuistis jam vos ista sine me, sat scio, facillimè. Consedimus nos, aliquando, cum Romanis familiariter, opsonati opipare. Aranea in poculo, in pomo vermis, quid aliud sunt, nisi in cultu Superstitio, in fide male-sana Traditio? Placet, sine illis, Religio: obtrudunt nobis hæc hospites importuniùs: nos recusavimus: conspuimur, vapulamus, ejicimur. Dedissent modò nobis veniam eruendi hanc araneam, hunc vermem, edissemus utique bibissemusque lubentissimè: renuerunt illi præfractè, suamque pertinaciam nostræ saluti prætulerunt; convitiis nos impetunt, feriunt fulmine anathematum, damnant vivicomburiis. Quid nos interea faceremus? Audite, Cœlum, et Terra! tuque, Conditor idem, et Arbiter utriusque, Omnipotens Deus, sine te tuosque spiritus cœlestes vocari in testimonium nostræ innocentiæ. Coacti, abacti discedimus à communione Romanâ. Vim nobis fecerant, qui discesserant à se priùs.

Lubentes quidem discessimus à communione errorum; à communione Ecclesiæ non discessimus. Abdicentur errores; Ecclesiam amplexamur: abjiciant illi suas animicidas Traditiones, falsosque novitiæ fidei appendices; ejusdem Ecclesiæ jura unà communicabimus, unà permanebimus æternùm.

apple, and a spider by chance had fallen into the cup: the guest sees, and baulks it: the master urgeth him; "Why do you not eat," quoth he, "why drink you not?" "I dare not," saith the other; "it is not safe to do either; seest thou not this vermin in the cup, and that in the apple?" "Tush," saith the master, "what so great matter is this? It was I that set this before thee; it was I that began to thee in the other[b]: drink it, eat it, at least for my sake." "But, suffer me first," replies the guest, "to take out this spider, to cut out this worm: the wine, the apple, likes me well enough; the spider, the worm, I cannot away with." "Away with such overnice and curious companions," quoth he again: "Fie upon thee, thou ungrateful fellow, that dost so little regard my friendship, so contemn my cheer!" and, with that, in a rage, throws the platters and pots in the very face of his guest; and thrusts him out of doors, all wounded.

Tell me now, I beseech you, Worthy Auditors; whether of these violates the laws of hospitality? I dare say, you have easily applied it before me. There was a time, when we sat together in a familiar manner with these Romanists, and fared well. The spider in the cup, the worm in the apple, what else be they, but Superstition in their worship, rotten and unwholesome Traditions in their faith? Without these, the Religion pleaseth us well: but they will needs importunately thrust these upon us; and we, refusing, are therefore scorned, spit upon, beaten, and cast out. Had they but given us leave to take out this spider, this worm, we had still eaten and drank together most gladly: they obstinately resisted, and preferred their own headstrong will to our good and safety; nay, they repel us with reproaches, strike us with their thundering anathemas, condemn us to the stakes. What should we do in this case? Hear, O Heavens, and hearken, O Earth! And thou, Almighty God, the Maker and Governor of them both, suffer thyself and thy glorious spirits to be called to the testimony of our innocency. We are compelled, we are driven away from the communion of the Church of Rome. They forced us to go from them, who departed first from themselves.

We have willingly departed from the communion of their errors; from the communion of the Church, we have not departed. Let them renounce their erroneous doctrine; we embrace their Church: let them but cast away their soul-slaying Traditions[c]; we will communicate with them in the right of one and the same Church, and remain so for ever.

[b] "It was I that began to thee in the other," is a singular interpretation of the words, "Ego miscui," in the original. The obvious meaning, "It was I that prepared it," or, "I prepared it," suits best with the context.—PRATT.

[c] The original adds, "and the erroneous novelties which they have added to the faith."—PRATT.

Atqui, proh dolor! necesse hîc habeo, non sine summâ ægritudine animi, palam quiritari, dici non posse Veritatine an Charitati Christianæ, infensiores sint, qui se Catholicos gloriantur: Veritati quidem, quòd ἑτερόδοξα procudêre pridem, Ecclesiæque obtrudêre; Charitati verò, quòd aliter sentientes damnare illico, nigroque hæreseos stigmate inurere non dubitarint.

Dicam, si lubet, apertiùs. Triplici nomine, contra Charitatem gravissimè peccatur istic à Pontificiis: primò; quòd nihil quicquam remittere unquam voluerint, vel convictissimæ opinionis, vel praxis vitiosissimæ; ne quidem pacis ergo: dein verò; quòd, pro Christianæ Fidei Articulis, venditare soleant dogmata quædam sua; falsa, dubia, incerta; peculium Scholæ; quæ basin religionis nullatenus attingunt: denique; quòd, monitores quosque sanos, vel tantillum nuperis hisce Articulis obnitentes, è gremio Ecclesiæ crudeliter ejecerint, inque Tartarum præcipitarint: "Tollite schismaticos, hæreticos, atheos."

Ilicet nulla est Protestantibus Ecclesia, nulla fides, salus nulla. Bone Deus! quis furor, quæ rabies agitat Christianorum pectora; ita ut in sese impotenter sæviant, qui se ejusdem pretiosissimi sanguinis λύτρῳ redemptos profitentur! Tandem, tandem, sapite, Christiani; et agnoscite quos Miserationum Pater Deus et ulnis et visceribus suis dignos æstimat.

Quicquid debacchetur insanus error, Christiani sumus, Catholici sumus; Unius, Sanctæ, Catholicæ, Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ membra sumus indivisa. Antestemur, si placet. Præbete auriculam, quibus licet. Quid est, quod Ecclesiam facit? Quid, quod Sanctam, Catholicam, Apostolicam, Unam? Annon Una, Sancta, Catholica, Apostolica Fides? Quæ verò illa? Annon quæ à Christo et Apostolis tradita orbi universo; per omnem temporum seriem, ad nostra usque sæcula, traducta semper et ubique obtinuit? Quorsum Scripturæ, quorsum Symbola, quorsum Concilia primitiva, nisi ut certa quædam patesceret ratio, quâ Catholici ab Hæreticis indubio secernerentur? Agnoscitis Epilogum Athanasium; "Hæc Fides est Catholica." Sed et hoc uno Symboli gladio, hæreses detrûncantur omnes, si Leoni credere fas est: quantò magis ancipiti illo Scripturarum; Patrumque, divini eloquii interpretum! Quid verò? Qui tunc Catholici erant, Hæreticari, ut cum Gersone loquar, ullo

But, alas! I must be forced to complain, and that not without extreme grief of heart, how that it cannot be determined, whether those, that boast themselves for Catholics, be greater enemies to Truth or to Charity: to Truth, in that they have of late forged *new errors*, and forced them upon the Church; to Charity, in that they have not stuck to condemn the adverse part, and to brand them with the black mark of heresy.

I will speak, if you please, more plainly. Three manner of ways, do these Romanists offend against Charity: first; that they will not remit any thing, either of their most convicted opinion, or vicious practice; no, not for peace' sake: secondly; that for Articles of Christian Faith, they put upon the Church certain opinions of their own; false, doubtful, and uncertain; peculiar only to the Schools; which do no whit touch the foundation of religion: and, lastly; that, if they meet with any faithful and sound monitors, which do never so little gainsay these new Articles, they cruelly cast them out of the bosom of the Church, and throw them headlong into hell: "Away with these schismatics, heretics, atheists."

I wis the Protestants have no Church, no faith, no salvation. Good Lord! what fury, what frenzy distempers Christians; that they should be so impotently malicious against those, who profess themselves to be redeemed by the ransom of the same most precious blood! At length, at length, O ye Christians, be wise; and acknowledge those, whom the God and Father of Mercies holds worthy of his arms, yea of his bowels.

Let frantic error bawl what it list, we are Christians, we are Catholics; the undivided members of One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Let us meet at this bar, if you please. Let who will maintain the plea[d]. What is it, which maketh a Church? What is it, which maketh that Church, One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic? Is it not One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Faith? But which is that? Is it not the same, which was delivered by Christ and the Apostles to the whole world; and was always and every where approved through all ages, even unto our times? Wherefore are the Scriptures, wherefore the Creeds, wherefore were the primitive Councils, but that there might be certain marks, whereby Catholics might be undoubtedly discerned from Heretics? You know the Epilogue of the Athanasian Creed; "This is the Catholic Faith." If we may believe Leo, the heads of all heresies are quite cut off with this one sword of the Creed: how much more then, with that two-edged sword of the Scriptures; and of the Fathers, their interpreters! What then? Those that then were Catholics, can they in any age be condemned for Heretics[e]? No: Faith

[d] "Listen, whoever will." Original.—PRATT.
[e] The Original adds, "to adopt the words of Gerson."—PRATT.

ut ævo possint? Nugæ: Sibi semper constat Fides; et superstructa fidei Ecclesia. Ecquem verò nos Priscæ Theologiæ articulum clausulamve negavimus unquam, ecquem in dubium vocitavimus? Aut ergo Christus, Apostoli, Concilia, Patres â Catholicâ veritate abhorruerunt; aut nos usque Catholici permanemus.

Reliqua quotquot uspiam occurrunt de religione dogmata, fidem neque constituunt neque verò diruunt violantve. Cedo falsa; cedo vitiosa; stipula fœnumque sunt, illa scilicet quæ nihil ad basin æterni hujus edificii. Sanior profectò corruptiorve est pro istorum ratione Ecclesia: magis minùsve Ecclesia non est. In istis constat Ecclesiæ sive deformitas sive pulchritudo: non constat vita, salus non constat. Profectò, qui Verbo Dei æternis Literarum monumentis consignato, qui Symbolis quibusque primoribus, qui Conciliis quatuor Generalibus, qui communi Patrum per sexcentos à Christo annos judicio lubens subscripserit, quod nos facere religiosè profitemur Reformati; si errare in minimis poterit, Hæreticus esse non poterit. Peccare facilè potest particularis aliqua Ecclesia hæresim affingendo sententiæ immerenti, sive veræ forsan illi, sive leviter erroneæ; graviter certè errare non potest anima vel Ecclesia, quæ universalis veterisque vestigiis solicitè insistit. Pontificius ergo ut quis mori necesse habeat, qui Catholicus obire velit? Lepidum illud est, tribusque Anticyris dignum.

Date veniam, Patres: Interpellant orationem meam beatissimi manes sanctissimi illius nuperrimique Sedis hujusce Episcopi[f]; jubentque ne sinam cineres suos tam turpiter violari. Neque silere possum præ indignatione, neque præ animi commotione loqui. Non modò percrebuit fama, sed et per orbem volitarunt passim libelli, de optimi illius integerrimique Præsulis, spiritum reddituri, palinodiâ; moribundum nempe rediisse Romæ in gratiam; hæresibus Ecclesiæ scilicet Anglicanæ suspirabundum renuntiasse; tandemque, à sacrificulo Pontificio absolutum, in Fide Romanâ suavitèr obdormiisse. Neque defunctæ animæ defuerunt, alicubi, hoc nomine, uti fertur, Missificantium suffragia et oblationes. Deum Immortalem! quæ hæc blasphemia est! Potestne ipsa quidem impudentia ita frontem omnem exuere, ut hæc calumniosissima mendacia, tam audacter, confingat, contra tot testium fidem, contra illius ipsius Sacerdotis Pontificii solennem detestationem, contra familiarium intimorumque omnium religiosissimas dejerationes, contra doc-

[f] The Prelate here referred to, was Dr. John King, Dean of Christ Church in 1605, and Bishop of London in 1611. King James used to style him "The King of Preachers;" and Lord Chief Justice Coke often declared, that "he was the best Speaker in the Star-Chamber in his time." He was so constant in preaching, after he became a Bishop, that he never failed on Sundays, while his health permitted, to preach in some pulpit in or near London. He

is always constant to itself; and so is the Church, that is built upon that faith. Did we ever deny, or make doubt of, any article or clause of that Ancient Divinity? Either then Christ himself, the Apostles, Councils, Fathers, erred from the Catholic Truth; or we yet remain Catholics.

Whatever other opinions we meet withal concerning religion, neither make nor mar it. Say they be false; say they be vicious; they are but hay and stubble, which nothing appertain to the foundation of this everlasting frame. The Church may be either more sound or more corrupt for them: it cannot be more or less a Church. The beauty or deformity of a Church may consist in them: the strength, the welfare of it doth not. Surely, whosoever willingly subscribes to the Word of God, signed in the everlasting monuments of Scripture, to the ancient Creeds, to the four General Councils, to the common consent of the Fathers for six hundred years after Christ, which we of the Reformed Church religiously profess to do; if he may err in small points, yet he cannot be a Heretic. Some particular Church may easily offend by imputing heresy to an undeserved opinion, whether perhaps true, or lightly erroneous; but neither soul nor Church can greatly err, while it treads in the steps of the most ancient and universal. Must he therefore of necessity die a Romanist, that would die a Catholic? This is an idle fancy, and worthy of no less than Bedlam.

Give me leave, ye Reverend Fathers: The blessed ghost of the most holy and latest Bishop[f] of this See, interrupts my speech; and charges me not to suffer his ashes so shamefully to be wronged. I can neither be silent for indignation, nor speak for anger. It was not only rumoured, but books were cast abroad over the world, concerning the revolt of this worthy and excellent Prelate; reporting, that, at his death, he reconciled himself to the Church of Rome; and, with many sighs, renounced the heresies of the Church of England; and, at last, being absolved by a popish priest, sweetly slept in the Faith of the Church of Rome. Neither did his departed soul want, somewhere, as is reported, suffrages and oblations of Massmongers in this behalf. O Immortal God! what blasphemy is here! Can impudency itself so cast off all shame, as to raise so slanderous a lie, thus boldly, against the credit of so many witnesses, against the solemn detestation, of their own priest, against the religious oaths of his nearest friends and domestic

died March 30th, 1621: and, soon after, the Papists reported, that he died a member of their Church: but the falsehood of this story was fully exposed by his son Henry, in a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, to which Bp. Hall refers above; by Bp. Godwin, in the Appendix to his "Commentarius de Præsulibus Angliæ;" and by Mr. John Gee, in a book entitled "The Foot out of the Snare." See the General Dictionary. Folio. vol. vi. pp. 527, 528.—PRATT.

tissimi tantoque patre digni filii Concionem scriptionemque publicam? Alia quidem mendacia colorem sibi aliquem vulgò quærunt quo conciliant fidem: huic, præter audaciam, nullus est. Quot nostrûm adsedimus fidelissimo nostro, ægrè jam tum spiritum trahenti Pastori; accepimusque à languentis ore, voces constantissimæ pietatis! Sed et aliqui vestrûm, Patres, viaticum unà cum ipso sacrum, panem omnium quos gustavit postremum, panem Domini, devotè sumpsistis; emigraturæque animæ, cœlumque anhelantis motus ultimos persensistis. Noster vixit; noster mortuus est; noster in cœlis coronatur. Pergite modò, cacoξηλοτæ; pergite mentiri strenuè: hærebit aliquid. At veritas non est, quæ mendaciorum fulcris indiget. Tantillum hoc παρεκβατικῶς.

Prodeat nunc quivis è Scholâ Pontificiâ vel audicissimus sophista, suscipiatque sibi, si per frontem licuerit, defendendum, notississima quæque Fidei Tridentinæ assumenta, (quæ nos sola rejicimus,) toti fuisse Ecclesiæ, omni ævo, pro necessariis religionis capitibus receptissima; aut nos in Unius Sanctæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Fideique communione constanter perstitisse fateatur necesse est. Novitatem ille suam facilè prodet; heresin ullam nostram nullus unquam evincet.

Verè aureum est illud Cardinalis Contareni: Auscultate, si qui ingenuè favetis Romæ: "Non opus est," inquit, "Concilio, non syllogismis, ad sedandas hasce Lutheranorum turbas; charitate opus est, humilitate, mente bonâ denique: ut, immunes ab omni hâc perniciosâ philautiâ, animum inducamus ea in quibus manifestò peccatur corrigere ac reformare." Hæc ille. Tu demum sapis, Contarene. Utinam æquè et tui!

At nos matris Ecclesiæ filii sumus immorigeri rebellesque; cujus dum jussa capessere, decreta recipere ac venerari detrectamus, turpi schismate involvimur, dirisque infensæ parentis meritò percellimur. Odiosam verò contumeliam. Matrem non agnovimus; agnovimus sororem. At, cedo filios fuisse; mancipia profectò non fuimus. Novam Fidem procudere sibi pro libito, suisque imperiosè obtrudere, non parentis est, sed tyranni. Hanc nos licentiam, fatemur enim, neutiquam sanè ferre potuimus; parùmque ferentes cædimur palam et non uno perstringimur anathemate. Neque secùs nobiscum egêre Romani, quàm imprudens ille vicinus apud Gersonem, qui, cùm muscam à fronte proximi abigere satageret, hominem excerebravit.

servants, against the Sermon and public writings of his learned son, a son well worthy of such a father? Other lies have some colour to plead for their credit: this, besides boldness, hath none at all. How many of us sat by that faithful Pastor of ours, then breathing towards his last; and received from his dying lips, words of most constant piety! And some of you, Reverend Fathers, devoutly received with him that sacred *Viaticum*, the last bread that ever he tasted, even the bread of the Lord; and were witnesses of the last motions of his soul, then ready to depart, and breathing towards his heaven. Ours he lived; ours he died; and now, as ours, is crowned in heaven. Go on now, ye miszealous spirits: go on to lie stoutly: somewhat will always stick fast to the accusers[g]; but, in the mean time, it cannot be truth, that needs the props of lies. Only this *by the way*.

Let the boldest sophister of the Romish School come forth now, and, if he can for shame, let him undertake to prove, that those most noted additions of the Tridentine Faith, (which only we reject,) were received of all the Church, in all ages, for necessary heads of religion; or let him confess, as he needs must, that we have still constantly persisted in the communion of One, Holy, Catholic Church and Faith. He shall easily bewray his own novelty; but never shall evince any heresy of ours.

It is a golden saying of Cardinal Contarenus: Hearken, I beseech you, if any ingenuous spirit of you all be a friend to Rome: *Non opus est Concilio, non syllogismis, ad sedandas hasce Lutheranorum turbas, &c.* "There needs no Council," saith he, "no syllogisms, to allay these broils of the Lutherans; but only charity, humility, and a sincere mind: that, being void of all self-love, we may be persuaded to correct and reform those things wherein we have manifestly transgressed." Thus he. Thou art wise indeed, O Contarenus. Would to God thy fellows were so also!

But we, forsooth, are the disobedient and rebellious children of our mother the Church; whose commands while we disdain to receive, and obey and reverence her decrees, we are enwrapped in a shameful schism, and stricken with the curses of an angry mother. Surely this were an odious contumely. But, for us, we have not acknowledged her a mother; a sister, we have. But, grant we were sons; yet we are no slaves. To forge a new Faith, and imperiously thrust it upon her own, is not the part of an indulgent parent, but of a tyrant. This lawless liberty, we confess, we could never endure; and therefore are we openly thunder-stricken with more than one anathema. Neither have they otherwise dealt with us, than that foolish fellow in Gerson, who, being very busy to drive away a fly from his neighbour's forehead, brained the man.

[g] "To the accusers," is added by the Translator; but I suspect that it is an error of the press for "to the accused," which the sense requires.—PRATT.

Plangite verò mecum, Fratres, vices illius Ecclesiæ, quæ tempori didicit accommodare Fidem; remediorumque suorum solet esse quàm malorum impatientior. Dum nos illi acerrimè persequuntur, nos illorum piè misereamur. Exoptemusque ipsis, quam nobis ipsi necquicquam invident ac pernegant, Salutem: *Pater, dimitte iis, nesciunt enim quæ faciunt.*

Preces, lacrimæque nostræ non desint: non desint monita. Revertimini ad vos aliquando, Animæ Christianæ; revertimini, unde sensim declinastis. Ambite *τὴν πρώτην ἀγάπην, τὰ ἔργα πρῶτα.* Nolite sinere diutiùs fucum vobis factum glorioso Ecclesiæ titulo. Componite vos ad sanctam, quam tantopere aspernati estis, Unitatem: quod O si fiat, apud nos quidem, uti Lege Duodecim Tabularum olim sancitum, sanatibus idem juris erit quod fortibus. Ecce nos, quod pacificus noster Rex Jacobus piè susceperat, obviam reducibus ire paratissimos.

Quòd, si illi Unitatis spem omnem obfirmatè usque refugiant; pacisque odio flagrantes, uno Sacræ quam appellant Tubæ clangore delectentur; quin nos, mei Fratres, unitatem inter nos, religiosissimè intimèque, colimus universi. Alloquor omnes correctioris Ecclesiæ filios, quaquà sparsos.

Reformatam nos Dei gratiâ Ecclesiam profitemur: reformatam, nempè; non, quod invidiosissimè calumniantur æmuli, novam. Ego verò (ut cum Xenophonte loquar, *κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης*, ubi illud audio tritissimum è plaustro convicium, "Ubi vestra fuit ante Lutheri ævum Religio? Ubi Ecclesia?" Audite, Scioli; audite, Invidi: reformari nos veterem religionem discupivimus, non formari novam. Reformata scilicet, non recens edita Ecclesia. Eadem ergo est, quæ priùs fuit; nisi quòd ab errorum quorundam superfluis perniciosisque adjectamentis repurgata est. Novane facies est, quæ lota est nuperrimè? nova vestis, quæ resarcitur? nova, quæ reparatur, domus? Erubescite, si quis pudor, qui ista nobis tam petulanter insipienterque suggeritis.

Agite jam, Fratres; nos Divinâ virtute reformati sumus: ne committamus, ut, mutuis interim dissidiis, deformemur. Illud illud est, quod nos planè mutilat et enervat, quodque hostium nos exponit insulturis triumphisque.

Quanquam, ne nimiùm cessisse videamur probrosæ maledicentiæ, non tanta sunt litigia nostra, quanta vel cupiunt adversarii vel vociferantur.

But lament ye with me, my Brethren, the woeful case of that Church, that hath learned to fit her Faith to the times; and is more impatient of a remedy than of the disease. Whilst they so eagerly persecute us, let us heartily pity them. And let us still wish to them, that which they envy and deny to us, Salvation: *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

Our prayers, our tears, our admonitions must not be wanting. Return to yourselves now at last, O ye Christian Souls; return, from whence you have sensibly declined. Recover your *first love*, your *first works*. Suffer not yourselves any longer to be mocked with the glorious title of a Church. Frame yourselves to that holy Unity, which hitherto you have so stiffly resisted: which if once we might live to see effected, you should well find, as it runs in the Law of the Twelve Tables, that the recovered should with us have the same privileges with the healthful. Behold, we are ready, as our gracious and peaceable king James piously undertook, to meet you half way.

But, if they shall still obstinately cast off all hope of Unity; and, being set on fire with the hatred of peace, shall go on to delight themselves only, in the alarum of their Sacred Trumpet, as they call it; why should not we, religiously and entirely, keep peace among ourselves? I speak to all the sons of the purer Church, wheresoever dispersed.

We profess this Church of ours by God's grace reformed: reformed, I say; not new made, as some emulous spirits spitefully slander us. For me[h], *I am ready to sink to the very ground*[i], when I hear that hedge-row reproach, "Where was your Religion before Luther? Where was your Church?" Hear, O ye Ignorant; hear, O ye Envious Cavillers: we desired the reformation of an old religion, not the formation of a new. The Church accordingly was reformed, not new wrought. It remains, therefore, the same Church it was before; but only purged from some superfluous and pernicious additaments of error. Is it a new face, that was lately washed? a new garment, that is but mended? a new house, that is repaired? Blush, if ye have any shame, who thus ignorantly and maliciously cast this in our teeth.

Go to now, my Brethren; we are by God's grace reformed: let us take heed, lest we be deformed again, by mutual dissensions. This is that, which weakens and lames us, and which lays us open to the insulting triumphs of our adversaries.

Yet, lest we should seem to give too much way to a spiteful slander, these jars of ours are not so great, as our enemies either desire or clamour.

[h] "To use the words of Xenophon," is added in the original.—PRATT.

[i] "In shame," are part of the words of Xenophon, not noticed by the Translator.—PRATT.

Certè, quicquid est quod nos hucusque cruciat discordiarum, non aliis, quàm iis ipsis, qui nobis ista exprobant, germanis hostibus, acceptum referri debet: nam, si illi dextram opportunè porrexissent; communemque operam reformandæ, quod tum factum oportuit, Ecclesiæ contulissent; placidè cessissent omnia: nullæ hîc lites fuissent, nullæ simultates, nulla partium studia: Detrectarunt illi obstinatè; effeceruntque, suâ et supinitate et pervicaciâ, ut hoc, quantum est, pensi in paucos quosdam imbelles, pusillosque, ac tantæ provinciæ impares, conjiceretur. Fieri igitur aliter non potuit, quin ut singularium hominum, parùm sibi collatæ, sententiæ, in tanto negotio, aliquantulum à se discreparent. Gratias verò tibi, Summe Deus, Pacis Auctor, qui Spiritu tuo humanam intemperiem compescere dignatus es, ne in atrociora jurgia litesque graviores motæ, discordium mentes ebullirent.

Quantula verò sunt hæc demum dissidia, et creperi certamina belli, quæ tantopere clamitant adversarii?

Nempe, fingunt illi sibi sectarum nomina, ne non satis sit: et, ubi tantillam in autorculi cujuspiam chartis opinionis discrepantiam animadvertunt, Novum illico Schisma reboant, Sectam Novam. Quis hic livor! Quæ serendi odii lubido! Si sic olim factum fuisset, non tam exiguis pellibus arctata fuissent Augustini, Epiphanii, Philastrii volumina: tot certè fuissent schismata, quot unquam a noto Evangelio Ecclesiæ doctores extiterunt.

Mittamus numerum, de pondére videamus. Obstrepant quantum volunt Malevoli, inter hos, non de solidis Christianæ Fidei membris, sed de cute, lis est: inter illos, non de cute quidem, sed de veste; at neque de veste ipsâ, sed de fimbriis. Dogmata sunt quædam scholastica, classis medioxumæ, Corollaria Theologica, de quibus dissentimus, aut Ritus fortè Externi: Fidei Christianæ Principia non sunt.

Sed et ejusmodi sunt hæ controversiæ, quæ, ubi semel deferbuerit, sive zeli sive iracundiæ, æstus, seque mutuè probè intellexit pars utraque, facilè possunt reconciliationem admittere.

Neque minùs profectò ab ipsis inter se Pontificiis dimicatum est. Magis tegunt illi suas inimicitias; non exercent minùs. Magis sapiunt; non magis concordant. Nec quod est, ausim dicere, religionis caput, in quo unà et nobis dissonent, et consonent omnes sibi.

Neque denique, graviùs istic inter nos disconvenit, quàm olim, inter sanctissimos Ecclesiæ Patres; quorum, tamen, lites non tanto posterorum clamore excipi ubique solent. Mitto privata

Certainly, what discords soever hitherto have troubled us, we are beholding to none other for them, but to these our kind enemies, who upbraid us with them: for, if they had but reached forth unto us a helping hand in due time; and jointly conferred their endeavours, which then behoved them, for the reforming of the Church; all had run squarely on: there had been no jars, no grudgings, no parts' taking: But they stiffly refused; and, by their frowardness and pertinacy, caused this, so weighty a task, to be cast upon some few; and those both weak, unable, and altogether unfit for such a charge. It could not therefore be otherwise, but that the opinions of some single men, not conferred together, in such a business, must needs somewhat differ. But, thanks be to thee, O Blessed God, the Author of Peace, that hast vouchsafed by thy Spirit so to bridle the distemperate affections of men, that their busy spirits being stirred up, have not boiled forth into more fearful divisions.

But what are these so great dissensions, and blows of bloody war, which our adversaries so cry out upon?

Forsooth, rather than want, they can feign names of sects to themselves: and, where they can find the least difference in the paper of any obscure author of ours, presently they cry out, New Schisms, New Sects. What malice is this! What eager desire of multiplying quarrels! If it had been so of old, so small hides had not served to contain the volumes of Augustin, Epiphanius, Philastrius: there had not been fewer sects, than teachers, since the publishing of the Gospel.

But let us pass over the number, and come to the weight. Let the Malicious prattle what they will, with some of ours, the controversy is not about any solid limbs of Christian Faith, but only of the very skin: with some others, not about the skin, but the garment rather; not about the garment itself neither, but of the very hem. There are certain scholastical opinions, of a middle rank, mere Theological Corollaries, or perhaps some Outward Ceremonies, wherein we dissent: Principles of Christian Religion there are not.

And withal these controversies are but such, as that, when the heat, whether of zeal or anger, shall abate, and either part shall well understand each other, they will easily admit of a reconciliation.

Neither have these very Romanists lesser quarrels amongst themselves. They can more hide their enmities; not exercise them less. If they be more wise; they are not more accordant. Neither is there, I dare say, any head of Religion, wherein they do at once differ from us, and agree all with one another.

Finally, our differences are no greater, than were those of old, among the holy Fathers of the Church; whose quarrels, notwithstanding, are not so odiously blazoned by posterity. I

tantorum virorum *ἀντιλοιδορήματα*, plena insuavis cujusdam, et penè dixissem indecoræ, acrimoniæ. Malo ponere vobis ante oculos, boni ominis causâ, publicas illas Patrum Ecclesiarumque *ἀντηῤῥήσεις*, quæ in gratam deinceps concordiam desierunt. In Synodo Ephesinâ quantæ lites exortæ, inter Cyrillum Alexandrinum et Joannem Antiochenum! Utrique pastorum subjectæ Ecclesiæ non verentur anathematis sibi mutuò *ἀντιβροντᾶν*. Exinde in messem Joannis falcem suam parùm fœliciter immisit Theodoretus: in quem, Euoptio instigante, graviter invehitur Cyrillus. Apollinarismi incusat Cyrillum Theodoretus: Theodoretus Cyrillum Nestorianismi: exarsit subinde hic furor, Orbemque ferè Christianum traxit in partes; ita ut, postmodò, Chalcedonensem Synodum ingredi volenti Theodoreto, reclamârint Egyptii aliique Reverendi Episcopi, "Cyrillum ejicimus, si Theodoretum acceperimus: Canones istum ejiciant: hunc Deus aversatus est." Idemque demum Actione octavâ factitatum; Episcopis palam vociferantibus "Hæreticus est, Nestorianus est: Hæreticum mitte foras." Re tamen plenè cognitâ, compertoque denique ipsum et Symbolis Orthodoxis et Leonis Epistolis libenter subscripsisse, unanimiter acclamatum à Synodo, "Theodoretus dignus est Sede Ecclesiæ: Orthodoxum Ecclesia Pastorem recipiat."

Immortalitate dignum est illud, quod de sanctissimo Athanasio memoravit Gregorius Nazianzenus. Romani Orientalibus Sabellii errorem sequi visi sunt, negando tres Hypostases: Orientales Romanis Arium sapere visi sunt, negando tres Personas: fervet lis: accedit magnus ille animarum dispensator; et, utrâque parte leniter benignèque accitâ, ita negotium transigit, ut, nominum usum concedens, rebus eos constringeret; lumenque profert, quo se mutuò contuerentur: nec mora: conscii suæ demum orthodoxias, ruunt illico in mutuos amplexus. Neque aliter profectò, uti piè crediderim, cederet nobis fratribus, si quis è cœlo dextras jungeret Athanasius.

O, si clausis semel belli intestini ac nefandi portis: Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Nutricii Principes, auctoritate suâ, Synodum indici juberent, quantum fieri potest, Generalem; in quâ, liberè modestèque, sententiam suam dicerent pars utraque litigantium, statuerenturque communes quidam termini, in quibus utraque tutò posset absque omni sui præjudicio acquiescere! Quàm facilè, fœliciterque, sopirentur hæ tam funestæ lites! Precemur nos hæc, mei Fratres; precemur devotissimè.

let pass the *private scoldings* of the Antients, not without some unpleasing, I had almost said misbeseeming, tartness. I would rather set before your eyes, for good luck sake, those *public altercations* of the Churches and Fathers, which afterward shut up in a blessed concord. What quarrels arose at the Council of Ephesus, between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch! The Churches under both stuck not to *counter-thunder* anathemas one against another. Thereupon Theodoret thrust in his sickle into this harvest: against whom Cyrillus, by Evoptius' instigation, makes as strong opposition. Theodoret accuseth Cyril of Apolinarism: Cyril accuses Theodoret of Nestorianism: the flame of their rage brake out more and more, and almost drew the Christian World to parties; so that, afterwards, when Theodoret would have entered the Council of Chalcedon, the Egyptian and other Reverend Bishops cried out, "We must cast out Cyril, if we take in Theodoret: the very Canons cast him forth: God abhors him." The like was done afterwards in the eighth Action; the Bishops openly proclaiming, "He is a Heretic, a Nestorian: away with the Heretic." But when the matter was well scanned, and it was found that he willingly subscribed to the Orthodox Creeds and the Epistle of Leo, the whole Synod with one accord cried out, "Theodoret is well worthy of a See in the Church: let the Church receive her Orthodox Pastor."

It is worthy of immortality, that which Gregory Nazianzen recordeth of holy Athanasius. The Romans seemed to the Eastern Churches to follow the heresies of Sabellius, in denying of three Hypostases: the Eastern likewise seemed to the Romans, to favour too much of Arius, in denying three Persons: the quarrel grew hot: then came that great dispenser of souls; and, having meekly and mildly called forth both sides before him, he so handled the business, that, granting them the free use of their terms, he tied them close to the matter; and shewed them a light, whereby they might behold one another: upon this, without more ado, finding themselves both in the right, they fall to mutual embracements. Neither would it speed otherwise with us brethren, as I do verily believe, if some Athanasius from heaven would but join our hands together.

Oh, if once the gates of intestine and horrid wars were shut up: and the Religious Princes, which are the Nursing Fathers of the Reformed Churches, would command, by virtue of their authority, a Synod to the assembled, as General as it might; wherein both parts freely and modestly, might lay forth their opinions, and such common terms might be agreed upon, as wherein both parts might freely rest without prejudice to either! How easily then, how happily, might these grievous stirs be quietly pacified! Let us pray for this, my Brethren; let us pray devoutly.

Animosque, interea, ad pacem unitatemque placidè flectamus. Sit inter nos, quod Augustino Hieronymus, pura germanitas. Neque sinamus nos, leviculis quibusque opinionum minutiis, distrahi ac divelli. Obliviscamur fuisse unquam in rerum naturâ, quantum ad sectæ quidem ullius denotationem, Lutherum, Philippum, Zuinglium, Calvinum, Arminium, aut si quod mortale nomen; quid enim nobis cum homine negotii est? Unum spiremus unum ardeamus, Jesum Christum.

Pleiades sumus Theologi, ut ingenuosè Gregorius: unà micemus omnes, etsi non sine aliquo loci intervallo. Malo Punico grana plurima sunt sub uno cortice: nôstis mysterium: nos Mala Punica jungamus tintinnabulis: sonori simus, sed et concordes. Opera, ministeria, dono nostra universa, uno Deo Patri, Filio, Spiritui Sancto; uni Capiti, Christo; uni Corpori, Ecclesiæ, corde uno æternùm voveamus: ut, uno tincti Baptismate, uno empti Pretio, unam Fidem professi, Unitatem Spiritûs retinentes in Vinculo Pacis, uno eodemque Cœlo tandem fœlicissimè perfruamur, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum: Cui, cum Patre, ac Spiritu, sit omnis honor et gloria, in sæcula in sæculorum. Amen.

In the mean while, let us all sweetly incline our hearts to peace and unity. Let there be amongst us, as St. Augustin to Jerome, pure brotherhood. Neither let us suffer ourselves, upon every slight quirk of opinion, to be distracted or torn asunder. Let us forget that there were ever any such, in respect of the devotion of a sect, as Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius, Arminius, or if any other mortal name; for what have we to do with man? Let us breathe nothing, let us affect nothing, but Jesus Christ.

We Divines are Pleiades, as Gregory saith wittily: let us therefore shine still together, though not without some difference of place. In a pomegranate are many grains under one rind: you know the mystery: let us join these pomegranates to our bells; let us be loud, but consorted. Let us devote for ever, with one heart, all our operations, ministries, gifts, to one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to one Head, Christ; one Body, the Church: that, being washed with one Baptism, ransomed with one Price, professing one Faith, and holding the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, we may at last happily enjoy one and the same Heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord: To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be ascribed all honour and glory, for evermore. Amen.

OCCASIONAL MEDITATIONS,

BY JOS. EXON.

SET FORTH BY R. H.

JOSEPHI HALLI

EXONIENSIS EPISCOPI,

Αὐτοσχεδίασματα:

VEL

MEDITATIUNCULÆ SUBITANEÆ,

èque re natâ subortæ.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, MY VERY GOOD LORD,

JAMES LORD VISCOUNT DONCASTER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE:

FINDING these papers, amongst others, lying aside in my father's Study, whereof I conceived good use might be made, in regard of that spiritual advantage, which they promised; I obtained of him good leave to send them abroad: whereto he professed himself the more easily induced, for that his continual and weighty employments in this large and busy Diocese will not yet afford him leisure, to dispatch those his other fixed Meditations on the History of the New Testament.

In the mean time, the expressions of these voluntary and sudden thoughts of his shall testify, how fruitfully he is wont to improve those short ends of time, which are stolen from his more important avocations; and, unless my hopes fail me, the pattern of them may prove not a little beneficial to others.

Holy minds have been ever wont to look through these bodily objects, at spiritual and heavenly. So Sulpitius reports of St. Martin, that, seeing a sheep newly shorn, he could say, "Lo, here is one, that hath performed that command in the Gospel; having two coats, she hath given away one:" and, seeing a hogherd freezing in a thin suit of skins, "Lo," said he, "there is Adam cast out of paradise:" and seeing a meadow part rooted up; part whole, but eaten down; and part flourishing; he said, "The first was the state of fornication, the second of marriage, the third of virginity." But what do I seek any other author, than the Lord of Life himself? who, upon the drawing of water from the well of Shilo on the day of the great Hosanna, took occasion to speak of those living waters, which should flow from every true believer; John vii. 38: and, upon occasion of a bodily feast, Luke xiv. entered into that divine discourse of God's gracious invitation of us to those spiritual viands of grace and glory.

Thus, methinks, we should still be climbing up in our thoughts, from earth to heaven; and suffer no object to cross us in our way, without some spiritual use and application. Thus it pleased my Reverend Father, sometimes to recreate himself: whose manner it hath been, when any of these meditations have unsought offered themselves unto him, presently to set them down; a course, which I wish had been also taken in many more, which might no doubt have been very profitable.

These, as they are, I send forth under your Honourable Name; out of those many respects, which are, in an hereditary right, due to your Lordship, as being apparent heir to those two singular patrons of my justly-Reverenced Father: the eminent virtue of which your noble parents, in a gracious succession yields to your Lordship a happy example, which to follow is the only way to true honour. For the daily increase whereof here, and the everlasting crown of it hereafter, his prayers to God shall not be wanting, who desires to be accounted

Your Lordship's devoted,

in all humble observance,

ROBERT HALL.

INCLYTO HEROI:

D°. JACOBO, COMITI CARLEOLENSI;

REGIÆ MAT^I. AB INTIMIORE ET CONSILIO, ET CUBICULO:

FAUSTA QUÆQUE.

Quæ Anglicè pridem edita, sub auspiciis nobilissimi Doncastrii tui lucem salutârunt, quin modò Latina tuum, Illustris Heros, ambire ament patrocinium? Juris illa publici fecerat, me parùm refragante, filius: ista non erubesco me patrem vocent. Nimirùm, hôc ætatis, ubi plærique senum non immeritò, veterum studiorum, desuetæque diu linguæ, oblivionem causari solemus; nemo mihi vitio verterit rejuvenescere quodammodò jam serò animum, Romæque ac Athenarum etiamnùm velle recèns meminisse.

Illud verò cumprimis mihi cordi est, linguas exteras, mea qualiacunque in suos traduxisse idiotismos: nempe, quò meis fruuntur plures, eò me ditiorem fœlicioremque sentio. Siquid mihi exciderit boni, omnium esto. Gratulor idcirco mihi, D. Jacomoti, aliorumque fidorum interpretum, calamos benevolos. Fas tamen sit dicere, et Latinè et Gallicè ab aliis aliquibus versa quædam mea, non nimiùm mihi placuisse: qui nativo quidem villo mea prodire mavelim incuriosiùs; quàm serico alterius haud benè interim concinnato, malè induta.

Ne fortè queri possit hoc idem ista senii mei propages, eò magis chara quò sera magis, ipse Latio donare volui familiares hasce non inutilium cogitationum minutias; jussique tuo nomine, exteris quibusque jam diu celeberrimo, superbire. Tu, pro eâ, quâ omnes exuperare soles, mirâ comitate suavitateque morum, serenus excipies hanc officii mei observantiæque strenam qualemcunque.

Quidni verò hoc mihi ausim fidenter polliceri? Diu est, ex quo novit orbis hic noster, quàm ego me totum tibi soceroque tuo præclarissimo, Heróum corculo, Comiti Norvicensi, ab ineunte juventute, debuerim voverimque.

Idem utrique vestrûm splendidissimæque utriusque familiæ, quàmlibet loco dissitissimus, et affectu intimus, et officiis quibusque divinctissimus usque permansero

JOS. EXON.

E Palatio nostro Exoniensi;
Novemb. 29, 1684.

THE PROEM.

I HAVE heedlessly lost, I confess, many good thoughts: these few my paper hath preserved from vanishing; the example whereof may, perhaps, be more useful than the matter.

Our active soul can no more forbear to think, than the eye can chuse but see when it is open. Would we but keep our wholesome notions together, mankind would be too rich. To do well, no object should pass us, without use. Every thing, that we see, reads us new lectures of wisdom and piety. It is a shame for a man, to be ignorant or godless, under so many tutors.

For me, I would not wish to live longer, than I shall be better for my eyes: and have thought it thankworthy, thus to teach weak minds, how to improve their thoughts, upon all like occasions. And, if ever these lines shall come to the public view, I desire and charge my reader, whosoever he be, to make me and himself so happy, as to take out my lesson; and to learn how to read God's great book, by mine.

PROLOQUIUM AD LECTOREM.

Occurrerunt mihi ultrò meditatiunculæ istæ: ego illas non solicitavi importuniùs; imò, ne accersivi quidem: sponte oblatas admisi non illibenter, nec morosiùs repuli; admissas excepi familiariter; exceptas, denique, permisi prodire in vulgus, non curâ et studio comptas, non ornatas elegantiùs, sed nativâ simplicitate indutas, procul et sordibus et fastu.

Mille mihi, fateor, hujusmodi cogitationes, quæ mea fuit incuria, neglectæ exciderunt evanueruntque: istas ego chartulæ meæ servandas dedi, ne itidem perirent. Meo priùs idiomate editas donavi Latinitate, ut pluribus prodesse possint, quæ meis placuissent. Quarum fortè exemplum, re fuerit ipsâ utilius.

Agilis quippe est hæc anima humana; neque minùs possibile est ut non cogitet, quàm ut nihil quicquam videat oculus apertus. Si curæ nobis foret notiones quasque salutares adservare studiosiùs, nimis profectò ditesceret genus humanum. Nobis certè si probè consultum voluerimus, nullum quamlibet exile subitumve objectum prætervolaverit, absque suo et usu et beneficio. Quicquid uspiam videmus prælegit nobis nova et prudentiæ documenta et pietatis. Turpe est homini, ut, sub tot præceptoribus, parùm sapiat.

Quod ad me, nollem equidem superesse diutiùs, quàm me oculi mei aliquid doceant: jam verò curæ pretium duxi, exemplo præire aliis, ut infirmiores, si qui sint, animi, inde discant cogitationibus quibusque obviis melioresccere. Lectorem igitur meum, quisquis fuerit, exoratum volo, ut, hâc ratione, et me et seipsum beare velit; perdiscatque, ex hoc meo libellulo, magnum Dei volumen (mundum intelligo) utiliter perlegere.

OCCASIONAL MEDITATIONS.

I. *On the sight of the heavens moving.*

I CAN see nothing stand still, but the earth: all other things are in motion. Even the water, which makes up one globe with the earth, is ever stirring in ebbs and flowings; the clouds, over my head; the heavens, above the clouds: these, as they are most conspicuous, so are they the greatest patterns of perpetual action.

What should we rather imitate, than this glorious frame? O God, when we pray, that thy will may be done in earth as it is in heaven, though we mean chiefly the inhabitants of that place; yet we do not exclude the very place of those blessed inhabitants, from being an example of our obedience. The motion of this thy heaven is perpetual; so let me ever be acting somewhat of thy will: the motion of thy heaven is regular, never swerving from the due points; so let me ever walk steadily in the ways of thy will, without all diversions or variations from the line of thy Law. In the motion of thy heaven, though some stars have their own peculiar and contrary courses; yet all yield themselves to the sway of the main circumvolution of that first mover: so, though I have a will of mine own; yet let me give myself over, to be ruled and ordered by thy Spirit, in all my ways. Man is a little world: my soul is heaven; my body is earth: if this earth be dull and fixed; yet, O God, let my heaven, like unto thine, move perpetually, regularly, and in a constant subjection to thy Holy Ghost.

II. *On the sight of a dial.*

IF the sun did not shine upon this dial, nobody would look at it: in a cloudy day, it stands like an useless post, unheeded, unregarded; but, when once those beams break forth, every passenger runs to it, and gazes on it.

O God, while thou hidest thy countenance from me, me-

MEDITATIUNCULÆ SUBITANEÆ.

I. *Conspecto cœli motu.*

NIHIL quicquam præter terram quiescere video: cætera quæque motu perpetuo agitantur. Etiam et aqua illa, quæ unum cum terrâ globum constituit, continuo fluxu et refluxu reciprocatur: nubes, supra caput volitantes; supra nubes, cœlum ac sydera; sic aguntur perpetim: hæc, uti præ cæteris eminent conspicua, ita nobis exempla præferunt perpetuæ activitatis.

Quid tandem æmulemur nos æquè, ac speciosam hanc mundi machinam? O Deus, quoties precamur supplices, ut fiat voluntas tua in terris sicut in cœlo, tametsi præcipuè intelligamus loci illius incolas beatissimos; non tamen excludimus locum ipsum cælitum illorum receptaculum, quo minùs exemplo nobis sit veræ perfectæque obedientiæ. Circumvolutio cœli tui perpetua est et perennis; itidem faxis, ô Deus, ut nunquam non in aliquid ferar voluntati tuæ consentaneum: motus cœli tui regularis est, nunquam à constitutis sibi terminis, vel minimum divaricans; ita faxis, in viâ præceptionum tuarum, absque omni diversione aberrationeve à lineà Legis tuæ, constanter usque obambulem. In hoc cœlestium motu, quamvis stellæ quædam peculiares sibi quosdam et contrarios motus sortiantur; singulæ tamen rapidæ circumgyrationi primi motoris se ultrò subjiciunt: itidem et ego, tametsi voluntatem habeo propriam liberamque; faxis tamen, ut in omnibus vitæ viis, me totum dedam à Spiritu tuo dirigendum gubernandumque. Homo microcosmus est: anima cœlum; corpus terra est: si hæc terra mea fixa maneat inersque; faxis tamen, ô Deus, ut cœlum hoc meum, sicut et tuum, jugiter atque ordinatè moveatur, Spirituique tuo, velut primo motori, intelligentiæve sapientissimæ potentissimæque, perpetuò subjiciatur.

II. *Ad conspectum horarii scioterici.*

SI sol radiis suis non illustraret horarium istud, nemo illud profectò intueretur: nubilum ubi cœlum est, negligitur hoc planè, statque velut inutilis aridusque truncus; ubi, verò, radii illi paulò clariùs emicuerint, accurrit viator omnis, oculosque illò conjicit intentiùs.

O Deus, quando tu vultum à me tuum absconderis, creaturæ

thinks, all thy creatures pass by me with a willing neglect. Indeed, what am I without thee? And if thou have drawn in me some lines and notes of able endowments; yet, if I be not actuated by thy grace, all is, in respect of use, no better than nothing: but, when thou renewest the light of thy loving countenance upon me, I find a sensible and happy change of condition: methinks all things look upon me with such cheer and observance, as if they meant to make good that word of thine, *Those, that honour me, I will honour:* now, every line and figure, which it hath pleased thee to work in me, serve for useful and profitable direction. O Lord, all the glory is thine. Give thou me light: I shall give others information: both of us shall give thee praise.

III. *On the sight of an eclipse of the sun.*

Light is an ordinary and familiar blessing; yet, so dear to us, that one hour's interception of it sets all the world in a wonder. The two great luminaries of heaven, as they impart light to us, so they withdraw light from each other: the sun darkens the full moon, in casting the shadow of the earth upon her opposed face: the new moon repays this blemish to the sun, in the interposing of her dark body, betwixt our eyes and his glorious beams: the earth is troubled at both.

O God, if we be so afflicted with the obscuring of some piece of one of thy created lights, for an hour or two; what a confusion shall it be, that thou, who art the God of these lights, in comparison of whom they are mere darkness, shalt hide thy face from thy creature for ever! O thou, that art the Sun of Righteousness, if every of my sins cloud thy face; yet, let not my grievous sins eclipse thy light. Thou shinest always, though I do not see thee; but, Oh, never suffer my sins so to darken thy visage, that I cannot see thee.

IV. *On the sight of a gliding star.*

How easily is our sight deceived! how easily doth our sight deceive us! We saw no difference betwixt this star and the rest: the light seemed alike; both while it stood, and while it fell. Now, we know it was no other, than a base slimy meteor, gilded with the sun-beams: and now our foot can tread upon that, which ere while our eye admired. Had it been a star, it had still and ever shined: now, the very fall argues it a false and elementary apparition.

tuæ omnes, ut mihi quidem videtur, prætereundo me lubenter negligunt. Certè verò, quid sum ego sine te? Si tu lineolas in me quasdam duxeris, insculpserisque mihi quædam non contemnendarum facultatum specimina; si, tamen, efficaci gratiâ tuâ, ista parùm in actum redigantur, omnia hæc, quoad usum utilitatemque, vix quid, sanè nihilo meliora sunt: ubi, verò, lumen benignissimi vultûs tui mihi tandem reddere dignatus fueris, certam fœlicemque conditionis meæ vicissitudinem illico persentisco: omnia me nunc ità alacriter officiosèque contuentur, quasi propositum iis foret adserere verbum illud tuum, *Honorantes me honorabo:* nunc, linea omnis ac figura, quam mihi inscribere volueris, utili alicui salutarique directioni inservit. O Domine, gloria tibi redundat tota. Da tu mihi lumen: ego aliis documentum subministrabo: utrique tibi laudem tribuemus.

III. *Visâ eclipsi solis.*

Lux quidem ordinarium est ac familiare beneficium; ita, tamen, nobis charum, ut illius, vel pro unius horulæ spatio, interceptio mundum totum attonitum penèque exanimem reddere soleat. Duo magna cœli luminaria, uti lumen nobis ambo impertiunt, ita et idem sibi mutuò subtrahunt: lunam obscurat sol, terræ umbram in oppositam ejus faciem projiciendo: vicem hanc rursum soli rependit luna, opaco corpore suo, inter oculos nostros et gloriosos ipsius radios, trajecto: utroque non parùm afficitur terra.

O Deus, si nos ita affligimur obfuscatione tantillâ partis alicujus creatorum à te luminarium, vel brevi horulæ unius alteriusve momento; quæ tandem oborietur confusio, ubi tu, qui horum luminarium Deus es, et præ quo meræ sunt ista tenebræ, faciem tuam à creaturâ tuâ æternùm subduxeris! O tu, qui Sol es Justitiæ, si peccatorum meorum unumquodque faciem tuam obnubilaverit; noli, tamen, sinere ut vel gravissimum delictorum meorum luminis tui deliquium mihi unquam inducat. Tu splendes semper, cum te nullus videam; noli permittere sic ut obscurent vultum tuum peccata mea, ut te videre omnino non possim.

IV. *Conspectâ stellâ cadente.*

Quam facilè decipitur visus noster! sed et quam facilè nos decipit visus! Nihil nos vidimus discriminis inter stellam hanc et reliquas: par utriusque lumen visum est; stantis, cadentisque. Nunc verò, novimus hanc nihil fuisse aliud, nisi vile quoddam limosumque meteorum, solaribus radiis parumper deauratum: jam igitur pes noster calcat, quod miratus est pridem oculus. Si stella fuisset, etiamnum et usque micuisset: nunc, vel casus iste satis arguit falsum et elementare spectamentum.

Thus our charity doth and must mislead us, in our spiritual judgments. If we see men exalted in their Christian profession, fixed in the upper region of the Church, shining with appearances of grace; we may not think them other, than stars in this lower firmament: but, if they fall from their holy station, and embrace the present world, whether in judgment or practice renouncing the truth and power of godliness; now, we may boldly say, they had never any true light in them, and were no other than a glittering composition of pride and hypocrisy.

O God, if my charity make me apt to be deceived by others, let me be sure not to deceive myself. Perhaps, some of these apostatizing stars have thought themselves true: let their miscarriage make me heedful: let the inward light of thy grace more convince my truth to myself, than my outward profession can represent me glorious to others.

V. *On a fair prospect.*

WHAT a pleasing variety is here of towns, rivers, hills, dales, woods, meadows; each of them striving to set forth the other, and all of them to delight the eye! So as this is no other, than a natural and real landscape, drawn by that almighty and skilful hand, in this table of the earth, for the pleasure of our view. No other creature, besides man, is capable to apprehend this beauty: I shall do wrong to him, that brought me hither; if I do not feed my eyes, and praise my Maker. It is the intermixture, and change, of these objects, that yields this contentment both to the sense and mind.

But there is a sight, O my soul, that, without all variety, offers thee a truer and fuller delight; even this heaven, above thee. All thy other prospects end in this. This glorious circumference bounds, and circles, and enlightens all that thine eye can see: whether thou look upward, or forward, or about thee, there thine eye alights; there let thy thoughts be fixed. One inch of this lightsome firmament hath more beauty in it, than the whole face of the earth: and yet, this is but the floor of that goodly fabric; the outward curtain of that glorious tabernacle. Couldest thou but (Oh that thou couldest!) look within that veil, how shouldest thou be ravished with that blissful sight! There, in that incomprehensible light, thou shouldest see him, whom none can see and not be blessed: thou shouldest see millions of pure and majestical angels, of holy and glorified souls: there amongst thy Father's many mansions, thou

Ita et charitas nostra decipere nos et solet et fortè etiam debet, in spiritualibus rerum alienarum judiciis. Si quem videmus Christianâ professione elevatum eminentiùs, in supremâ Ecclesiæ regione fixum, specie quâdam gratiæ clarè splendentem; non alium fas est hunc judicare, quàm stellam veram in sublunari istoc firmamento conspicuam: quòd, si iste demùm à statione sanctâ penitùs exciderit, præsens seculum amplexus, sive quoad judicium sive praxin veritati renuntiaverit, virtutemque pietatis omnem abnegaverit; nunc, fidenter dicere possumus, veram hunc in se lucem parùm habuisse, nihilque fuisse aliud nisi gloriosulum quiddam ex hypocrisi et superbiâ conflatum.

O Deus, si charitas me mea aliorum deceptioni exposuerit, faxis ne ego me fallam ipse. Fortassis, istarum apostaticarum stellarum aliquæ se veras arbitratæ sunt aliquando: cautum ac solicitum me reddat horum casus: internum gratiæ tuæ lumen veracitatem meam magis evincat mihi ipsi, quàm externa quævis professio me aliis gloriosum representare poterit.

V. *Viso luculento quodam prospectu.*

Quàm jucunda se heic exhibet varietas oppidorum, fluminum, montium, vallium, nemorum, pascuorum; quorum singula ornare sese mutuò, omnia verò oculum delectare contendunt! Ita ut istoc spectaculum non aliud quidem videatur, quàm vera ac nativa pictura chorographica, in hâc terræ tabulâ, oblectando spectatoris oculo, à dædalâ omnipotentis manu concinnata. Nulla creaturarum omnium, præter hominem solum, capax est pulchritudinis hujusce discernendæ: injurius planè ero illi, qui me huc adduxerit; nisi et oculos mihi unà pascam, et laudem Conditorem. Vicissitudo quædam est, sed et mistura objectorum, quæ voluptate hâc tantâ sive sensum sive animum afficit.

Est tamen spectaculum quoddam, quod tibi, ô mea anima, absque omni varietate, solidiorem plenioremque delectationem offert; cœlum hoc intelligo, quod supra te cernitur. Prospectus alii omnes tui in hoc desinunt. Splendidissimus hujus ambitus continet, definit, illuminat quicquid oculus tuus poterit contemplari: sursum ne spectes, deorsumve, aut circumcirca, determinatur illo visus; sed et inibi cogitationes tuæ fixæ acquiescant. Lucidissimi hujus firmamenti vel palmus unus plus in se venustatis, habet quàm tota terræ facies: et tamen, hoc totum nihil aliud est quàm pulcherrimæ illius fabricæ pavimentum imum; nitidissimi tabernaculi velum extimum. Possesne (ô si posses!) intra velum illud prospicere, quali te illico beatificâ visione illâ raptum ecstasi sentires! In illâ luce incomprehensibili, videres eum, quem nemo non beatus videre unquam potest: multas purissimorum potentissimorumque angelorum, sanctarumque et glorificatarum animarum myriadas aspiceres: ibique, inter innumeras Paternæ domûs tuæ mansiones, tuam tibi fœliciter

shouldest take happy notice of thine own. Oh the best of earth, now vile and contemptible! Come down no more, O my soul, after thou hast once pitched upon this heavenly glory; or, if this flesh force thy descent, be unquiet, till thou art let loose to immortality.

VI. *On the frame of a globe casually broken.*

It is hard to say, whether is the greater, man's art or impotence. He, that cannot make one spire of grass, or corn of sand, will yet be framing of worlds: he can imitate all things, who can make nothing. Here is a great world in a little room, by the skill of the workman; but in less room by mis-accident. Had he seen this, who, upon the view of Plato's Book of Commonwealth eaten with mice, presaged the fatal miscarriage of the public state, he would sure have construed this casualty as ominous.

Whatever become of the material world, whose decay might seem no less to stand with Divine Providence than this microcosm of individual man, sure I am, the frame of the moral world is and must be disjointed in the last times. Men do and will fall from evil to worse. He, that hath made all times, hath told us, that the last shall be perilous. Happy is he, that can stand upright when the world declines; and can endeavour to repair the common ruin, with a constancy in goodness.

VII. *On a cloud.*

Whether it were a natural cloud, wherewith our ascending Saviour was intercepted from the eyes of his disciples, upon Mount Olivet, I enquire not: this I am sure of, that the time now was when a cloud surpassed the sun in glory. How did the intentive eyes of those ravished beholders envy that happy meteor; and, since they could no more see that glorious body, fixed themselves upon that celestial chariot, wherewith it was carried up! The angels could tell the gazing disciples, to fetch them off from that astonishing prospect, that *this Jesus should so come again as they had seen him depart.* He went up in a cloud; and he shall come again, in the clouds of heaven, to his Last Judgment.

O Saviour, I cannot look upward, but I must see the sensible monuments, both of thine ascension and return. Let no cloud of worldliness or infidelity hinder me from following thee in thine ascension, or from expecting thee in thy return.

designatam cerneres. O vel optimam terræ partem, vilem modò et despicabilem! Noli! ô, noli descendere deinceps, animula mea, ubi semel cœlestem hanc gloriam perlustraveris; aut, si caro ista descendere te vel invitam coegerit, inquieta esto, dum soluta fueris ut liberè fruaris immortalitate.

VI. *De globi fabricâ casu confracta.*

Dici certè vix potest, major ne sit hominis ars an impotentia. Qui ne minimum quidem graminis foliculum, aut arenæ granulum facere potest, mundos tamen integros audacter fabricare aggreditur: qui nihil quicquam facit, omnia interim imitatur. Ecce mundi hujus magni machinam, artificio opificis, in parvum volumen contractam; casu verò, multò contractiorem. Vidisset hoc modò, qui, Platonis Rempublicam muribus corrosam cernens, fatalem illius politiæ cladem exinde hariolatus est, casum hunc proculdubio velut pessimi ominis plenum interpretatus fuisset.

Quicquid demùm de materiali hoc mundo fiat, cujus ad interitum declinatio non minùs videtur posse cum Divinâ Providentiâ consistere quam microcosmi istius humani, nimis certè constat mundi hujus moralis fabricam ultimis temporibus miserè luxatum iri. A malo ad pejus declinat passim genus humanum. Qui solus temporum omnium faber est, clarè prædixit pessimos fore periculosissimosque novissimos mundi dies. O illum verè fœlicem, qui, declinante quàmlibet mundo, stare rectus potest; communemque universi ruinam, constanti quâdam virtute ac bonitate, reparare contendit.

VII. *Ad conspectum nubis.*

Fueritne nubes merè naturalis, quâ Servator noster in cœlum ascendens à discipulorum suorum oculis, in Monte Oliveti interceptus fuit, non anxiè disquiro: hoc certò scio, modò fuisse tempus in quo nubes solem ipsum gloriâ exuperarit. O quàm invidebant fœlici illi meteoro intentissimi intuentium oculi; et, quandoquidem gloriosum illud corpus cernere ultrà non licuerit, figebant se firmissimis radiis in curru illo cœlesti, quo subvectum fuerat, ægrè divellendi! Angeli, quo tam avidos prospicientium oculos ab hoc tam stupendo simul ac grato spectaculo amoverent, discipulos graviter monuerunt, *ita planè reversurum Jesum hunc ac illi discedentem conspicati fuissent.* In nube ascendit; in nubibus cœli, mundum judicaturus, demùm revertetur.

Non possum, ô benignissime Servator, oculos sursum tollere, quin necesse mihi fuerit clarissima tui monumenta et ascendentis et redeuntis intueri. Faxis, oro, ne qua nubes sive sæcularium cogitationum sive infidelitatis animum mihi intercipiat, quò minùs vel sequi te ascendentem, vel reducem expectare possim.

VIII. *On the sight of a grave digged up.*

THE earth, as it is a great devourer, so also it is a great preserver too: liquors and fleshes are therein long kept from putrifying; and are rather heightened in their spirits, by being buried in it: but, above all, how safely doth it keep our bodies for the Resurrection! We are here but laid up for custody. Balms, and sere-cloths, and leads cannot do so much, as this lap of our common Mother: when all these are dissolved into her dust, as being unable to keep themselves from corruption, she receives and restores her charge. I can no more withhold my body from the earth, than the earth can withhold it from my Maker.

O God, this is thy cabinet or shrine, wherein thou pleasest to lay up the precious relics of thy dear Saints, until the Jubilee of Glory: with what confidence should I commit myself to this sure reposition, while I know thy word just, thy power infinite!

IX. *On the sight of gold melted.*

THIS gold is both the fairest and most solid of all metals; yet is the soonest melted with the fire: others, as they are coarser, so more churlish, and hard to be wrought upon by a dissolution.

Thus, a sound and good heart is most easily melted into sorrow and fear, by the sense of God's judgments; whereas, the carnal mind is stubborn and remorseless. All metals are but earth; yet some are of finer temper than others: all hearts are of flesh; yet some are, through the power of grace, more capable of spiritual apprehensions.

O God, we are such, as thou wilt be pleased to make us. Give me a heart, that may be sound for the truth of grace, and melting at the terrors of thy Law; I can be for no other than thy sanctuary on earth, or thy treasury of heaven.

X. *On the sight of a pitcher carried.*

THUS, those, that are great and weak, are carried by the ears, up and down, of flatterers and parasites: thus, ignorant and simple hearers are carried, by false and miszealous teachers. Yet, to be carried by both ears is more safe, than to be carried by one. It argues an empty pitcher, to be carried by one alone. Such are they, that, upon the hearing of one part, rashly pass their sentence, whether of acquittal or censure. In all disquisitions of hidden truths, a wise man will be led by the ears,

VIII. *Ad conspectum sepulchri effossi.*

Terra, uti magnus rerum heluo, ita et fidissimus earundem custos et conservator meritò audit: in cujus visceribus liquores, sed et carnes quædam, diu à putredine vindicantur; inibique reconditorum spiritus magis exaltari solent et educi fortiores: præcipuè verò, quàm tutò servat corpora hæc nostra in illum Resurrectionis diem! Custodiendi, nempe, nos istic reponimur. Balsami, cerata lintea, capsulæ plumbeæ non ita fideliter hoc præstant, ac communis iste Matris sinus: ubi omnia hæc in suum pulverem reciderint, quippe quæ non possunt semet à sui dissolutione liberare, illa recipit restituitque chara hæc pignora. Neque magis potero ipse corpusculum hoc meum à terrâ detinere, quàm terra illud detinere potest à manu Creatoris.

O Deus, hæc arcula tua est scriniumve sacrum, in quo preciosas Sanctorum tuorum reliquias, usque ad ultimum Gloriæ Jubilæum, servari voluisti: quàm me fidenter commendare ausim tutissimæ huic repositioni, qui certò norim, et verbum tuum esse justum, et potentiam infinitam!

IX. *Ad conspectum auri liquati.*

Aurum hoc uti pulcherrimum est metallorum omnium ita et solidissimum; quod tamen facillimè omnium igne liquefieri solet: alia, ut viliora, sic tenaciora, quasique morosiora sunt, et quæ dissolutioni cedant ægriùs.

Ita, purum probèque dispositum pectus, sensu judiciorum Divinorum, tantò citiùs in pium dolorem timoremque resolvitur; ubi, carnalis animus obstinatè firmus est, salutarisque pœnitentiæ haud parùm incapax. Quid nisi terra est quodcunque demum metallum; est tamen aliud alio nobilius: cor omne caro est; hoc tamen illo, virtute inoperantis gratiæ, impressionis spiritualis capacius.

O Deus, tales nos sumus, quales tu facere voluisti. Da mihi cor, obsecro, quoad veritatem gratiæ syncerum solidumque, terroribus verò Legis tuæ haud difficulter fusile; ita, obrysi metalli instar aptus ero, et sanctuario tuo in terris, et gazophylacio in cœlis.

X. *Ad conspectum amphoræ circumgestatæ.*

Qui loco potentes sunt, parùm valentes judicio, facilè hàc illàc, ab adulatoribus et parasitis, hoc planè modo, auribus gestari solent: ita, ignari simplicesque auditores, à falsis et malè-zelosis doctoribus miserè circumvehuntur. At sanè, utrâque aure, quàm unâ portari tutius est. Vacuam planè ollam arguit, unâ ferri aure. Ejusmodi sunt præproperi illi judices, qui, parte unâ auditâ, sententiam, sive absolutionis sive damnationis, temerè ferre non dubitant. In omni veritatis abstrusæ disquisitione, vir sapiens duci auribus, non gestari sustinet;

not carried; that implies a violence of passion, over-swaying judgment: but, in matter of civil occurrence and unconcerning rumour, it is good to use the ear, not to trust to it.

XI. *On the sight of a tree full blossomed.*

HERE is a tree overlaid with blossoms. It is not possible, that all these should prosper: one of them must needs rob the other of moisture and growth.

I do not love to see an infancy overhopeful: in these pregnant beginnings, one faculty starves another; and, at last, leaves the mind sapless and barren. As, therefore, we are wont to pull off some of the too-frequent blossoms, that the rest may thrive; so, it is good wisdom, to moderate the early excess of the parts or progress of over-forward childhood.

Neither is it otherwise in our Christian profession. A sudden and lavish ostentation of grace may fill the eye with wonder, and the mouth with talk; but will not, at the last, fill the lap with fruit. Let me not promise too much, nor raise too high expectations of my undertakings. I would rather men should complain of my small hopes, than of my short performances.

XII. *On the report of a man suddenly struck dead, in his sin.*

I CANNOT but magnify the justice of God; but, withal, I must praise his mercy. It were woe with any of us all, if God should take us at advantages. Alas! which of us hath not committed sins, worthy of a present revenge? Had we been also surprised in those acts, where had we been?

O God, it is more than thou owest us, that thou hast waited for our repentance: it is no more than thou owest us, that thou plaguest our offences. *The wages of sin is death;* and it is but justice, to pay due wages. Blessed be thy justice, that hast made others examples to me: blessed be thy mercy, that hast not made me an example unto others.

XIII. *On the view of the heaven and the earth.*

WHAT a strange contrariety is here! The heaven is in continual motion; and yet, there is the only place of rest: the earth ever stands still; and yet, here is nothing but unrest and unquietness. Surely, the end of that heavenly motion is for the benefit of the earth; and the end of all these earthly turmoils is our reposal in heaven. Those, that have imagined the earth to turn about and the heavens to stand still, have

nimirum hoc violentum quendam passionis impetum arguit, quo recta ratio à suâ sede disturbatur: in rebus, verò, civilibus ac communi famâ, uti auribus licet, certè fidere auribus parùm expedit.

XI. *Ad conspectum arboris nimiùm efflorescentis.*

Ecce istìc arborem flosculis nimio quàm onustam. Fieri non potest, ut flores hi omnes adolescant, et spem fructûs edant: unus alterum et humore spoliat et incremento.

Non equidem nimis mihi gestit animus videre infantiam plus æquo feracem: in præcocibus hisce initiis, una facultas detrahit alteri; tandemque, animum succi expertem sterilemque prorsùs relinquit. Ut, ergo, in more nobis est quosdam ex superfluis hisce ac nimiùm numerosis floribus avellere, ut eo magis crescant reliqui; ita, non minimæ prudentiæ est, moderari primos hosce præmaturæ pueritiæ excessus.

Neque aliter profectò se habet in re professionis Christianæ. Subita ac prodiga gratiæ ostentatio facilè implere potest et oculos vanâ admiratione, et os futili elogio; vix unquam sero fructu gremium, tandem, impletura. Quod ad me; stet mihi, neque nimium promittere, neque majorem quàm par est de me expectationem aliorum ciere. Malo de me conquerantur homines quòd minus pollicear, quàm quòd parum præstem.

XII. *De quodam subitâ morte, in actu peccàti, abrepto.*

Non possum non Dei justitiam summâ laude prosequi; ita, tamen, ut non minùs interea laudem ejus misericordiam. Miserrimè nobis cederet, si Deus omnem de nobis vindictæ ansam arriperet. Væ mihi! quis nostrûm non æquè commisit peccata, præsentaneâ ultione dignissima? Si in malorum illorum actuum flagrantiâ subitò nos surripuisset vindex Deus, ubi fuissemus?

O Deus, plus est quàm nobis misellis debes, quòd pœnitentiam nostram usque expectasti: non minus est quàm nobis debes, quòd peccata nostra graviter ulcisceris. *Stipendium peccati mors est;* stipendium verò merenti rependere, justitiæ est. Benedicta sit semper justitia tua, qui mihi feceris alios justæ severitatis exempla: benedicta sit misericordia tua, qui me aliis exemplum propinare gratiosissimè distuleris.

XIII. *Ad conspectum cœli et terræ.*

O stupendam contrarietatem! Perpetuò movetur cœlum; et tamen, solus est quieti locus: terra è contrà semper quiescit; et tamen, nihil ibi est præter molestas agitationes, motus irrequietos. Certè, finis illius cœlestis circumvolutionis unicum est terræ beneficium; terrenarum verò istarum concitationum constantisque vexationis finis unicus est quies in cœlis. Ii, qui imaginati sunt terram circumvolvi cœlumque immotum con-

yet supposed, that we may stand or sit still on that whirling globe of earth: how much more may we be persuaded of our perfect rest, above those moving spheres!

It matters not, O God, how I am vexed here below, a while; if, ere long, I may repose with thee above, for ever.

XIV. *On occasion of a red-breast coming into his chamber, and singing.*

PRETTY bird, how cheerfully dost thou sit and sing; and yet knowest not where thou art, nor where thou shalt make thy next meal, and at night must shroud thyself in a bush for lodging! What a shame is it for me, that see before me so liberal provisions of my God, and find myself set warm under my own roof; yet am ready to droop under a distrustful and unthankful dulness! Had I so little certainty of my harbour and purveyance, how heartless should I be, how careful! how little list should I have, to make music to thee or myself! Surely, thou camest not hither without a Providence. God sent thee, not so much to delight, as to shame me; but all in a conviction of my sullen unbelief, who, under more apparent means, am less cheerful and confident. Reason and faith have not done so much in me, as in thee mere instinct of nature. Want of foresight makes thee more merry, if not more happy, here, than the foresight of better things maketh me.

O God, thy Providence is not impaired by those powers, thou hast given me, above these brute things: let not my greater helps hinder me, from a holy security and comfortable reliance upon thee.

XV. *On occasion of a spider in his window.*

THERE is no vice in man, whereof there is not some analogy in the brute creatures. As amongst us men, there are thieves by land, and pirates by sea, that live by spoil and blood: so is there in every kind amongst them variety of natural sharkers; the hawk, in the air; the pike, in the river; the whale, in the sea; the lion, and tiger, and wolf, in the desert; the wasp, in the hive; the spider, in our window.

Amongst the rest, see how cunningly this little Arabian hath spread out his tent for a prey; how heedfully he watches for a passenger. So soon as ever he hears the noise of a fly afar off, how he hastens to his door! and if that silly heedless traveller do but touch upon the verge of that unsuspected

sistere, supposuerunt hoc tamen fieri, ut nobis in hoc circumquaque rapto terræ globo quietis sive stare sive sedere interim liceret: quantò magis suaderi nobis potest, perfectam beatis omnibus requiem, super mobiles hasce sphæras repositam esse!

Parùm refert, ô Deus, quibus me, breviculo hoc spatio, curarum motibus agi contigerit; dummodò, certum mihi sit, non multo post tempore, æternam tecum in cœlis requiem indubiò reponi.

XIV. *Ad conspectum erithaci cubiculum suum intrantis, canentisque.*

Bella avicula, quàm tu alacris istìc sedes et cantillas; et tamen nescis aut ubi sis, aut unde tibi cœnam comparare possis, aut in quo demum arbusculo tibi licebit postmodò pernoctari! Quàm me jam pudet mei, qui, ubi tam largam mihi alimoniam munificâ Dei manu parari videam, meque sentiam ædibus hisce meis tutò ac commodè insidentem; tristi tamen quâdam et ingratâ diffidentiâ languescere videor! Ego verò si æquè incertus essem aut domicilii aut alimenti, quàm mœstus essem, quàm solicitus! quantilla mihi lubido foret, aut tibi cantandi aut mihi ipsi! Certè, non sine Providentiâ quâdam venisti tu huc. Misit nempe te huc Deus, non tam ut delectares mihi animum, quàm ut me pudore justo suffunderes; convinceresque tetricæ cujusdam infidelitatis, qui, cum media palam abundè suppetant, minùs tamen aut gestiam aut confidam. Ratio ac fides non tantum apud me valuerunt, quantum merus apud te naturæ instinctus. Ipsa hæc futuri nescientia hilariorem te præstat fœlicioremque, quàm me certa conditionis melioris præscientia.

O Deus, non minuitur Providentia tua donis illis, quæ mihi, super bruta hæc animalia, benignus indulsisti: noli sinere, ut majora hæc adminicula impedimento mihi sint, quò minùs et sanctè securus sim et fidenter alacris.

XV. *Ad conspectum araneæ in fenestra latitantis.*

Nullum in homine vitium est, cujus imago quædam et analogia in brutis animalibus reperiri non possit. Ut inter nos, suos habet terra latrones, mare piratas, qui spoliis vivunt ac sanguine: ita et nullum non genus animalium nativos quosdam habet speciei suæ grassatores; in aere, accipiter est; lupus piscis, in fluvio; in oceano, cete; leo, tigris, lupus, in deserto; in apum præsepibus, vespæ; araneæ, in fenestris.

Inter reliqua, vide mihi ut pusillus iste Arabs subdolè tentorium suum extendit prædæque inhiat; quàm studiosè insidiatur viatori. Quam primùm audit à longè vel minimum advolantis muscæ sonitum, quàm festinat illico ad antri sui ostiolum, curiosè speculaturus! quòd si incautus ille hospes vel extimum tenuissimæ telæ ambitum semel tetigerit, quàm subitò

walk, how suddenly doth he seize upon the miserable booty; and, after some strife, binding him fast with those subtle cords, drags the helpless captive after him into his cave!

What is this, but an emblem of those spiritual freebooters, that lie in wait for our souls? They are the spiders; we, the flies: they have spread their nets of sin; if we be once caught, they bind us fast, and hale us into hell.

O Lord, deliver thou my soul from their crafty ambushes: their poison is greater; their webs both more strong and more insensibly woven. Either teach me to avoid temptation; or make me to break through it, by repentance: oh, let me not be a prey to those fiends, that lie in wait for my destruction.

XVI. *On the sight of a rain, in the sunshine.*

Such is my best condition in this life. If the sun of God's countenance shine upon me, I may well be content to be wet with some rain of affliction. How oft have I seen the heaven overcast with clouds and tempest; no sun appearing to comfort me! yet even those gloomy and stormy seasons have I rid out patiently, only with the help of the common light of the day: at last, those beams have broken forth happily, and cheered my soul. It is well for my ordinary state, if, through the mists of mine own dulness and Satan's temptations, I can descry some glimpse of heavenly comfort: let me never hope, while I am in this vale, to see the clear face of that sun, without a shower. Such happiness is reserved for above: that upper region of glory is free from these doubtful and miserable vicissitudes.

There, O God, we shall see as we are seen. *Light is sown for the righteous, and joy for the upright in heart.*

XVII. *On the length of the way.*

How far off is yonder great mountain! My very eye is weary with the foresight of so great a distance; yet time and patience shall overcome it: this night we shall hope to lodge beyond it. Some things are more tedious in their expectation, than in their performance. The comfort is, that every step I take sets me nearer to my end: when I once come there, I shall both forget how long it now seems, and please myself to look back upon the way that I have measured.

It is thus in our passage to heaven. My weak nature is ready to faint, under the very conceit of the length and difficulty of this journey: my eye doth not more guide than

accurrit insilitque miserrimo captivo; et, post quandam luctæ speciem, arctè illum vinciens subtilioribus suis funiculis, misellam post se prædam in antrum trahit!

Quid hoc aliud est, nisi emblema latronum illorum spiritualium, qui perpetuas animis nostris insidias struunt? Illi araneæ sunt; nos, muscæ: illi peccatorum retia nobis capiendis quàm latissimè extenderunt; in quæ ubi semel inciderimus, ligamur illico, et in gehennam rapimur. Libera animam meam, ô Deus, ab astutis secretisque istorum machinationibus: nempe et horum venenum longè magis mortiferum est; et telæ robustiores textæque subtiliùs. Aut doce me, quæso, tentationem evadere; aut, vi pœnitentiæ, laqueos iniquitatum perrumpere: faxisque, ne prædæ sim malis illis spiritibus, qui animæ meæ perniciem insidiosè moliuntur.

XVI. *Ad conspectum pluviæ, sole interim splendente.*

Talis est vel optima vitæ hujus conditio. Si sol divini vultûs mihi tantillùm affulserit, non est quòd ægrè mihi fuerit afflictionum pluviis interea madefieri. Quoties vidi ego cœli faciem nubibus et tempestatibus obvolutam; nullo interim splendescente sole! tristia tamen illa et nebulosa tempora patienter evici, solo fretus communis lucis solatio: tandem verò, radii illi fœliciter emicuerunt, animamque mihi exhilarârunt. Benè mecum actum erit, si, quoad ordinarium vitæ statum, licuerit mihi, per innatæ cujusdam tristitiæ nebulas Satanæque tentationes, vel minimo cœlestis consolationis obtutu frui: non est quòd sperem, dum in hâc valle sum, claram solis faciem, absque omni sive imbre sive nubeculâ, contueri. Uni cœlo reservatur hæc tanta beatitudo: suprema illa regio gloriæ ab his dubiis miserisque vicissitudinum turbis immunis est.

Ibi, ô Deus, videbimus uti videmur ipsi. *Lux sata est justis, et rectis corde gaudium.*

XVII. *De viæ longitudine.*

Heu, quantum distat mons ille, quem à longè conspicor! Ipse mihi oculus tantæ intercapedinis merâ prævisione fatigatur; tempus tamen et patientia intervallum illud facilè superabunt: hâc nocte sperabo fore ut nos ultra fastigia illa pernoctemur. Sunt quædam quorum expectatio plus in se tædii habet, quàm executio. Illud me solatur interim, nullum posse vestigium metiri quo non accedam propiùs ad viæ terminum: quem ubi semel fuero assecutus, facilè quidem et itineris longitudinem obliviscar, et refocillabo mihi animum retrospectando in immensum hunc terræ tractum, quem ita tempestivè licuit pedibus commensurari.

Non aliter se habet in nostro cœlum versus itinere. Natura hæc, imbecillitatis suæ conscia, merâ et longitudinis et difficultatis præcogitatione languere incipit: oculus non magis ducit,

discourage me. Many steps of grace and true obedience shall bring me insensibly thither. Only, let me move, and hope: and God's good leisure shall perfect my salvation.

O Lord, give me to possess my soul with patience; and not so much to regard speed, as certainty. When I come to the top of thy holy hill, all these weary paces and deep sloughs, shall either be forgotten, or contribute to my happiness in their remembrance.

XVIII. *On the rain and waters.*

WHAT a sensible interchange there is in nature, betwixt union and division! Many vapours, rising from the sea, meet together in one cloud: that cloud falls down divided into several drops: those drops run together; and, in many rills of water, meet in the same channels: those channels run into the brook, those brooks into the rivers, those rivers into the sea. One receptacle is for all, though a large one: and all make back to their first and main original.

So it either is, or should be, with spiritual gifts. O God, thou distillest thy graces upon us, not for our reservation, but conveyance. Those manifold faculties, thou lettest fall upon several men, thou wouldest not have drenched up where they light; but wouldest have derived, through the channels of their special vocations, into the common streams of public use, for Church, or Commonwealth.—Take back, O Lord, those few drops, thou hast rained upon my soul; and return them into that great ocean of the glory of thine own bounty, from whence they had their beginning.

XIX. *On the same subject.*

MANY drops fill the channels; and many channels swell up the brooks; and many brooks raise the rivers over the banks. The brooks are not out, till the channels be empty: the rivers rise not while the small brooks are full: but, when the little rivulets have once voided themselves into the main streams, then all is overflown. Great matters arise from small beginnings: many littles make up a large bulk. Yea what is the world but a composition of atoms?

We have seen it thus in civil estates; the empairing of the commons hath oft been the raising of the great: their streams have run low, till they have been heightened by the confluence of many private inlets: many a mean channel hath been emptied to make up their inundation.

Neither is it otherwise, in my whether outward or spiritual

quàm dejicit mihi animum. Multa gratiæ et veræ obedientiæ vestigia illò me sensim perducent. Tantùm, movere mihi fas sit, et sperare: divina bonitas opportunè tandem salutem meam perficiet.

Da mihi interea, ô Deus, animum meum constanti quâdam patientiâ possidere; et non tam celeritatem respicere, quàm certitudinem. Ubi ad summitatem sancti montis tui adspiraverim, omnes hi molesti gressus viæque sive cœnosæ paludes sive ardua præcipitia, vel prorsùs oblivioni dabuntur, vel certè memoriâ sui ad fœlicitatis meæ cumulum haud parùm adjicient.

XVIII. *Ad conspectum pluviæ et aquarum.*

Quam certam ipsique sensui obnoxiam vicissitudinem constituit natura, inter unionem ac divisionem! Vapores multi, è mari exorti, in unam conveniunt nubem: decidit illa nubes in plurimas guttas divisa: concurrunt hæ guttæ illico; et, per multa stillicidia, in eundem canalem desinunt: canales illi in rivulos, rivuli in flumina, flumina in mare confluunt. Receptaculum unum, vastum illud quidem capaxque, omnia hæc suo sinu complectitur: istuc nempe velut ad primum ac originale principium refluunt ac recurrunt omnia.

Pari modo se habet, aut habere saltem debet, cum donis spiritualibus ac divinis. Tu, ô Deus, charismata super nos tua ubertim diffundis, non servanda nobis ilicet, sed aliis derivanda. Multijuges illæ facultates, quas in varium hominum genus depluere tibi placuit, non eo abs te animo dimissæ sunt ut eo ipso in loco absorberentur in quo decidunt; sed, ut per diversarum vocationum canales, in fluenta communia, universali sive Ecclesiæ sive Reipublicæ bono, deducerentur. Recipe à me, Domine, pauculas illas guttulas, quibus animam meam irrigare voluisti; faxisque redeant affatim in immensum illud gloriosæ gratiæ tuæ oceanum, unde originem sumpserunt.

XIX. *Ad eundem, rursus.*

Guttæ multæ canaliculos implent; canaliculi multi, rivulos: rivulorum multorum incursu turgescunt flumina. Haud excedere solent ripas suas rivuli, donec se evacuaverint canaliculi: neque intumescunt flumina, dum pleni sunt rivuli: sed, ubi semel fluvioli se in amnes exoneraverint, tota vallis subitâ exundatione operitur. Ex parvis initiis oriuntur magna: è multis minimis larga concrescit moles. Mundus iste, quid tandem est nisi quiddam ex atomis conflatum?

Etiam in rebus civilibus ita factum vidimus: imæ plebis diminuta supellex potentiorum opes haud parùm auxit: quibus nempe satis angusta res fuit, donec privatorum quorundam influxuum accessione crevisset: quot evacuatis canalibus debent isti tantam potentiæ inundationem!

Neque aliter se mecum habet, in quâcunque sive externâ sive

condition: O God, thou hast multiplied my drops into streams: as, out of many minutes, thou hast made up my age; so, out of many lessons, thou hast made up my competency of knowledge: thou hast drained many beneficent friends, to make me competently rich: by many holy motions, thou hast wrought me to some measure of grace. Oh, teach me wisely and moderately to enjoy thy bounty; and to reduce thy streams into thy drops, and thy drops into thy clouds: humbly and thankfully acknowledging whence and how I have all that I have, all that I am.

XX. *On occasion of the lights brought in.*

WHAT a change there is in the room, since the light came in! yea, in ourselves! All things seem to have a new form, a new life: yea, we are not the same we were. How goodly a creature is light! how pleasing, how agreeable to the spirits of man! no visible thing comes so near to the resembling of the nature of the soul; yea, of the God, that made it. As, contrarily, what an uncomfortable thing is darkness! insomuch as we punish the greatest malefactors with obscurity of dungeons; as thinking they could not be miserable enough, if they might have the privilege of beholding the light: yea, hell itself can be no more horribly described, than by outward darkness. What is darkness, but absence of light? The pleasure or the horror of light or darkness, is according to the quality and degree of the cause, whence it ariseth.

And if the light of a poor candle be so comfortable, which is nothing but a little inflamed air gathered about a moistened snuff; what is the light of the glorious sun, the great lamp of heaven! But, much more, what is the light of that infinitely-resplendent Sun of Righteousness, who gave that light to the sun, that sun to the world! And, if this partial and imperfect darkness be so doleful, which is the privation of a natural or artificial light; how unconceivable dolorous and miserable shall that be, which is caused through the utter absence of the all-glorious God, who is the Father of Lights! O Lord, how justly do we pity those wretched souls, *that sit in darkness and the shadow of death;* shut up from the light of the saving knowledge of thee, the only True God! But, how am I swallowed up with horror, to think of the fearful condition of those damned souls, that are for ever shut out from the presence of God, and adjudged to exquisite and everlasting darkness! The Egyptians were weary of themselves in their three days' darkness; yet we do not find any pain, that accompanied their

spirituali conditione: O Deus, tu guttas meas in undas multiplicâsti: ut, ex plurimis temporis momentis, ætatem meam conflasti; ita, ex multis documentis, hunc mihi quantillum cognitionis modulum complere voluisti: ex multorum amicorum beneficâ largitione, quantillas opes congessisti: multis denique Spiritûs tui sanctis motibus influxibusque, ad aliquam saltem gratiæ mensuram me suaviter perduxisti. Doce me, ô Deus, sapienter moderatèque bonitate tuâ frui; daque ut quas impertiisti mihi undas in guttas tuas reducam, guttas verò tuas in nubes: adeoque unde et quomodo quicquid habeo, quicquid sum, humili gratoque animo agnoscam.

XX. *Lucernâ introductâ.*

QUANTUM verò mutatus, ex quo lumen introiit, videtur locus iste! imò, et nos ipsi! Omnia profectò novam formam, et vitam quasi novam induisse visa sunt: neque nos ipsi iidem sumus. Quàm pulchra res lux est! quàm jucunda, quàm spiritibus humanis àpprimè congrua! nec qua rerum visibilium uspiam est, quæ ita propè accedit ad naturam animæ nostræ; imò, creatoris, Dei. Uti, è contrà, quàm tristes sunt tenebræ! adeò ut sceleratissimos quosque carcerum obscuritate punire soleamus; utpote, quos satis miseros esse posse non arbitremur, modò lucis hujusce privilegio frui liceret: sed, et ipsi damnatorum cruciatus non atrociore quopiam, quàm extimarum tenebrarum nomine, describi solent. Quid aliud sunt tenebræ, quàm mera lucis absentia? Lucis verò tenebrarumve sive jucunditas sive horror, secundum qualitatem gradumve causæ, unde ortum habet, solet æstimari.

Quòd si pauperis lucernæ igniculus, qui nihil aliud est nisi pauxillum inflammati aeris fuliginosi cujusdam lini oleaginosæ pinguedini circumfusi, ita oculos animumque afficiat; quantò magis gloriosis solis radiis, cœlestis lampadis splendore delectamur! Quantò, verò, adhuc magis supremi illius æternùmque splendentis Justitiæ Solis, qui hoc lumen soli visibili, hunc solem mundo donavit, beatificâ luce refocillamur! Et, si dubiæ hæ imperfectæque tenebræ, quæ præter luminis sive naturalis sive artificialis privationem nihil omnino sunt, tantum tristitiæ secum afferre solent; quantum horroris incutient diræ illæ tenebræ, quæ ab æternâ gloriosissimi Dei, Patris Luminum, absentiâ oriuntur! Quantâ, ô Domine, quàmque justâ miseratione prosequimur infœlices illas animas, *quæ in ignorantiæ tenebris ac umbrâ mortis securè usque sedent;* ab omni salutari tui, Veri nempe Dei, cognitione miserrimè exclusæ! Sed, quanto horrore concutior planèque consternor, ubi subit animum tremenda damnatarum illarum animarum conditio, quæ à facie divinâ perpetuò arcentur, exquisitissimis sempiternisque caliginibus adjudicatæ! Pigebat sui Egyptios etiam ob tenebras triduanas; nusquam tamen comperimus cruciatuum genus ullum,

continuing night: what shall we say to those woeful souls, in whom the sensible presence of infinite torment shall meet with the torment of the perpetual absence of God?

O thou, who art the True Light, shine ever through all the blind corners of my soul; and, from these weak glimmerings of grace, bring me to the perfect brightness of thy glory.

XXI. *On the same occasion.*

As well as we love the light, we are wont to salute it, at the first coming in, with winking or closed eyes; as not abiding to see that, without which we cannot see. All sudden changes. though to the better, have a kind of trouble attending them, By how much more excellent any object is, by so much more is our weak sense mis-affected in the first apprehending of it.

O Lord, if thou shouldest manifest thy glorious presence to us here, we should be confounded in the sight of it: how wisely, how mercifully hast thou reserved that for our glorified estate; where no infirmity shall dazzle our eyes; where perfect righteousness shall give us perfect boldness both of sight and fruition!

XXII. *On the blowing of the fire.*

We beat back the flame; not with a purpose to suppress it, but to raise it higher, and to diffuse it more.

Those afflictions and repulses, which seem to be discouragements, are indeed the merciful incitements of grace. If God did mean judgment to my soul, he would either withdraw the fuel, or pour water upon the fire, or suffer it to languish for want of new motions: but now, that he continues to me the means and opportunities and desires of good, I shall misconstrue the intentions of my God, if I shall think his crosses sent rather to damp than to quicken his Spirit in me.

O God, if thy bellows did not sometimes thus breathe upon me, in spiritual repercussions; I should have just cause to suspect my estate: those few weak gleeds of grace, that are in me, might soon go out, if they were not thus refreshed: still blow upon them, till they kindle; still kindle them, till they flame up to thee.

XXIII. *On the barking of a dog.*

What have I done to this dog, that he follows me with this

longam illam noctem fuisse comitatum : quid igitur dicemus de illis deploratissimis animabus, in quibus infinitorum torminum sensus cum summo perpetuæ Dei absentiæ cruciatu, horrendo planè modo, conjungetur ?

O tu, qui solus es Vera Lux, diffunde radios tuos per cæcas omnes animæ meæ latebras anfractusque ; meque, per debiles quasdam gratiæ emicationes, ad perfectum gloriæ tuæ splendorem perducito.

XXI. *De eâdem.*

Quantumlibet lucem diligamus, solemus tamen eam, primo ingressu, conniventibus clausisque oculis salutare ; non sustinentes videre illud, sine quo nihil videmus. Subitæ mutationes, tametsi fortè in melius, aliquid secum semper, molestiæ ferre solent. Quanto spectaculum aliquod excellentius est et splendidius, tanto magis debilis oculorum nostrorum acies primo illius obtutu offenditur.

O Domine, si tu gloriosam præsentiam tuam nobis istìc agentibus patefaceres, hujus nos in uitu prorsùs confunderemur illico : quàm sapienter, quàm gratiosè istoc reservasti glorificationis nostræ conditioni ; ubi nulla oculos nostros debilitabit infirmitas, aut perstringet gloria ; ubi absoluta justitia perfectam nobis et visionis et fruitionis fiduciam æternùm præstabit !

XXII. *Accenso igne.*

Repercutimus flammam ; non supprimendi quidem animo, sed excitandi potiùs, augendique.

Afflictiones illæ repulsæquè, quæ dejicere nobis animum aut planè demere videntur, revera nihil aliud sunt quàm benignissima gratiæ incitamenta. Si judicii vindictam animæ meæ intenderet Deus, aut fomitem (gratiæ motus) mihi subduceret, aut frigidum igni suffunderet, aut bonorum subinde motuum defectu flammam languere sineret et interire : nunc verò, ubi adminicula opportunitatesque boni et desideria sancta mihi continuò subministrare voluerit, malè profectò mentem Dei mei interpretabor, si afflictiones hasce, ad restinguendum potiùs quàm ad accendendum vivificandumque Spiritum in me suum, immissas judicavero.

O Deus, nisi folles tui aliquando in me sufflando vehementiùs, spirituali quâdam repercussione, animam mihi exercerent ; conditionem equidem meam meritò suspectam haberem : pauculæ illæ minimæque gratiæ scintillæ, quæ animæ meæ superstites sunt, citò extinctæ forent, nisi hoc modo excitarentur : perge, ô Domine, adflare illis fortiter, donec accendantur ; accendere, donec ad te usque exardescant, flammasque in cœlum emittant.

XXIII. *Ad canis latratum.*

Quid verò feci ego cani huic, qui me sic irato clamore prose-

angry clamour? Had I rated him, or shaken my staff, or stooped down for a stone, I had justly drawn on this noise, this snarling importunity.

But, why do I wonder to find this unquiet disposition in a brute creature, when it is no news with the reasonable? Have I not seen innocence and merit bayed at, by the quarrelsome and envious vulgar, without any provocation, save of good offices? Have I not felt, more than their tongue, their teeth upon my heels; when I know I have deserved nothing, but fawning on? Where is my grace, or spirits, if I have not learned to contemn both?

O God, let me rather die, than willingly incur thy displeasure; yea, than justly offend thy godly-wise, judicious, conscionable servants: but if humour, or faction, or causeless prejudice fall upon me, for my faithful service to thee; let these bawling curs tire themselves, and tear their throats, with loud and false censures: I go on, in a silent constancy; and, if my ear be beaten, yet my heart shall be free.

XXIV. *On sight of a cock-fight.*

How fell these creatures out? Whence grew this so bloody combat? Here was neither old grudge, nor present injury. What then is the quarrel? Surely, nothing, but that which should rather unite and reconcile them; one common nature: they are both of one feather. I do not see either of them fly upon creatures of different kinds; but, while they have peace with all others, they are at war with themselves: the very sight of each other was sufficient provocation. If this be the offence, why doth not each of them fall out with himself; since he hates and revenges in another, the being of that same which himself is?

Since man's sin brought debate into the world, nature is become a great quarreller. The seeds of discord were scattered, in every furrow of the creation; and came up in a numberless variety of antipathies: whereof yet none is more odious and deplorable, than those which are betwixt creatures of the same kind. What is this, but an image of that woeful hostility, which is exercised betwixt us, reasonables; who are conjoined in one common humanity, if not religion? We fight with and destroy each other, more than those creatures that want reason to temper their passions. No beast is so cruel to man, as himself: where one man is slain by a beast, ten thousand are slain by man. What is that war, which we study and practise, but

quitur? Si illum increpuissem acriùs, baculumve ei intentassem, aut pronus quæsissem lapidem quo illum impeterem, meritò irritâssem hunc strepitum, hosque nimis importunos latratus.

At verò, quìd mirum videri debet in brutis hanc inquietam dispositionem comperire, cùm hoc idem in hominibus ratione præditis usu veniat? Annon vidi ego sæpiùs innocentiam, ac benè-merita, rixosi invidique vulgi allatrationibus, absque omni, nisi bonorum forsan officiorum provocatione, exceptam? Annon sensi ego, non linguas modò, sed et dentes istorum nihil suspicantis mei calcibus infixos; qui nihil interea, nisi meras blanditias meruerim? Ubi aut virtus mea, aut animus, si non didicerim utrumque horum contemnere?

Moriar ego, ô Deus, moriar priùs, quàm volens quicquam patravero, quod iram tuam, justamque piorum cordatorumque servorum tuorum offensam proritet mereaturque: quòd si malus cujusquam genius, factiove, aut injustum fortè præjudicium, fidelitatis erga te meæ causâ, impetierit; fatigent sibi, quantum volunt, disrumpantque guttura clamosi hi canes, falsis canorisque censuris: silenti quâdam constantiâ, pergam ego interim; et, si aures mihi vapulent, cor sanè liberum ac securum conquiescet.

XXIV. *Visâ ἀλεκτρυομαχία sive gallorum pugnâ.*

Quid verò est quòd ita dissident isti alites? Unde tam cruenta hæc pugna? Certè nec vetus aliqua simultas, nec recens injuria in causâ est. Quorsum ergo hæ tam diræ lites? Nihil, profectò, hos inter se committit, nisi quod unire potiùs ac conciliare deberet; communis natura: eadem utrique species est. Non video horum alterutrum in diversi generis volucres involantem; sed, ubi cum aliis omnibus pacem alunt, bellum secum ipsi gerunt: nec aliâ quidem provocatione, quam mutuo sui conspectu irritantur. Quòd si hoc in culpâ sit, cur non unusquisque secum ipse dissidet; dum id quod ipse est, in alio odit ac ulciscitur?

Ex quo hominis peccatum litem in mundum intulit, plena est natura rixarum dissidiorumque. Nullus est in totâ creatione sulcus, in quem non jacta sunt discordiæ semina; inque vix finitam antipathiarum varietatem excreverint: quarum certè nulla vel odiosior est vel deploratior, quàm quæ inter creaturas ejusdam generis intercedere solet. Quid verò hoc aliud est, nisi imago tristis illius inimicitiæ, quæ inter nos rationis compotes, non communi modo humanitatis, sed et religionis etiam vinculo conjunctos, passim exercetur? Pugnamus, illicet, nobiscum nosque perdimus mutuò, plus quàm animalia illa, quæ ratione domandis moderandisve affectibus destituuntur. Nec quæ bellua ita homini crudelis est, ac homo ipse: ubi unus ferarum sive dente sive ungue perit, multæ myriades humanâ manu trucidantur. Quid est bellum illud, quod tam studiosè

the art of killing? Whatever Turks and Pagans may do, O Lord, how long shall this brutish fury arm Christians against each other? While even Devils are not at enmity with themselves, but accord in wickedness; why do we men so mortally oppose each other in good?

O thou, that art the God of Peace, compose the unquiet hearts of men to a happy and universal concord; and, at last, refresh our souls with the multitude of peace.

XXV. *On his lying down to rest.*

What a circle there is of human actions and events! We are never without some change; and yet that change is without any great variety. We sleep, and wake; and wake, and sleep; and eat, and evacuate; labour, in a continual interchange: yet hath the infinite wisdom of God so ordered it, that we are not weary of these perpetual iterations; but with no less appetite enter into our daily courses, than if we should pass them but once in our life. When I am weary of my day's labour, how willingly do I undress myself, and betake myself to my bed! and ere morning, when I have wearied my restless bed, how glad am I to rise and renew my labour!

Why am I not more desirous to be unclothed of this body, that I may be clothed-upon with immortality? What is this, but my closest garment; which when it is once put off, my soul is at liberty and ease? Many a time have I lain down here in desire of rest; and, after some tedious changing of sides, have risen sleepless, disappointed, languishing. In my last uncasing, my body shall not fail of repose, nor my soul of joy; and, in my rising up, neither of them shall fail of glory.

What hinders me, O God, but my infidelity, from longing for this happy dissolution? The world hath misery and toil enough, and heaven hath more than enough blessedness, to perfect my desires of that my last and glorious change. I believe Lord, help my unbelief.

XXVI. *On the kindling of a charcoal fire.*

There are not many creatures, but do naturally affect to diffuse and enlarge themselves. Fire and water will neither of them rest contented with their own bounds. Those little sparks, that I see in those coals, how they spread, and enkindle their next brands!

It is thus morally, both in good and evil: either of them dilates itself to their neighbourhood: but especially this is so much more apparent in evil, by how much we are more apt to take it. Let but some spark of heretical opinion be let fall

gerimus, nisi ars occidendi? Quicquid Turcæ ac Pagani faciant, quousque, ô Deus, brutus iste furor armabit contra se invicem gentes Christianas? Etiam diabolis quidem ipsis inter se parùm disconvenit; concordes sunt illi in malo, nimis; unde fit, quòd nos homines ita nobismet in bono læthaliter adversemur?

O tu, qui solus es Pacis Deus, ita compone inquieta hominum pectora, ut in communi quâdam concordiâ fœliciter conspirent; recrea, tandem, animas nostras multitudine pacis.

XXV. *Ad decubitum suum.*

Qualis est iste rerum humanarum eventuumque circulus! Nunquam sanè mutatione quâdam vacat conditio nostra; nec tamen in illâ mutatione nimia cernitur varietas. Dormimus, evigilamus; evigilamus, dormimus denuò; edimus, evacuamur; laboramus, non sine continuâ quâdam vicissitudine: ita tamen omnia disposuit ordinavitque infinita Dei sapientia, ut perpetuis hisce iterationibus parùm fatigemur; nec minùs alacres ingeramus nos quotidianis istis exercitationibus, quàm si semel in vitâ nobis forent transigendæ. Diurnis laboribus benè-fessus, quàm libenter exuo me, lectumque subeo! ante lucis dein matutinæ exortum, inquietioris lecti pertæsus, quanto libentiùs exurgo laboremque repeto!

Quidni ego magis appetam exuere corpusculum hoc, ut immortalitate super-induar? Quid enim aliud hoc est, nisi vestis intima; quam ubi semel deposuero, libertate fruitur anima mea ac quiete? Quoties decubui ego plenus spe nocturni refrigerii; tandem verò, post crebrarum volutationum tædia laterumque frustra commutatorum situs varios, surrexi insomnis, tristis, languidus. Ubi me extremùm hoc tandem exuero, non potest vel corpus hoc meum quiete, vel anima gaudio destitui; neutrum verò, ubi surrexero, gloriâ.

Quid est, ô Deus, præter innatam quandam infidelitatem, quod me impedit ab hujus tam fœlicis dissolutionis ambitu? Sat habet mundus miseriæ ac molestiæ, satis superque habet cœlum beatitudinis, ad ciendum perficiendumque hujus ultimæ gloriosissimæque mutationis desiderium. *Credo Domine, adjuva incredulitatem meam.*

XXVI. *Visis carbonibus ignitus.*

Vix quæ creaturarum omnium est, quæ naturali quodam instinctu non appetat diffundere se ac dilatare. Nec ignis nec aqua suis se terminis contineri sinit. Scintillulæ illæ, quæ in carbonibus istis cernuntur, quàm se exerunt, accenduntque proximas faces!

Identidem se habet moraliter, cùm in malo tum etiam in bono: utrunque horum se dilatat facilè, proximosque afficit: quod tamen in malo tanto magis conspicuum est, quanto nos illi fovendo prosequendo aptiores sumus. Ubi minima hæreticæ opinionis

upon some unstable, proud, busy spirit, it catcheth instantly, and fires the next capable subject: they two have easily inflamed a third; and now, the more society, the more speed and advantage of a public combustion. When we see the Church on a flame, it is too late to complain of the flint and steel. It is the holy wisdom of superiors, to prevent the dangerous attritions of stubborn and wrangling spirits; or to quench their first sparks, in the tinder. But why should not grace, and truth, be as successful in dilating itself, to the gaining of many hearts? Certainly, these are in themselves more winning, if our corruption had not made us indisposed to good.

O God, out of a holy envy and emulation at the speed of evil, I shall labour to enkindle others with these heavenly flames: it shall not be my fault, if they spread not.

XXVII. *On the sight of a humble and patient beggar.*

See what need can do! This man, who in so lowly a fashion croucheth to that passenger, hath in all likelihood as good a stomach, as he, to whom he thus abaseth himself; and, if their conditions were but altered, would look as high, and speak as big to him, whom he now answers with a plausible and dejected reverence.

It is thus betwixt God and us. He sees the way to tame us, is to hold us short of these earthly contentments. Even the savagest beasts are made quiet and docible, with want of food and rest.

O God, thou only knowest what I would do, if I had health, ease, abundance: do thou, in thy wisdom and mercy, so proportion thy gifts and restraints, as thou knowest best for my soul. If I be not humbled enough, let we want; and so order all my estate, that I may want any thing, save thyself.

XXVIII. *On the sight of a crow pulling off wool from the back of a sheep.*

How well these creatures know, whom they may be bold with! That crow durst not do this to a wolf or a mastiff. The known simplicity of this innocent beast gives advantage to this presumption.

Meekness of spirit commonly draws on injuries. The cruelty of ill natures usually seeks out those, not who deserve worst, but who will bear most. Patience and mildness of spirit is ill bestowed, where it exposes a man to wrong and insultation. Sheepish dispositions are best to others, worst to themselves.

scintillula in animum instabilem, superbum, irrequietum inciderit, afficit illum illico, proximumque capax subjectum statim accendit: illi duo tertium subinde inflammant; jam verò, quanto major societas, tanto major publicæ combustionis et celeritas et intentio. Ubi Ecclesiam Dei videmus flammis miserè correptam, serò quidem de ferro et silice conquerimur. Illud superiorum sanctæ prudentiæ fuerit, periculosam pervicacium contentiosorumque animorum attritionem tempestivè præpedire; et primas quasque scintillulas, ubi exciderint, confestim extinguere. Quorsum verò non æquè prævaleat gratia, ac veritas, suos propagando terminos, ad plurimorum utilitatem ac salutem? Certè quidem, plus habent istæ in se illicii, nisi depravatio nostra nos nimis incapaces boni præstitisset.

O Deus, dum sacrâ quâdam invidiâ percitus æmulabor fœlicem nimis mali successum, dabo quantum potero operam, ut alii cœlestibus hisce flammis accendantur: quæ, si non latissimè se diffuderint, haud meâ profectò culpâ acciderit.

XXVII. *Conspecto mendico humili ac mansueto.*

Ecce modò quantum possit egestas! Homo iste, qui tam humiliter viatori illi prosternitur, sine dubio non minus habet stomachi, quàm is, cui adeo supplex provolvitur; et, si mutarentur fortè utriusque conditiones, æquè superciliosè despiceret, æquè fastidiosè alloqueretur hunc, quem nunc blandâ quâdam projectâque reverentiâ excipit.

Ita planè se habet inter Deum et nos. Videt ille nempe nullâ nos posse ratione meliùs domari, quàm rerum externarum penuriâ. Etiam bestiæ vel maximè efferæ, carentiâ tamen cibi ac quietis, cicures redduntur et capaces disciplinæ.

Tu solus nôsti, ô Deus, quid ego facerem, si modò mihi valetudo, requies, rerumque omnium copia suppeteret: tu ergò, pro infinitâ sapientiâ et misericordiâ tuâ, ita justâ quâdam proportione tuas sive largitiones sive coerciones dispensa, prout animæ meæ maximè expedire noveris. Si non adhuc humilier satis, indigeam ulteriùs; et ita dispone res meas, ut nisi te uno, omnibus destituar.

XXVIII. *Conspectâ cornice veleris ovini lanam vellicante.*

Quam probè norunt hæ creaturæ, quibuscum tutò ac fidenter agere liceat! Non audet cornix ista hoc facere lupo aut cani. Nota bestiæ hujusce insontis simplicitas ansam porrigit huic audaciæ.

Mitis quædam animi dispositio facilè proritat injurias. Pravorum ingeniorum crudelitas illos vulgò seligit, non qui pessimè merentur, sed qui plurimum pati volunt. Malè locantur patientia et mansuetudo animi, ubi contumeliæ insultationique hominem exponit. Ovinæ dispositiones optimæ aliis, sibi verò

I could be willing to take injuries; but I will not be guilty, of provoking them by lenity: for harmlessness, let me go for a sheep; but, whosoever will be tearing my fleece, let him look to himself.

XXIX. *On the sight of two snails.*

THERE is much variety, even in creatures of the same kind. See there two snails. One hath a house; the other wants it: yet both are snails; and it is a question whether case is the better. That, which hath a house, hath more shelter; but that, which wants it, hath more freedom. The privilege of that cover is but a burthen: you see if it have but a stone to climb over, with what stress it draws up that beneficial load; and, if the passage prove strait, finds no entrance. Whereas the empty snail makes no difference of way.

Surely, it is always an ease, and sometimes a happiness, to have nothing. No man is so worthy of envy, as he, that can be cheerful in want.

XXX. *On the hearing of the street-cries in London.*

WHAT a noise do these poor souls make, in proclaiming their commodities! Each tells what he hath, and would have all hearers take notice of it: and yet, God wot, it is but poor stuff that they set out with so much ostentation. I do not hear any of the rich merchants talk of what bags he hath in his chests, or what treasures of rich wares in his storehouse: every man rather desires to hide his wealth; and, when he is urged, is ready to dissemble his ability.

No otherwise is it in the true spiritual riches: he, that is full of grace and good works, affects not to make shew of it to the world; but rests sweetly, in the secret testimony of a good conscience, and the silent applause of God's Spirit witnessing with his own; while, contrarily, the venditation of our own worth or parts, or merits, argues a miserable indigence in them all.

O God, if the confessing of thine own gifts may glorify thee, my modesty shall not be guilty of a niggardly unthankfulness; but, for ought that concerns myself, I cannot be too secret. Let me so hide myself, that I may not wrong thee; and wisely distinguish, betwixt thy praise and my own.

XXXI. *On the flies gathering to a galled horse.*

How these flies swarm to the galled part of this poor beast;

longè pessimæ sunt. Non illibenter equidem ferrem injurias; nollem tamen committere, ut eas lenitate meâ provocem: quod ad innocentiam, ovis sim videarve; at, si quis vellus meum dilaniare ac deglubere satagit, caveat is sibi.

XXIX. *Visis duobus limacibus.*

Quanta quàmque varia est, inter creaturas ejusdem speciei, diversitas! Ecce istìc duos limaces. Alter domum suam gestat; domo caret alter: limaces tamen ambo; nec utrius melior fit conditio facilè constat. Qui domum habet, plus habet tutelæ; qui domo caret, plus habet libertatis. Privilegium tecti illius cum magno onere conjunctum est: objiciatur modò lapis quispiam domiportæ illi necessariò adscendendus, quantâ cum difficultate beneficium illud pondus secum trahit onustus ille viator! quòd si paulò angustior fuerit via, nullus ingressui locus conceditur. Ubi ille alter, vacuus, nulla sentit viarum discrimina.

Certè, semper quietus, aliquando et fœlix est, cui nihil suppetit. Nemo hominum invidendus est adeò, ac ille, qui in egestate potest esse alacris.

XXX. *Auditis vendacium quorundam clamoribus platearibus.*

Quanto cum strepitu, proclamant hi pauperculi merces suas! Narrat unusquisque quid sibi sit, vultque hoc auditoribus omnibus palam innotescat: et tamen, vilissima ilicet sunt ista, quæ tanto stridore venditant. Non audio ditiorum mercatorum quenquam publicè fateri quantum sibi in arcâ nummorum sit, aut quantæ rerum pretiosissimarum gazæ in secretis sibi repositoriis recondantur: unusquisque potiùs divitias suas celare cupit; et, ubi urgetur vehementiùs, facultates suas dissimulare studet.

Nec se habet aliter in veris, spiritualibus nimirum, opibus: qui plenus est gratiæ bonorumque operum, parùm curat ista mundo gloriosiùs ostentare; sed in secreto bonæ conscientiæ testimonio, tacitoque applausu Spiritûs Dei sibi attestantis, suaviter acquiescit; ubi, è contrà, propriæ dignitatis, facultatis, meritorumve venditatoria propalatio, miseram arguit horum omnium indigentiam.

O Deus, si donorum tuorum confessio gloriæ tuæ inservire possit, non committam ut modestia mea tenacis cujusdam ingratitudinis rea peragatur; sed, quod ad me ipsum attinet, non possum equidem nimis latere. Ita me fac abscondam, ut tibi parùm injurius sim; et inter laudes tuas meique ipsius, prudenter discam distinguere.

XXXI. *De muscis ad equini dorsi recrudescentis scabiem collectis.*

Quam frequentes ad misellæ hujus bestiæ saniosam plagam convolant muscæ; ibique sedent, purulentâ illâ carne se sa-

and there sit, feeding upon that worst piece of his flesh, not meddling with the other sound parts of his skin!

Even thus do malicious tongues of detractors: if a man have any infirmity in his person or actions, that they will be sure to gather unto, and dwell upon; whereas, his commendable parts and well-deservings are passed by, without mention, without regard. It is an envious self-love and base cruelty, that causeth this ill disposition in men: in the mean time, this only they have gained; It must needs be a filthy creature, that feeds upon nothing but corruption.

XXXXII. *On the sight of a dark lantern.*

THERE is light indeed; but so shut up, as if it were not: and when the side is most open, there is light enough to give direction to him that bears it, none to others: he can discern another man, by that light, which is cast before him; but another man cannot discern him.

Right such is reserved knowledge: no man is the better for it, but the owner. There is no outward difference, betwixt concealed skill and ignorance: and, when such hidden knowledge will look forth, it casts so sparing a light, as may only argue it to have an unprofitable being; to have ability, without will to good; power to censure, none to benefit. The suppression or engrossing of those helps, which God would have us to impart, is but a thief's lantern in a true man's hand.

O God, as all our light is from thee, the Father of Lights; so make me no niggard of that poor rush-candle, thou hast lighted in my soul: make me more happy, in giving light to others, than in receiving it into myself.

XXXIII. *On the hearing of a swallow in the chimney.*

HERE is music, such as it is; but how long will it hold? When but a cold morning comes in, my guest is gone, without either warning or thanks. This pleasant season hath the least need of cheerful notes: the dead of winter shall want, and wish them in vain.

Thus doth an ungrateful parasite: no man is more ready to applaud and enjoy our prosperity; but, when with the times our condition begins to alter, he is a stranger at least. Give me that bird, which will sing in winter, and seek to my window in the hardest frost. There is no trial of friendship, but adversity. He, that is not ashamed of my bonds, not daunted with my checks, not aliened with my disgrace, is a friend for

ginantes, reliquas saniores corporis partes ne attingentes quidem!

Sic planè faciunt invidæ detractorum linguæ: si vitiosi quid insit sive personæ cujusquam sive actionibus, istuc illico confluunt, huic insistunt; laude digna si qua sint et benè gesta, tacitè ista omnia negligenterque præterire solent. Invidiosa certè philautia, cum pusillanimi quâdam crudelitate conjuncta, pravam hanc in hominibus dispositionem progignit: hoc, interim, solùm reportant malevoli isti; Non potest non esse animal turpissimum, quod solâ sanie pascitur.

XXXII. *Ad conspectum laternæ secretæ quâdam duplicatione obscuratæ.*

Lumen inibi est; ita tamen prorsùs occlusum, ac si non omnino esset: ubi verò latus apertum ostenditur, sat luminis exhibetur dirigendo viæ duci qui laternam portat, alii præterea nemini: ipse alium facilè discernit, beneficio illius lucis, quæ sibi projicitur; alius verò illum interea discernere non potest.

Talis omnino est reservata sibi scientia: nec, præter possessorem, quicquam cuiquam prodest. Inter celatam artem et ignorantiam, nullum externum discrimen est: et, ubi abscondita hujusmodi eruditio foras dignatur prospicere, ita parcè lumen emittit suum, quasi publicam utilitatem omnem prorsùs declinaret; exhiberetque facultatem quandam, absque omni benè agendi voluntate; censuræ ergò, potiùs quàm communis beneficii. Adminicula nempe illa, quæ Deus aliis communicata voluit, nobis suppressa clanculùm ac retenta, quid aliud sunt nisi hæc, quæ furum solet esse propria, laterna, honesti hospitis manu gestata?

O Deus, cùm à te, Patre Luminum, lux omnis nostra sit; fac ne sim junceæ illius candelulæ, quam in animâ meâ accendisti, avarus dispensator: fac sim aliis impertiendo lumen, quàm recipiendo, fœlicior.

XXXIII. *Audito hirundinis cantu in camino suo.*

Et hoc melodiæ quoddam genus est; quamdiu verò duraturum? Ubi frigescere cœperint matutini rores, abiit illico hospes hic meus, absque omni valedictione aut verò notitia. Jucunda hæc anni tempestas minimùm indiget suavi sonorum modulatione: quam hyems media frustrà desiderabit.

Ita facere solet ingratus parasitus: nemo paratior est res prosperas nobis gratulari, nemo illis fruitur nobiscum lubentiùs; sed, ubi unà cum temporibus mutari incipit conditio nostra, hospitem ille saltem rebus se nostris et inquilinum gerit. Cedo mihi avem, quæ durissimâ hyeme cantillat, et constrictissimo gelu petit fenestras meas. Una fornax amicitiæ, adversitas est. Quem non pudet vinculorum meorum, qui immerentis mei nec censuris dejicitur, nec alienatur contumeliis, ille mihi amicus

me: one dram of that man's love, is worth a world of false and inconstant formality.

XXXIV. *On the sight of a fly burning itself in the candle.*

WISE Solomon says, *The light is a pleasant thing;* and so, certainly, it is: but there is no true outward light which proceeds not from fire. The light of that fire then is not more pleasing, than the fire of that light is dangerous: and that pleasure doth not more draw on our sight, than that danger forbids our approach. How foolish is this fly, that, in a love and admiration of this light, will know no distance; but puts itself heedlessly into that flame, wherein it perishes! How many bouts it fetched, every one nearer than other, ere it made this last venture! and now that merciless fire, taking no notice of the affection of an over-fond client, hath suddenly consumed it.

Thus do those bold and busy spirits, who will needs draw too near unto that inaccessible light, and look into things too wonderful for them: so long do they hover about the secret counsels of the Almighty, till the wings of their presumptuous conceits be scorched; and their daring curiosity hath paid them with everlasting destruction.

O Lord, let me be blessed with the knowledge, of what thou hast revealed: let me content myself to adore thy Divine Wisdom, in what thou hast not revealed. So let me enjoy thy light, that I may avoid thy fire.

XXXV. *On the sight of a lark flying up.*

How nimbly doth that little lark mount up, singing towards heaven, in a right line! whereas the hawk, which is stronger of body and swifter of wing, towers up, by many gradual compasses, to his highest pitch. That bulk of body, and length of wing, hinders a direct ascent; and requires the help, both of air and scope, to advance his flight; while that small bird cuts the air without resistance, and needs no outward furtherance of her motion.

It is no otherwise with the souls of men, in flying up to their heaven. Some are hindered by those powers, which would seem helps, to their soaring up thither: great wit, deep judgment, quick apprehension, send men about, with no small labour, for the recovery of their own incumbrance; while the good affections of plain and simple souls raise them up immediately to the fruition of God. Why should we be proud of that, which may slacken our way to glory? Why should we be

esto: vel unus scrupulus amoris, quo me iste talis prosequitur, plus apud me valebit, quàm mille pondo inconstantis simulatæque professionis.

XXXIV. *Conspectâ muscâ quâdam lucernæ flammâ se comburente.*

Lux, inquit sapientissimus ille Solomon, *jucunda res est;* et, certè, sic nos facilè comperimus: attamen externum lumen nullum est, quod non ab igne proficiscitur. Lumen autem illius ignis non magis jucundum est, quàm ignis illius luminis periculosus: neque magis visum nostrum allicit illius voluptas, quàm hujus periculum approximationem vetat. Quàm fatua est musca hæc, quæ, præ lucis amore ac admiratione, distantiæ tutamen nulla vel scire vel servare voluit; sed ingerit se temerè huic, quâ periit, flammæ! Per quot gyros, singulos singulis proximiores, ante ultimum hunc ausum, circuiit! nunc verò immitis flamma, parùm agnoscens blanduli clientis affectum, subitò illam absumpsit.

Ita faciunt curiosa illa et audacia ingenia, quæ ad lucem Divinæ Majestatis inaccessibilem propiùs quàm par est accedere non verentur, resque nimis altas stupendasque scrutari malunt: tam diu nempe isti secreta Omnipotentis consilia incautè circumvolitant, donec audentes animorum alæ comburantur; et ipsi, æternâ pernicie, insanam curiositatem luant.

Bea me, ô Deus, rerum illarum notitiâ, quæ tu revelare voluisti: contentus sim ego adorare Divinam Sapientiam tuam, in iis quæ parùm revelasti. Ita luce tuâ fruar, ut ignem tuum interea evitem.

XXXV. *Conspectâ alaudâ sursum volitante.*

Quàm agili celerique pennâ pusilla hæc alauda, rectâ quidem lineâ, cœlum versus cantillans ascendit! ubi accipiter, cui robur corporis majus et ala celerior, per multas circumgyrationes, ascensûs sui fastigium gradatim tandem assequitur. Nempe illa corporis moles alarumque longitudo impedimento sunt, quo minùs rectà possit ascendere; quandoquidem istud, et aliquod aeris adminiculum et idoneum volatui promovendo spatium, requirat; ubi minima illa avicula absque omni reluctatione aerem liberè findit, nec quo indiget externo motûs sui adjumento.

Nec se habet aliter cum hominum animabus, cœlum suum repetentibus. Non desunt, quæ suis iisdem facultatibus, quibus accelerari posse videretur fœlix hic cursus, haud parùm retardantur: ingenium fortasse igneum, profundum judicium, apprehensio facilis, ita nimis multos præpediit, ut necesse illis fuerit, suam ipsorum remorationem, non parvo labore, redimere; ubi boni adfectus honestas simplicesque animas immediatè evehunt ad suum cœlum, Deoque liberè frui jubent. Quorsum verò efferri nos patimur illis dotibus, quæ nostram ad gloriam

disheartened with the small measure of that, the very want whereof may (as the heart may be affected) facilitate our way to happiness?

XXXVI. *On the singing of the birds in a spring morning.*

How cheerfully do these little birds chirp and sing, out of the natural joy they conceive, at the approach of the sun and entrance of the spring; as if their life had departed, and returned with those glorious and comfortable beams!

No otherwise is the penitent and faithful soul affected to the true Sun of Righteousness, the Father of Lights. When he hides his face, it is troubled, and silently mourns away that sad winter of affliction: when he returns, in his presence is the fulness of joy; no song is cheerful enough, to welcome him.

O thou, who art the God of all Consolation, make my heart sensible of the sweet comforts of thy gracious presence; and let my mouth ever shew forth thy praise.

XXXVII. *On a coal covered with ashes.*

NOTHING appears in this heap, but dead ashes: here is neither light, nor smoke, nor heat; and yet, when I stir up these embers to the bottom, there are found some living gleeds, which do both contain fire, and are apt to propagate it.

Many a Christian's breast is like this hearth. No life of grace appears there, for the time; either to his own sense, or to the apprehension of others: while the season of temptation lasteth, all seems cold and dead: yet still, at the worst, there is a secret coal from the altar of heaven raked up in their bosom; which upon the gracious motions of the Almighty, doth both bewray some remainders of that divine fire, and is easily raised to a perfect flame. Nothing is more dangerous, than to judge by appearances. Why should I deject myself, or censure others, for the utter extinction of that Spirit; which doth but hide itself in the soul, for a glorious advantage?

XXXVIII. *On the sight of a Blackmoor.*

Lo, there is a man, whose hue shews him to be far from home: his very skin bewrays his climate. It is night in his face, while it is day in ours. What a difference there is in men, both in their fashion and colour; and yet all children of one Father! Neither is there less variety in their insides: their dispositions, judgments, opinions differ as much, as their shapes and complexions. That, which is beauty to one, is

iter retardare possunt? Quorsum, è contrà, dejicimur tenuitate aut paucitate donorum illorum, quorum absentia (quæ cordis nostri esse potest affectio) ad beatitudinem facilitare nobis viam potest?

XXXVI. *Auditis aviculis verno quodam mane cantillantibus.*

Quàm alacriter modulantur hæ aviculæ ac cantillant, præ nativo quodam gaudio, quod, appropinquante jam sole vereque novo intrante, conceperunt; quasi vita ipsarum et discessisset unà, et unà etiam cum beneficiis illis radiis rediisset!

Vero Justitiæ Sole, Patre Luminum, non aliter afficitur anima fidelis pœnitensque. Ubi ille faciem suam abscondit, gravissimè perturbatur, tristemque afflictionis tantæ hyemen silenti quodam planctu consumit: ubi ille tandem redierit, in presentiâ ejus plenitudo est gaudii; nulla satis alacris est cantilena, quâ illi reduci gratulemur.

O tu, qui Consolationis omnis Deus es, inde cordi meo sensum suavissimarum delectationum dulcissimæ præsentiæ tuæ; facitoque ut os meum laudem tuam canorè eloquatur.

XXXVII. *Ad conspectum prunæ cineribus coopertæ.*

In cumulo hoc toto nihil quicquam apparet, præter meras favillas: neque lux istìc est, neque fumus, nec calor; et tamen, ubi excito hosce cineres, vivi quidam carbones inibi reperiuntur, qui ignem et continent, et propagare apti sunt.

Non pauca Christianorum pectora instar foci hujusce sunt. Nulla, pro tempore, in illis gratiæ vita apparet; sive sensui suo, sive judicio aliorum: durante tentationis impetu, frigida videntur omnia planèque emortua: adhuc tamen, ubi pessimo in statu res ipsorum sunt, prunæ quædam secretæ ac altari cœlesti accensæ in illorum sinu absconditæ latent; quæ, salutaribus Spiritûs Sancti motibus, erutæ et afflatæ, reliquias quasdam præ se ferunt divini ignis, tandemque facilè ad perfectam usque flammam excitantur. Nihil periculosius est, quàm ex specie externâ judicare. Quare aut me dejicerem ipse, aut alios censurâ notarem, quasi Spiritum omnino extinxissent; ubi ille retraxerit se modò aliquantisper, inque pectore intimo abdiderit, ut se tandem magis gloriosum præsentemque exhibeat.

XXXVIII. *Conspecto Æthiope.*

Ecce homo, cujus color satis indicat eum longè abesse domo: ex ipsâ cute regionem ipsius facilè intelligimus. In illius facie nox est, ubi in nostrâ dies. Quantum homo homini distat, et formis et coloribus; omnes tamen interea ejusdem Patris filii sumus! Neque minor animorum varietas est: dispositiones, judicia, opiniones hominum non minùs profectò distant, quàm figuræ ac temperamenta. Quod huic pulchrum, illi videtur de-

deformity to another: we should be looked upon, in this man's country, with no less wonder and strange coyness than he is here: our whiteness would pass there, for an unpleasing indigestion of form. Outward beauty is more in the eye of the beholder, than in the face that is seen. In every colour, that is fair, which pleaseth: the very Spouse of Christ can say, *I am black, but comely.*

This is our colour spiritually: yet the eye of our gracious God and Saviour, can see that beauty in us, wherewith he is delighted. The true Moses marries a Blackmoor; Christ, his Church. It is not for us to regard the skin, but the soul. If that be innocent, pure, holy, the blots of an outside cannot set us off from the love of him, who hath said, *Behold, thou art fair, my Sister, my Spouse:* if that be foul and black, it is not in the power of an angelical brightness of our hide, to make us other, than a loathsome eye-sore to the Almighty.

O God, make my inside lovely to thee: I know that beauty will hold; while weather, casualty, age, disease, may deform the outer man, and mar both colour and feature.

XXXIX. *On the small stars in the Galaxy, or milky circle, in the firmament.*

WHAT a clear lightsomeness there is, in yonder circle of the heaven, above the rest! What can we suppose the reason of it, but that the light of many smaller stars is united there, and causes that constant brightness? And yet those small stars are not discerned; while the splendor, which ariseth from them, is so notably remarkable.

In this lower heaven of ours, many a man is made conspicuous, by his good qualities and deserts: but I most admire the humility and grace of those, whose virtues and merits are usefully visible, while their persons are obscure. It is secretly glorious, for a man to shine unseen. Doubtless, it is the height, that makes those stars so small and invisible: were they lower, they would be seen more. There is no true greatness, without a self-humiliation. We shall have made an ill use of our advancement, if, by how much higher we are, we do not appear less: if our light be seen, it matters not for our hiding.

XL. *On the sight of boys playing.*

EVERY age hath some peculiar contentment. Thus we did, when we were of these years. Methinks, I still remember the old fervor of my young pastimes. With what eagerness and

forme: et nos, in istius hominis patriâ, pari stupore ac fastidio adspiceremur: decorus iste, qui nobis videtur faciei candor, non aliud illis, quàm cruda quædam formæ indigestio censeretur. Pulchritudo externa in spectantis oculo potius, quàm in spectati formâ collocatur. Color, quicunque fuerit, pulchrum est quod placet: etiam ispa Christi Sponsa de se fassa est, *nigram esse se, sed decoram tamen.*

Hic idem spiritualiter color nostri omnium est: oculus tamen benignissimi Dei et Servatoris nostri, pulchritudinem illam, quâ maximè delectatur, in nobis conspicari profitetur. Verus Moses ducit Ethiopissam; Christus, Ecclesiam. Non est quod nos cutem curemus, sed animam. Illa si innocens, pura, sancta fuerit, externæ cutis rugæ ac maculæ parùm amovere poterunt amorem illius, qui dixit, *Ecce, formosa es, mea Soror, et Sponsa; ecce, formosa es:* quòd si illa turpis et atra fuerit, non est penes angelicam corii nostri formam ac splendorem, præstare nos quicquam aliud, quàm exosum horrendumque Deo spectaculum.

O Deus, animam meam facito pulchram tibi ac spectabilem: novi sat benè intimam illam formam usque duraturam; dum cœlum, casus, ætas, morbus, fœdare exteriorem hunc hominem, et tam colores quàm liniamenta omnia deformare, facilè poterunt.

XXXIX. *Visâ Galaxiâ, minimisque in eâ stellulis.*

Quanta claritudo ac splendor, in illo cœli circulo, supra reliquos quosque orbes, cernitur! Unde hoc evenire arbitramur, nisi forsan ex eo, quòd multarum minutiorum stellarum lumen ibi uniatur, constantemque hunc nitorem efficiat? Illæ tamen minutiores stellæ non discernuntur interea; dum splendor, ab illis profectus, ita insigniter conspicuus est.

In cœlo hoc inferiore, multi sunt, qui, dotibus egregiis meritisque, in hominum notitiam deveniunt: ego verò illorum humilitatem ac gratiam plurimùm admirari soleo, quorum virtutes ac benè-gesta utilitati publicæ maximè conducere cernuntur, dum ipsorum personæ obscuræ delitescunt. Secretè gloriosum est, nemini visum splendere interim. Nimia, proculdubio, altitudo est, quæ facit ut vel omnino non videantur stellæ illæ, aut videantur minimæ: quæ si inferiùs paulò demitterentur, majores apparerent. Nulla vera magnitudo est, absque intrinsecâ quâdam humiliatione sui. Provectione nostrâ utemur pessimè, si, quanto altiùs elevamur, tanto minores non videamur: parùm refert abscondi nos, dum lumen nostrum palam cernitur.

XL. *Viso puerorum ludo.*

Trahit sua quamque ætatem voluptas. Ita fecimus et nos, hoc ætatis. Videor equidem mihi, jam nunc veterem puerilium ludorum fervorem recèns recordari. Quàm acriter quantoque

passion, do they pursue these childish sports! Now that there is a handful of cherry-stones at the stake, how near is that boy's heart to his mouth, for fear of his play-fellows next cast; and how exalted with desire and hope of his own speed! Those great unthrifts, who hazard whole manors upon the dice, cannot expect their chance with more earnestness, or entertain it with more joy or grief.

We cannot but now smile, to think of these poor and foolish pleasures of our childhood. There is no less disdain, that the regenerate man conceives of the dearest delights of his natural condition. He was once jolly and jocund, in the fruition of the world. Feasts, and revels, and games, and dalliance were his life; and no man could be happy without these; and scarce any man but himself: but when once grace hath made him both good and wise, how scornfully doth he look back at these fond felicities of his carnal estate! Now he finds more manly, more divine contentments; and wonders he could be so transported, with his former vanity. Pleasures are much according as they are esteemed: one man's delight, is another man's pain. Only spiritual and heavenly things can settle and satiate the heart with a full and firm contentation.

O God, thou art not capable, either of bettering, or of change: let me enjoy thee; and I shall pity the miserable fickleness of those, that want thee; and shall be sure to be constantly happy.

XLI. *On the sight of a spider and her web.*

How justly do we admire the curious work of this creature! What a thread, doth it spin forth! What a web, doth it weave! Yet it is full of deadly poison. There may be much venom, where is much art.

Just like to this is a learned and witty heretic. Fine conceits and elegant expressions fall from him; but his opinions and secretly-couched doctrines are dangerous and mortal. Were not that man strangely foolish, who, because he likes the artificial drawing out of that web, would therefore desire to handle or eat the spider that made it? Such should be our madness, if our wonder at the skill of a false teacher should cast us into love with his person, or familiarity with his writings. There can be no safety in our judgment or affection without a wise distinction; in the want whereof, we must needs wrong God

passionum impetu, prosequuntur pueruli isti ludicra hæc exercitia! Vide mihi puerum illum, ubi totus calculorum manipulus jam pignori sistitur, quàm cor illi ferè in os insilit, præ formidine proximi jactûs; quàmque desiderio ac spe proprii successûs nimiùm exaltatur! Certè, magni illi nepotum gurgites, qui quicquid est patrimonii alearum fortunæ totum committere audent, casum illum decretorium, aut vehementiùs expectare, aut majore cum gaudio doloreve accipere nequeunt.

Non possumus non ridere modò, ubi subit animum tam futilium fatuarumque pueritiæ nostræ delectationum recordatio. Nec minore profectò fastidio, renatus homo vel charissimas naturalis conditionis voluptates prosequi solet. Hilari olim solutoque animo, solebat ille mundo frui. Convivia, comessationes, ludi, lascivi gestus, obscœnitatesque cordi huic fuerant priùs; nec quem sine istis fœlicem esse posse autumabat; vix verò, præter seipsum, aliam quempiam: ubi autem salutaris Dei gratia et probum hunc reddidit et prudentem, quàm fastidiosè despicit hic insulsas carnalis suæ conditionis fœlicitates! Delectationes nunc alias magis viriles, imò divinas magis persentiscit; miraturque potuisse se olim juvenem, vanis hisce voluptatum blandimentis abripi. Ita se plerunque habent voluptates prout æstimantur: quod huic volupe est, cordolio est illi. Sola spiritualia ac cœlestia, firmâ solidâque contentatione, et stabilire animum possunt et satiare.

Tu solus, ô Deus mi, capax non es, aut emendationis cujuscunque aut mutationis: liceat mihi te uno frui; miserebor ego seriò infœlicissmæ illorum, qui te carent, instabilitatis; certusque ero semper constantissmæ beatitudinis.

XLI. *Ad conspectum araneæ telam suam exordientis.*

Quàm meritò admirari solemus curiosas nimis animalculi hujusce operas! Quàm tenue filum est, quod educit protrahitque! Qualis hæc, quam texit, tela! Ipsa tamen bestiola mortifero veneno plena. Toxici esse potest plurimum, ubi multum est artis.

Similis planè huic doctus est ingeniosusque hæreticus. Acutissimi fortè conceptus, verba acutissima excidere illi possunt; quæ tamen venditat dogmata, secretique doctrinæ apices, periculosi læthalesque planè sunt. Annon insaniret ille planissimè, quisquis esset, qui, ex eo quòd miro telæ hujus artificio plurimùm delectatur, opificem araneolam, vel manu tractare, vel ore manducare discuperet? Pariter desiperemus et nos, si, dum falsi doctoris artem quamcunque mirabundi suspicimus, aut ipsum authorem deperire, aut scripta illius familiariter pertractare, non vereremur. Tuti profectò esse non possumus, sive judicia nostra spectemus sive affectus, absque prudenti quâdam rerum ac personarum discriminatione; sine quâ, fieri sanè non potest, quin et Deo injurii simus et nobis ipsis: Deo

or ourselves: God, if we acknowledge not what excellent parts, he gives to any creature; ourselves, if, upon the allowance of those excellencies, we swallow their most dangerous enormities.

XLII. *On the sight of a natural.*

O God, why am not I thus? What hath this man done, that thou hast denied wit to him? or, what have I done, that thou shouldest give a competency of it to me? What difference is there betwixt us, but thy bounty; which hath bestowed upon me, what I could not merit; and hath withheld from him, what he could not challenge? All is, O God, in thy good pleasure, whether to give or deny.

Neither is it otherwise, in matter of grace. The unregenerate man is a spiritual fool: no man is truly wise, but the renewed. How is it, that, while I see another man besotted with the vanity and corruption of his nature, I have attained to know God and the great mystery of salvation; to abhor those sins, which are pleasing to a wicked appetite? Who hath discerned me?

Nothing, but thy free mercy, O my God. Why else was I a man; not a brute beast? why right shaped; not a monster? why perfectly limbed; not a cripple? why well-sensed; not a fool? why well-affected; not graceless? why a vessel of honour; not of wrath? If ought be not ill in me, O Lord, it is thine. Oh let thine be the praise; and mine the thankfulness.

XLIII. *On the loadstone and the jet.*

As there is a civil commerce amongst men, for the preservation of human society; so there is a natural commerce, which God hath set amongst the other creatures, for the maintenance of their common being. There is scarce any thing therefore in nature, which hath not a power of attracting some other. The fire draws vapours to it; the sun draws the fire: plants draw moisture; the moon draws the sea: all purgative things draw their proper humours. A natural instinct draws all sensitive creatures to affect their own kind; and, even in those things which are of imperfect mixtion, we see this experimented: so, as the senseless stones and metals are not void of this active virtue: the loadstone draws iron; and the jet, rather than nothing, draws up straws and dust. With what a force, do both these stones work upon their several subjects! Is there any thing more heavy, and unapt for motion, than iron, or steel? yet these do so run to their beloved loadstone,

quidem, nisi egregias illas dotes, quibus creaturas ornavit suas, libenter agnoscamus; nobis, si, dum præcellentes illarum facultates approbamus, unà etiam vitia quæque perniciosissima imbibamus.

XLII. *Conspecto morione quodam.*

O Deus, unde fit quòd ego talis non sim? Quid fecit iste homo, quòd tu illi intellectum negaveris? aut, quid feci ego, quòd modum ejus saltem aliquem mihi indulseris? Quid inter nos discriminis est, præter tuam solius bonitatem; qui mihi largitus es, quod mereri nullus poteram; illique denegaveris, quod nullâ potuerat ratione vendicare? Seu dare seu detinere etiam, tui solius, ô Domine, beneplaciti est.

Neque aliter, se habet, in re gratiæ. Irregenitus quisque merus est morio spiritualis: nec quis, præter renatum, verè sapit. Unde fit, quòd, cùm alium aspiciam vanitate pravitateque naturæ suæ prorsùs infatuatum, ipse interim cognitionem Dei magnorumque salutis mysteriorum fuerim assecutus; didicerimque ab illis peccatis, quæ pessimo hominum malorum appetitui perplacere solent, penitùs abhorrere? Quis me tandem discrevit?

Nihil quicquam, præter tuam unius liberrimam misericordiam, O Deus. Quorsum ego aliàs homo sum; non brutum? quorsum rectè formatus; et non monstrum potiùs? quare corpore integro; non mancus? quare sensibus ac judicio præditus; non fatuus? quare probè affectus; non destitutus gratiâ? quare vas honoris; non iræ? Si quid in me non mali sit, tuum est, ô Domine. Tu tibi laudem habe ac gratias; da mihi interim gratitudinem.

XLIII. *Viso magnete et gagate.*

Ut ad humanæ societatis conservationem, civile quoddam est inter homines commercium; ita et naturale commercii genus, inter creaturas reliquas ordinavit Deus, ad communem conservationem universi. Vix quicquam in rerum naturâ est, quod non nativâ quâdam alterius cujuspiam attrahendi potentiâ imbuatur. Ignis vapores ad se trahit; sol, ignem: humiditatem attrahunt plantæ; luna, mare: purgativa quæque proprios sibi attrahunt humores. Naturalis quidam instinctus sensitiva quæque inclinat ad amorem ambitumque generis sui; quin etiam, in ipsis imperfectè mistis, hoc usu venire quotidiè experimur: adeò ut, vel lapides ac metalla, quæ sensu omni carent, activâ tamen hâc virtute neutiquam carere facilè intelligamus: magnes ferrum attrahit; gagates, ne nihil attrahere videretur paleam ac pulverem allicit. Quanto verò impetu, lapidum istorum uterque in proprium sibi quisque objectum operatur! Quicquamne aut gravius est, aut motui minùs aptum, quàm chalybs, aut ferrum? ita tamen ista ad dilectum sibi magnetem accur-

as if they had the sense of a desire and delight; and do so cling to the point of it, as if they had forgotten their weight for this adherence. Is there any thing more apt for dispersion, than small straws and dust? yet these gather to the jet, and so sensibly leap up to it, as if they had a kind of ambition to be so preferred.

Methinks I see in these two a mere emblem of the hearts of men, and their spiritual attractives. The grace of God's Spirit, like the true loadstone or adamant, draws up the iron heart of man to it; and holds it in a constant fixedness of holy purposes and good actions: the World, like the jet, draws up the sensual hearts of light and vain men; and holds them fast in the pleasures of sin.

I am thine iron, O Lord; be thou my loadstone. *Draw thou me, and I shall run after thee. Knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy Name.*

XLIV. *On hearing of music by night.*

How sweetly doth this music sound, in this dead season! In the day-time, it would not, it could not so much affect the ear. All harmonious sounds are advanced by a silent darkness.

Thus it is with the glad tidings of Salvation. The Gospel never sounds so sweet, as in the night of persecution or of our own private affliction. It is ever the same: the difference is, in our disposition to receive it.

O God, whose praise it is to *give Songs in the night*, make my prosperity conscionable, and my crosses cheerful.

XLV. *On the fanning of corn.*

See how, in the fanning of this wheat, the fullest and greatest grains lie ever the lowest; and the lightest take up the highest place.

It is no otherwise, in morality: those, which are most humble, are fullest of grace; and, ofttimes, those have most conspicuity, which have the least substance. To affect obscurity or submission, is base and suspicious; but that man, whose modesty presents him mean to his own eyes and lowly to others, is commonly secretly rich in virtue. Give me rather a low fulness, than an empty advancement.

runt, quasi quendam haberent desiderii delectationisque sensum; atque ita extremo illius punctulo arctè adhærent, ac si ponderis sui oblita fuissent præ contactûs hujusce voluptate. Quicquamne dissipationi aptius, quàm palea ac pulvisculus? ita tamen ista ad gagatem colliguntur, atque ita illi palam adsilire cernuntur, quasi ambitione quâdam provectionis hujusce ducerentur.

In duobus hisce videor mihi videre justum emblema cordis humani, virtutisque spiritualis ejusdem utrinque attractivæ. Spiritûs Sancti gratia, instar veri magnetis adamantisve, ferrea hominum pectora ad se trahit; firmâque quâdam sanctarum cogitationum bonarumque actionum constantiâ retinet: Mundus, ad instar gagatis, carnalia levium ac vanorum hominum corda ad se attrahit; vitiosisque peccatorum delinimentis sibi retentat.

Tuus sum[a], ô Deus; esto tu magnes meus. *Trahe me, et ego post te curram. Aduni cor meum tibi, ut reverear Nomen tuum.*

XLIV. *Ad concentum musicum nocturnum.*

QUAM suaviter, intempestâ hâc nocte, sonat concentus iste! De die, sic aurem afficere nec solet, nec potest quidem. Harmonici omnes soni lentæ noctis caligine longè jucundiores haberi solent.

Sic se planè habet cum læto salutis nuncio. Nunquam ita suaviter sonat Evangelium, ac obscurissimâ vel persecutionum publicarum vel propriæ afflictionis nocte. Illud semper idem est: in nostrâ, qui tantum beneficium recipimus, dispositione, unicum discrimen est.

O mi Deus, cujus summa laus est *dare Cantica de nocte*, prosperas res meas facito pias et sanctas, adversas verò alacres.

XLV. *Ad conspectum tritici ventilati.*

UBI ventilatur triticum hoc, granorum maximum ac solidissimum semper imum petere video; levissimum quodque superiorem locum sortiri.

In re morum, pariter se habet: plenissimi gratiæ, humillimi plerunque sunt; et ii, sæpenumerò, maximè omnium conspicui sunt, quibus minimum suppetit. Obscuritatem quandam dejectionemque, aut ambire aut simulare, sordidum est et suspicione plenissimum; ille verò, cujus modestia mediocrem suis se oculis exhibet, humilem alienis, plerunque virtutum omnium intimè ditissimus est. Humilis mihi plenitudo sit potiùs, quàm elatio vacua.

[a] *Chalybs* was probably omitted here, by an error of the press, in the original edition.—PRATT.

XLVI. *On herbs dried.*

THEY say those herbs will keep best, and will longer retain both their hue and verdure, which are dried thus in the shade; than those, which are suddenly scorched with fire or sun.

Those wits are like to be most durable, which are closely tutored with a leisurely education: time, and gentle constancy, ripens better, than a sudden violence. Neither is it otherwise, in our spiritual condition: a wilful slackness is not more dangerous, than an over-hastening of our perfection: if I may be every moment drawing nearer to the end of my hope, I shall not wish to precipitate.

XLVII. *On the quenching of iron in water.*

HARK how that iron, quenched in the water, hisseth; and makes that noise, which, while it was cold or dry, it would never make.

We cannot quench hot and unruly desires in youth without some mutiny and rebellious opposition. Corruptions cannot be subdued, without some reluctation; and that reluctation cannot be, without some tumult: after some short noise, and smoke, and bubbling, the metal is quiet; and holds to the form, whereinto it is beaten.

O God, why should it trouble me, to find my good endeavours resisted, for the little brunt of a change; while I am sure, this insurrection shall end in a happy peace?

XLVIII. *On a fair coloured fly.*

WHAT a pleasant mixture of colours there is in this fly! and yet, they say, no fly is so venomous as this; which, by the outward touch of the hand, corrodes the inmost passages of the body.

It is no trusting to colours and shapes: we may wonder at their excellency, without dotage upon their beauty. Homeliness makes less shew, and hath less danger. Give me inward virtue and usefulness: let others care for outward glory.

XLIX. *On a glow-worm.*

WHAT a cold candle is lighted up, in the body of this sorry worm! There needs no other disproof of those, that say there is no light at all without some heat. Yet sure, an outward heat helps on this cool light: never did I see any of these bright

XLVI. *De herbis exiccatis.*

Herbas illas aiunt servari commodissimè, longiùsque et colorem et saporem retinere, quæ sub umbrâ paulatim arefiunt; quàm quæ subito sive solis sive ignis calore exiccantur torrenturque.

Firmiora sunt ingenia illa diutiùsque duratura, quæ lentâ quâdam educatione obscurè instituuntur: tempus et facilis quædam studiorum constantia ad maturitatem perducunt longè meliùs, quàm subitus laborum impetus. In spirituali conditione nostrâ, idem planè usuvenit: affectata quædam lentitudo parùm periculosior est, quàm nimia perfectionis acceleratio: ubi me momentis singulis ad spei meæ terminum tantò magis appropinquare sensero, non est quòd præcipitare discupiam.

XLVII. *Audito ferri extincti stridore.*

Audi modò quàm ferrum illud, aquâ extinctum, canore sibilat; stridoremque illum edit, quem frigidum priùs siccumque, facere non potuerat.

Fervidos inordinatosque appetitus adolescentiæ, absque querulo quodam murmure rebellique oppositione, extinguere non possumus. Debellari non possunt vitia nostra, absque reluctatione validâ; nec tumultu aliquo, vacare potest illa reluctatio: post tantillum soni, fumi, ebullitionisque, quiescit metallum hoc; formamque, in quam fabri ictibus redigitur, usque servat.

Quorsum ægrè mihi foret, ô Deus, quòd sentiam pios conatus meos, pro minimo mutationis meæ spatiolo, repugnantiam quandam pati; quandoquidem certus sim, seditionem hanc in fœlicissimâ pace deinceps desituram?

XLVIII. *Visis muscis quibusdam pulchrè coloratis, quas cantharidas appellare solemus.*

Quam pulchra colorum mistura in muscâ hâc cernitur! nulla tamen, uti aiunt, in toto muscarum genere æquè venenosa est; ita ut, vel extimo manûs contactu, interna corporis viscera corrodat.

Non est quòd aut coloribus fidamus aut formis: illorum quidem præstantiam ita licet admirari, ut venustate non fascinemur interim. Humilis simplicitas minùs præ se fert, minus tamen habet periculi. Cedo mihi internam virtutem utilitatemque: externum gloriæ splendorem curent alii.

XLIX. *Conspectâ noctilucâ vel cicindelâ.*

Qualis lucerna frigidiuscula quidem illa, in corpore vermiculi hujus accenditur! Non aliâ opus est illorum confutatione, qui nullum omnino lumen absque calore aliquo esse arbitrantur. Certè tamen, externus calor gelidum hoc lumen reddit illustrius: nusquam vidi ego nitedularum istarum aliquam, nisi æstivis

worms, but in the hot months of summer: in cold seasons, either they are not, or appear not; when the nights are both darkest, and longest, and most uncomfortable.

Thus do false-hearted Christians: in the warm and lightsome times of free and encouraged profession, none shine more than they: in hard and gloomy seasons of restraint and persecution, all their formal light is either lost or hid. Whereas true professors, either, like the sun, shine ever alike; or, like the stars, shine fairest in the frostiest nights. The light of this worm is for some shew, but for no use: any light, that is attended with heat, can impart itself to others, though with the expence of that subject wherein it is; this doth neither waste itself, nor help others. I would rather never to have light, than not to have it always: I would rather not to have light, than not to communicate it.

L. *On the shutting of one eye.*

When we would take aim, or see most exquisitely, we shut one eye.

Thus must we do with the eyes of our soul. When we would look most accurately with the eye of faith, we must shut the eye of reason: else, the visual beams of these two apprehensions will be crossing each other, and hinder our clear discerning. Yea, rather let me pull out this right eye of reason, than it shall offend me, in the interruptions of my happy visions of God.

LI. *On a spring-water.*

How this spring smoketh; while other greater channels are frozen up! this water is living; while they are dead. All experience teacheth us, that well-waters, arising from deep springs, are hotter in winter than in summer: the outward cold doth keep in and double their inward heat.

Such is a true Christian, in the evil day: his life of grace gets more vigour, by opposition: he had not been so gracious, if the times had been better. I will not say, he may thank his enemies; but I must say, he may thank God for his enemies.

O God, what can put out that heat, which is increased with cold? How happy shall I be, if I may grow so much more in grace, as the world in malice!

LII. *On gnats in the sun.*

What a cloud of gnats is here! Mark their motion: they do nothing, but play up and down in the warm sun, and sing; and, when they have done, sit down, and sting the next hand or face, they can seize upon.

calidioribus scilicet mensibus resplendentem: frigidis anni tempestatibus, ubi et obscuriores, et longiores, et tristiores sunt noctes, nullæ aut sunt, aut certè apparent saltem.

Ita faciunt hypocritæ Christiani: fervidis lucidisque liberæ approbatæque professionis temporibus, nemo illis lucet magis: tempestatibus verò duris tristibusque sive inter dictionis sive persecutionis publicæ, simulata horum lux omnis aut periit aut certè latuit. Ubi veri quique professores, aut, instar solis, æquè semper lucent; aut, stellarum instar, gelidissimis noctibus maximè resplendent scintillantque. Noctilucæ hujusce lumen speciem quandam præ se fert, usui inservit nulli: lux omnis, quæ à calore proficiscitur, communicare se aliis potest, quanquam non sine subjecti cui inest diminutione continuâ; ista verò neque se absumit, neque alios quicquam adjuvat. Malo nunquam, quàm non semper lucere: nullum habere lumen malo, quàm non aliis quod habeo impertire.

L. *Conspecto quodam oculum unum claudente.*

Ubi collimare aliquò velimus, aut cernere accuratiùs, oculum unum claudimus.

Ita et animi oculis facere solemus. Ubi fidei oculo exquisitissimè intueri volumus, rationis oculum interea claudimus: aliter fieri non potest, quin ut visuales radii, qui utrique harum apprehensioni inservire debeant, transversi sibi incidant, visionisque actum impediant. Imò, dextrum hunc rationis oculum eruam ego potiùs, quàm, ut intercipiendo beatificam Dei mei visionem, offendiculo mihi sit.

LI. *Conspecto fonte.*

Quantum verò fumum edit fons iste; ubi ampliores quique canales gelu constricti obrigescunt! viva est hæc aqua; aliis interim emortuis. Illud nos experientia omnes docet, fontanas aquas, quæ à scaturiginibus profundioribus oriuntur, hyeme calidiores semper quàm æstate profluere: intrinsecum nempe calorem repercutit duplicatque frigus externum.

Talis est verus quisque Christianus, in die malo: illa, quâ imbuitur gratiæ vita, oppugnando vigorem acquirit: neque ita sanctus fuisset iste, si in meliora tempora incidisset. Nolo dicere, eum hoc nomine gratias debere inimicis; certè dico, eum pro inimicis gratias debere Deo.

O Deus, quid tandem restinguere potest ignem illum, qui frigore intenditur? Quàm ego fœlix ero, si quantum mundus livore ac malitiâ, tantum ego gratiâ accrevero.

LII. *Visis culicibus in radiis solaribus ludentibus.*

Quanta culicum nubes istìc est! Vide verò mihi horum motus omnes: ludunt illi nempe per solis radios, sùsque déque volitando, cantillantque; et, ubi desierint, sedent, et manum proximam faciemve, in quam incidere contigerit, mordent illico.

See here a perfect emblem of idleness and detraction. How many do thus miserably misspend their good hours! who, after they have wasted the succeeding days in vain and merely unprofitable pastime, sit down, and backbite their neighbours!

The bee sings too sometimes; but she works also; and her work is not more admirable than useful*: but these foolish flies do nothing but play and sing to no purpose. Even the busiest and most active spirits must recreate; but to make a trade of sport, is for none but lazy wantons.

The bee stings too; but it is when she is provoked: these draw blood, unoffended; and sting, for their own pleasure. I would be glad of some recreation; but to enable and sweeten my work. I would not but sting sometimes, where is just cause of offence. But God bless me from those men, which will ever be either doing nothing, or ill.

LIII. *On the sight of grapes.*

MARK the difference of these grapes. There you see a cluster, whose grapes touch one another, well ripened: here you see some stragglers, which grow almost solitarily, green and hard.

It is thus with us. Christian society helpeth our progress: and *Woe to him that is alone.* He is well, that is the better for others; but he is happy, by whom others are better.

LIV. *On a corn field over-grown with weeds.*

HERE were a goodly field of corn, if it were not over-laid with weeds. I do not like these reds, and blues, and yellows, amongst these plain stalks and ears. This beauty would do well elsewhere. I would rather to see a plot less fair, and more yielding.

In this field, I see a true picture of the world: wherein, there is more glory, than true substance; wherein, the greater part carries it from the better; wherein, the native sons of the earth out-strip the adventitious brood of grace; wherein, parasites and unprofitable hang-byes do both rob and over-top their masters. Both field and world grow alike, look alike, and shall end alike; both are for the fire: while the homely and solid ears of despised virtue shall be for the garners of immortality.

LV. *On the sight of tulips and marigolds, &c. in his garden.*

THESE flowers are true clients of the sun: how observant they are of his motion and influence! At even, they shut up;

* The sentence "And her work is not more admirable than useful," seems to have been overlooked by the Translator.—PRATT.

Ecce perfectum emblema otii ac detractionis. Quot sunt, qui ita pessimè horas bonas consumunt! qui, ubi succedentes sibi dies vanis inutilibusque ludorum generibus prodegerint, resident tandem æquè inertes, detrahuntque proximis.

Etiam cantat aliquando apis; sed et laborat quoque assiduè: istæ verò fatuæ musciculæ ludunt semper canuntque perperàm. Vel negotiosissima quæque et agillima ingenia necesse habent tantò magis recreari; totos verò se dedere ludis ac voluptatibus, otiosissimorum hominum èque Epicuri grege porcorum est.

Mordet stimulatque etiam apis; sed non nisi injuriâ quâpiam lacessita: isti sanguinem, parùm provocati, eliciunt; et tantùm animi causâ lædunt. Non recusârim ego exercitationis genus aliquod; quo me recreem fiamque labori meo et aptior et alacrior. Neque non stimulare velim aliquando, ubi sontica me injuria irritaverit. Libera verò me, ô Deus, ab illis hominibus, qui aut nihil, aut malè semper agere mavolunt.

LIII. *Conspectis uvarum racemis.*

Vide quantum inter uvas hasce discrimen est. Ibi botrum cernis uvarum, quæ se mutuò contingunt, benè maturum: solitariæ, quas alibi vides, virides planè duræque manent.

Sic et nobiscum se habet. Sancta societas progressum nostrum haud parùm promovet: *Væ autum soli.* Benè illi est, qui aliorum operâ fit melior; sed fœlix est is, cujus operâ fiunt alii meliores.

LIV. *Viso agro herbis noxiis malè infestato.*

Quam lætâ gauderet segete agellus iste, nisi quòd herbis hisce noxiis ita nimiùm abundet. Non amo colores hosce cæruleos, rubeos, flavos, simplicibus aristis interspersos. Venustas hæc alibi mihi placeret magis. Malo istìc videre arvum minùs pulchrum, ferax magis.

In agro hoc, vivam mundi effigiem video: in quo, plus gloriæ, quàm solidæ virtutis inesse comperitur; ubi, major pars exuperat meliorem; ubi, nativa terræ proles adventitiam gratiæ sobolem longè vincit; ubi, parasiti et inutiles scurræ dominos suos et spoliant et aliquando etiam supereminent. Et ager et mundus, uti similes apparent, ita similiter crescunt, desinuntque similiter; igni meritò adjudicatur uterque: dum simplices solidæque contemptæ virtutis aristæ in horreis immortalitatis reponuntur.

LV. *Conspectâ tulipâ, calendulâ, heliotropio in horto suo.*

Veri clientes solis sunt isti flores: quàm studiosè observant et motum illius et influxum! Sub vesperam, clauduntur statim,

as mourning for his departure, without whom they neither can nor would flourish: in the morning, they welcome his rising, with a cheerful openness: and at noon, are fully displayed, in a free acknowledgment of his bounty.

Thus doth the good heart unto God. *When thou turnedst away thy face, I was troubled;* saith the man after God's own heart. *In thy presence is life; yea, the fulness of joy.* Thus doth the carnal heart to the world: when that withdraws his favour, he is dejected; and revives with a smile. All is in our choice. Whatsoever is our sun will thus carry us.

O God, be thou to me, such as thou art in thyself: thou shalt be merciful, in drawing me; I shall be happy, in following thee.

LVI. *On the sound of a cracked bell.*

What a harsh sound doth this bell make, in every ear! The metal is good enough: it is the rift, that makes it so unpleasingly jarring.

How too like is this bell, to a scandalous and ill-lived teacher! His calling is honourable: his noise is heard far enough: but the flaw, which is noted in his life, mars his doctrine; and offends those ears, which, else, would take pleasure in his teaching. It is possible, that such a one, even by that discordous noise, may ring in others into the triumphant Church of heaven: but there is no remedy for himself, but the fire; whether for his reforming, or judgment.

LVII. *On the sight of a blind man.*

How much am I bound to God, that hath given me eyes, to see this man's want of eyes! With what suspicion and fear he walks! How doth his hand and staff examine his way? With what jealousy, doth he receive every morsel, every draught; and yet meets with many a post, and stumbles at many a stone, and swallows many a fly! To him the world is, as if it were not; or, as if it were all rubs, and snares, and downfalls: and if any man will lend him a hand, he must trust to his, however faithless, guide; without all comfort, save this, that he cannot see himself miscarry.

Many a one is thus spiritually blind; and, because he is so, discerns it not; and, not discerning, complains not of so woeful a condition. *The god of this world hath blinded the eyes of the children of disobedience.* They walk on, in the ways of death; and yield themselves over to the guidance of him, who seeks for nothing but their precipitation into hell[b]. It is an addition

[b] The remainder is omitted in the Latin.—Pratt.

quasi lugentes díscessum illius, sine quo neque possint neque velint quidem efflorescere: mane verò, reditui ipsius, alacri quâdam foliorum extensione, gratulantur: meridie autem, velut liberrimè ejus bonitatem fassi, quàm maximè dilatantur.

Cor pium sic planè facit Deo. *Avertisti faciem tuam, et turbabar;* inquit ille qui Deo cordi erat. E contrà; *In præsentiâ tui vita est; imò, plenitudo gaudii.* Sed et cor carneum sic facit seculo: illo quippe favorem subtrahente, dejicitur; renidente demùm, reviviscit. Plurimùm ergo interest, in quo nostra se figit electio. Sol noster, quicquid id est, nos ad se attrahet.

O Deus, sis tu mihi, quod in te ipso es: scilicet eris tu, me trahendo, misericors; ego, te sequendo, fœlix ero.

LVI. *Audito companæ fractæ sono.*

Quam ingratum horridumque sonitum edit campana hæc, cuivis auri! Metallum satis purum est: sola fissura est, quæ raucum hoc et discors sonat.

Quàm similis est campanula hæc, infami et improbo doctori! Munus illius reverendum est: satis sonora vox ei: scandalum, quod ab impurâ ejus vitâ oritur, doctrinæ fructum omnem destruit et corrumpit; offenditque aures illas, quæ, absque hoc foret, concionibus ipsius caperentur. Fieri fortè potest, ut hic talis, vel dissono illo stridore, ad triumphantem in cœlis Ecclesiam vocet colligatque alios: nullum verò ipsi remedium manet, præter ignem; sive reformando homini, sive destruendo.

LVII. *Viso cæco quodam.*

Quantum debeo ego Deo meo, qui mihi oculos dederit, quibus hunc hominem et oculis carere videam et carendo miserum! Quàm suspitiosè, quàm meticulosè incedit ille! Quàm solicitè, et manu et baculo, examinat sibi viam! Quàm anxiè timidèque, morsiunculam omnem haustûsque guttulam recipit; sæpè tamen aut posti alicui eundo obviat, aut ad lapidem impingit, aut muscam bibendo absorbet! Non aliter se huic habet mundus, quàm si omnino non esset; aut, ac si totus esset offendicula, retia, præcipitia: quòd si quis illi manum commodare velit, huic, quantumvis perfido, duci credat necesse est; absque omni quidem miseriæ allevamento, excepto uno hoc; quòd perire se nequeat videre.

Plærique sic spiritualitèr cæci sunt: et, quia sic se habent, parùm discernunt; non discernentes autem, de tam miserâ conditione nulli conqueruntur. *Deus hujus sæculi occæcavit oculos infidelibus et immorigeris.* Ambulant illi, in viis æternæ mortis; atque ei se ducendos committunt, qui nihil aliud, præter ipsorum in infernum præcipitationem, quærit.

to the misery of this inward occæcation, that it is ever joined with a secure confidence in them, whose trade and ambition is to betray their souls.

Whatever become of these outward senses, which are common to me with the meanest and most despicable creatures, O Lord, give me not over to that spiritual darkness, which is incident to none but those, that live without thee; and must perish eternally, because they want thee.

LVIII. *On a beech-tree full of nuts.*

How is this tree overladen with mast this year! It was not so, the last; neither will it, I warrant you, be so, the next. It is the nature of these free trees, so to pour out themselves into fruit at once, that they seem after either sterile or niggardly.

So have I seen pregnant wits, not discreetly governed, overspend themselves in some one master-piece so lavishly, that they have proved either barren, or poor and flat, in all other subjects. True wisdom, as it serves to gather due sap, both for nourishment and fructification; so it guides the seasonable and moderate bestowing of it in such manner, as that one season may not be a glutton, while others famish. I would be glad to attain to that measure and temper, that, upon all occasions, I might always have enough; never, too much.

LIX. *On the sight of a piece of money under the water.*

I SHOULD not wish ill to a covetous man, if I should wish all his coin in the bottom of the river. No pavement could so well become that stream: no sight could better fit his greedy desires: for there, every piece would seem double; every teston would appear a shilling; every crown, an angel. It is the nature of that element, to greaten appearing quantities: while we look through the air upon that solid body, it can make no other representations.

Neither is it otherwise in spiritual eyes and objects. If we look with carnal eyes through the interposed mean of sensuality, every base and worthless pleasure will seem a large contentment: if with weak eyes we shall look at small and immaterial truths aloof off, (in another element of apprehension,) every parcel thereof shall seem main and essential: hence, every knack of heraldry in the sacred genealogies, and every scholastical quirk in disquisitions of Divinity, are made matters of no less than life and death to the soul. It is a great improvement of true wisdom, to be able to see things, as they are; and, to value them, as they are seen. Let me labour, for that power

LVIII. *Ad conspectum fagi feracissimæ.*

QUAM frugifera, hoc anno, est ista arbor! Non ita, superiore, onusta fuit; neque sic erit, sine dubio, proximè futuro. Ille mos harum arborum prodigarum est, ita se totas in fructum unà effundere, ut steriles postmodò et avaræ videantur.

Ita vidi ego prægnantia quædam ingenia, quibus justa prudensque sibi moderandi cura defuit, sic se tota in elaborato aliquo opere prodigere, ut aut parùm deinceps feracia, aut in aliis omnibus egena et elanguida, visa fuerint. Vera sapientia, uti succo attrahendo, cùm nutrimenti tum fœcunditatis causâ, inservit; ita regit ejusdem tempestivam moderatamque dispensationem, ut satura nimis non sit tempestas hæc, dum illa famelica est. Id mihi curæ erit eam assequi mensuram temperiemque, ut, quicquid tandem evenerit, sat mihi semper suppetat; nunquam verò, nimium.

LIX. *Ad conspectum nummi in aquam injecti.*

NON malè forsan avaro optarem, si quicquid illi nummorum est profundo flumini devoverem. Nec quod pavimentum gurgiti illi aptius: nec quod fortè spectaculum inexplebili illius desiderio accommodatius: foret singuli enim ibi nummi duplices viderentur; drachmæ nimirum omnes, totidem solidi; scutorum verò lilia, totidem angeli apparerent. Elemento nempe huic innatum hoc est, augere, quoad externam speciem, quantitatem quamlibet: dum, mediante tenuiore hoc aere, solidum illud corpus perspiciendo penetramus, non potest quicquam nobis aliud representari.

Neque se habet aliter in spiritualibus sive oculis sive objectis. Si carneis oculis per interpositum concupiscentiæ medium prospicimus, vilis quæque et frivola voluptas largam quandam perfectamque animi contentationem mentietur: si debilibus oculis minutulos penèque ἀδιάφορους veritatum apices à longè contueamur, (præsertim verò ubi apprehensionis nostræ medium variatur,) unaquæque particula et maxima videbitur et rei religionis haud parùm necessaria: hinc fit, inutiles quasque sacrarum genealogiarum minutias, scholasticasque omnes in Theologicis disquisitionibus subtilitates, inter summa fidei capita annumerari. Veræ prudentiæ magna laus est, posse videre res, ut sunt; et, ut sic videntur, appreciari. Operam ego sedulò

and stayedness of judgment, that neither my senses may deceive my mind, nor the object may delude my sense.

LX. *On the first rumour of the earthquake at Lime; wherein a wood was swallowed up, with the fall of two hills.*

Good Lord! how do we know, when we are sure? If there were man or beast in that wood, they seemed as safe, as we now are. They had nothing, but heaven above them; nothing, but firm earth below them: and yet, in what a dreadful pitfall were they instantly taken! There is no fence for God's hand. A man would as soon have feared, that heaven would fall upon him, as those hills. It is no pleasing ourselves with the unlikelihood of divine judgments. We have oft heard of hills covered with woods; but of woods covered with hills, I think never till now. Those, that planted or sowed those woods, intended they should be spent with fire: but, lo, God meant they should be devoured with earth. We are wont to describe impossibilities by the meeting of mountains; and, behold, here two mountains are met, to swallow up a valley. What a good God it is, whose Providence overrules and disposes of all these events! Towns or cities might as well have been thus buried, as a solitary dale, or a shrubby wood. Certainly, the God, that did this, would have the use of it reach further than the noise. This he did, to shew us what he could, what he might do. If our hearts do not quake and rend at the acknowledgment of his Infinite Power, and fear of his terrible judgments, as well as that earth did, we must expect to be made warnings, that would take none.

LXI. *On the sight of a dormouse.*

At how easy a rate do these creatures live, that are fed with rest! So the bear and the hedgehog, they say, spend their whole winter in sleep; and rise up fatter than they lay down.

How oft have I envied the thriving drowsiness of these beasts, when the toil of thoughts hath bereaved me of but one hour's sleep, and left me languishing to a new task! And yet, when I have well digested the comparison of both these conditions, I must needs say, I would rather waste with work, than batten with ease: and would rather choose a life profitably painful, than uselessly dull and delicate. I cannot tell, whether I should say those creatures live, which do nothing; since we are wont ever to notify life by motion: sure I am, their life is not vital. For me, let me rather complain of a mind, that will not let me be idle; than of a body, that will not let me work.

dederim, illam assequi judicii vim firmitudinemque, ut neque sensus mei animum decipiant, neque objecta sensum fallant.

LX. *Accepto rumore terræmotûs Limensis; à quo sylva quædam, casis duorum montium, absorpta quasique sepulta fuit.*

Bone Deus! unde nosse possumus, quando ac ubi in tuto simus? In sylvâ hâc seu bestiæ seu homines siqui erant, quàm se non minùs securos putabant, quàm nos nunc istìc sumus? Supra se nil, nisi cœlum; infra se nil, nisi terram firmissimam, videre potuerunt: et tamen, quàm horrendâ subitò decipulâ deprehensi periêre! Divinæ manûs effugium nullum uspiam est. Æquè suspicatus fuisset quis, cœlum ruiturum, ac illos montes. Non est quòd nobis placeamus improbabili judiciorum divinorum eventu. Sæpe quidem audivimus vidimusque montes sylvis coopertos; sylvas verò montibus coopertas, nusquam antehac accepimus. Qui sylvas illas plantârunt severuntve, igne aliquando absumendas fore arbitrabantur: ecce, Deus terrâ absorbendas judicavit. Impossibilia quæque solemus occursu montium describere; et, ecce, istìc montes duo convenerunt, vallem deglutiendo. Quàm beneficus Deus est, cujus Providentia casus istos omnes regit disponitque! Oppida urbesve æquè facilè sic sepeliri potuissent, atque vallis solitaria, ac fruticosa sylva. Certè quidem, ille, qui hoc fecit, Deus, eventus hujus usum longiùs quàm sonitum dilatari voluit. Fecit hoc, ut doceret quid et ille posset, et nos meriti. Si corda nostra sensu quodam reverendo Infinitæ ejus Potentiæ, terribiliumque judiciorum metu, non minùs tremant discindanturque quàm terra hæc, quid mirum exempla nos fieri aliis, qui aliorum exemplis moveri usque detrectavimus?

LXI. *Ad conspectum gliris.*

Quam minimo sumptu vivunt hæc animalcula, quæ solo somno pascuntur! Ita et ursos et erinaceos aiunt hyemem totam deterere; ac surgere pinguiores, quàm decubuerant.

Quoties invidi ego saginatrici harum bestiarum somnolentiæ, ubi cogitationum labor assiduus somnum mihi omnem ademerit, neque per horulæ unius momentum quiescere permiserit, languescentemque novo deinde penso addixerit! Attamen, ubi hanc utriusque conditionem probè appenderim, fatebor equidem lubens, malo labore deteri, quàm pinguescere otio: malo vitam utiliter operosam, quàm inutiliter segnem delicatamque. Nescio, an verè possim dicere animalia illa vel vivere quidem, quæ nihil agunt; quandoquidem nos vitam motu definire soleamus: certè, illorum vita parùm vitalis est. Quod ad me, malim ego profectò conqueri de animo, quiescere nescio; quàm de corpore, laboris impatiente.

LXII. *On bees fighting.*

WHAT a pity it is, to see these profitable, industrious creatures fall so furiously upon each other; and thus sting and kill each other, in the very mouth of the hive! I could like well, to see the bees do this execution upon wasps and drones, enemies to their common stock: this savours but of justice: but to see them fall foul upon those of their own wing, it cannot but trouble their owner; who must needs be an equal loser, by the victory of either.

There is no more perfect resemblance of a Commonwealth, whether civil or sacred, than in a hive. The bees are painful and honest compatriots; labouring to bring wax and honey to the maintenance of the public state: the wasps and drones are unprofitable and harmful hang-byes, which live upon the spoil of others' labours; whether as common barretors, or strong thieves, or bold parasites, they do nothing but rob their neighbours. It is a happy sight, when these feel the dint of justice, and are cut off from doing further mischief: but to see well-affected and beneficial subjects undo themselves with duels, whether of law or sword; to see good Christians, of the same profession, shedding each others' blood upon quarrels of religion, is no other than a sad and hateful spectacle; and so much the more, by how much we have more means of reason and grace, to compose our differences, and correct our offensive contentiousness.

O God, who art at once the Lord of Hosts and Prince of Peace, give us war with spiritual wickedness, and peace with our brethren.

LXIII. *On wasps falling into a glass.*

SEE you that narrow-mouthed glass, which is set near to the hive? mark how busily the wasps resort to it; being drawn thither by the smell of that sweet liquor, wherewith it is baited: see how eagerly they creep into the mouth of it [c]; and fall down suddenly from that slippery steepness, into that watery trap, from which they can never rise: there, after some vain labour and weariness, they drown and die. You do not see any of the bees look that way: they pass directly to their hive, without any notice taken of such a pleasing bait.

Idle and ill-disposed persons are drawn away with every temptation: they have both leisure and will, to entertain every sweet allurement to sin; and wantonly prosecute their own wicked lusts, till they fall into irrecoverable damnation. Whereas the diligent and laborious Christian, that follows hard and

[c] "See how eagerly they creep into the mouth of it," omitted in the Latin. —PRATT.

LXII. *Visis apibus secum pugnantibus.*

QUAM mihi dolet, videre utiles hasce et industrias creaturas in se mutuò tam furiosè involantes; seque, vel in ipso præsepiorum ingressu, stimulantes invicem interficientesque! Id mihi cordi foret, aspicere apes hasce idem fucis facere ac vespis, communis utilitatis hostibus notissimis: justitiam hoc sapit ilicet: videre verò apes has secummet ipsis dimicantes, non potest non esse molestum domino suo; qui, quæcunque demum vicerint, cives perdat necesse est.

Perfectior nulla potest esse Reipublicæ, sive civilis sive sacræ, imago, quàm in istis apum præsepibus. Apes operosi sunt honestique concives; sedulò collaborantes ceræ ac melli ad communis rei sustentationem importandis: vespæ ac fuci inutiles sunt et improbuli scurræ, qui alienorum laborum spoliis victitare solent; sive ut vitilitigatores, sive fures, sive edaces parasiti, proximos quosque despoliantur. Ubi justitiæ aciem sentiunt isti, tempestivasque pœnas sic luunt ut nihil deinceps mali perpetrent, fœlix profectò spectaculum est: videre autem benè-affectos fidosque subditos duellis, sive forensibus sive mavortiis, decertantes; videre Christianos, fidei ejusdem professores, mutuum sibi sanguinem religionis causâ crudeliter profundentes, triste et horrendum quiddam est et prodigii plenissimum; eoque magis, quo plura ac commodiora et rationis et gratiæ media nobis, cùm componendis litibus, tum corrigendis vitiosis contentionum studiis, suppetunt.

O Deus, qui unà et Dominus Exercituum et Princeps Pacis audis, bellum cum vitiis, cum fratribus pacem, indulge.

LXIII. *Conspectis vespis in vitrum melle illitum decidentibus.*

VIDE modò vitream illam ore angusto phialam, quàm proximè præsepio illi collocatam: quàm studiosè convolant illò vespæ; dulcis illius, quo inescatur, liquoris odore attractæ; deciduntque illico à lubrico hoc præcipitio, in decipulam illam aqueam, nunquam deinceps evasuræ: ibique, post paulum vani laboris ac lassitudinis, suffocantur statim et intereunt. Nullam vides apicularum illò respectantem: illæ rectà ad suum præsepe volant, suavem illam escam ne notantes quidem.

Otiosæ malèque feriatæ animæ omnibus tentationibus facilè distrahuntur: et otii illis sat est et arbitrii, omnes peccatorum illecebras lubenter excipere; suasque vitiosas libidines prosequi petulantiùs, donec in perniciem omnino irrecuperabilem inciderint. Ubi diligens laboriosusque Christianus, qui honestæ vo-

conscionably the works of an honest calling, is free from the danger of these deadly enticements; and lays up honey of comfort, against the winter of evil. Happy is that man, who can see and enjoy the success of his labour: but however, this we are sure of; if our labour cannot purchase the good we would have, it shall prevent the evil we would avoid.

LXIV. *On a spring in the wild forest.*

Lo here the true pattern of bounty. What clear crystal streams are here; and how liberally do they gush forth, and hasten down with a pleasing murmur into the valley! Yet you see neither man, nor beast, that takes part of that wholesome and pure water. It is enough, that those may dip, who will: the[d] refusal of others doth no whit abate of this proffered plenty.

Thus bountiful house-keepers hold on their set ordinary provision, whether they have guests or no. Thus conscionable preachers pour out the living waters of wholesome doctrine, whether their hearers partake of those blessed means of salvation, or neglect their holy endeavours. Let it be our comfort, that we have been no niggards of these celestial streams: let the world give an account of the improvement.

LXV. *On the sight of an owl in the twilight.*

What a strange melancholic life doth this creature lead! to hide her head, all the day long, in an ivy-bush; and at night, when all other birds are at rest, to fly abroad and vent her harsh notes!

I know not why the ancients have sacred this bird to wisdom, except it be for her safe closeness and singular perspicacity; that, when other domestical and airy creatures are blind, she only hath inward light, to discern the least objects for her own advantage. Surely, thus much wit they have taught us in her: That he is the wisest man, that would have the least to do with the multitude: That no life is so safe, as the obscure: That retiredness, if it have less comfort, yet less danger and vexation: lastly, That he is truly wise, who sees by a light of his own; when the rest of the world sit in an ignorant and confused darkness; unable to apprehend any truth, save by the helps of an outward illumination.

Had this fowl come forth in the day-time, how had all the little birds flocked wondering about her; to see her uncouth visage, to hear her untuned notes! She likes her estate never the worse; but pleaseth herself in her own quiet reservedness.

[d] This sentence is omitted in the Latin.—Pratt.

cationis operibus jugiter sanctèque incumbit, ab omni lethalium illiciorum periculo immunis est; ac mel veri solaminis, in duram mali hyemem prudens reponit. Fœlix is est, cui non videre modò liceat laboris sui successum sed et illo frui: quicquid tamen contigerit, hoc certò sanè constat; si labor noster non possit bonum quod volumus adipisci, malum certè quod vitare cupimus prævortet.

LXIV. *Viso fonticulo è loco quodam deserto ebulliente.*

Ecce veram imaginem beneficentiæ. Quàm claræ purèque chrystallinæ sunt hæ undæ; quàmque largiter effluunt, et suavi quodam murmure in vallem festinant! Hominem tamen nullum interea vides, imò ne brutum quidem, quod puræ illius saluberrimæque lymphæ particeps esse possit. Satis est, obvio cuique patere laticem hunc, ita ut haurire possit, qui volet, liberè.

Sic munifici patres-familias quotidianum semper dimensum apparant, adsint absintve hospites. Sic concionatores pii vivas salutaris doctrinæ aquas ubertim profundunt, sive auditores sacrosancta salutis media participare malint, sive tantos conatus negligant. Ilicet hoc nobis solatio sit, non fuisse harum cœlestium aquarum deparcos: harum verò beneficii ac usûs rationem reddat mundus.

LXV. *Conspecto bubone.*

Quam miserè tristem ac melancholicam vitam agit iste ales! qui, totâ die, hederæ densioris tegmine caput suum occulit; de nocte verò, cùm quiescunt volucres reliquæ, evolat stridulasque et ingratas voces edit.

Nescio equidem quorsum prudentiæ hunc alitem olim sacrârint veteres, nisi ob tutam forsan obscuritatem perspicacitatemque singularem; quòd, cùm animalium reliqua, domestica et aërea, prorsùs cæcutiant, bubo solus, interno quodam fretus lumine, vel minima quæque in rem suam objecta conspicetur. Istoc, nempe, sapientiæ illi nos hujus exemplo docuerunt: Prudentissimum esse eum, cui minimum est cum vulgo negotii: Nullam adeo tutam esse vitam, ac quæ obscurè traducitur: Secessionem, etsi minus fortè solatii, minus tamen periculi vexationisque nobis præstare: denique, Illum verè sapere, qui suo cernit lumine; cùm mundus reliquus in confusis quibusdam inscitiæ tenebris usque resideat; nec, nisi externæ illuminationis adminiculo, veritatis quicquam discernere unquam possit.

Si de die prodiisset hic ales, quàm istuc illico collectæ aviculæ omnes admirabundæ illum cinxissent; quasi vultus deformitatem, vocisque asperitatem unanimes haud parùm stuperent! Nihilo sibi tamen minùs perplacet illi sua conditio; neque minùs is sibi quietam delitescentiam gratulatur.

It is not for a wise man, to be much affected with the censures of the rude and unskilful vulgar; but to hold fast unto his own well-chosen and well-fixed resolutions. Every fool knows, what is wont to be done; but what is best to be done, is known only to the wise.

LXVI. *On an arm benumbed.*

How benumbed, and, for the time, senseless, is this arm of mine become, only with too long leaning upon it! While I used it to other services, it failed me not: now that I have rested upon it, I find cause to complain.

It is no trusting to an arm of flesh: on whatsoever occasion we put our confidence therein, this reliance will be sure to end in pain and disappointment.

O God, thine arm is strong and mighty: all thy creatures rest themselves upon that, and are comfortably sustained. Oh, that we were not more capable of distrust, than thine omnipotent hand is of weariness and subduction.

LXVII. *On the sparks flying upward.*

It is a feeling comparison, that of Job, of man born to labour, as the sparks do fly upward. That motion of theirs is no other than natural. Neither is it otherwise for man to labour: his mind is created active, and apt to some or other ratiocination; his joints all stirring; his nerves made for helps of moving; and his occasions of living call him forth to action. So as an idle man doth not more want grace, than degenerate from nature. Indeed, at the first kindling of the fire, some sparks are wont, by the impulsion of the bellows, to fly forward or sideward: and even so in our first age, youthly vanity may move us to irregular courses; but, when those first violences are overcome, and we have attained to a settledness of disposition, our sparks fly up, our life is labour. And why should we not do that, which we are made for? Why should not God rather grudge us our being, than we grudge him our work? It is no thank to us, that we labour out of necessity.

Out of my obedience to thee, O God, I desire ever to be employed. I shall never have comfort in my toil, if it be rather a purveyance for myself, than a sacrifice to thee.

LXVIII. *On the sight of a raven.*

I cannot see that bird, but I must needs think of Elijah; and wonder no less, at the miracle of his faith, than of his provision. It was a strong belief, that carried him into a desolate

Non est quòd vir prudens, imperiti rudisque vulgi censuris nimiùm afficiatur; potiùs vero suis ipsius benè fundatis firmatisque determinationibus usque adhærescat. Quid fieri soleat, nemo non fatuus novit; quid debeat fieri, soli sapienti innotescit.

LXVI. *De brachio obstupescente.*

Quam obstupet mihi, pro tempore, brachium, quo innixus sum diutulè, ferèque insensibile fit! Aliis certè à me destinatum officiis, nunquam mihi defuit: nunc verò ubi me illi reposuerim, causam querendi justam sentio.

Non est quòd brachio cuiquam carneo fidamus: quicquid fuerit in quo nos illi recumbendum censebimus, comperiemus tandem fiduciam hanc dolore speique frustratione desituram.

O Deus, forte ac potens est brachium tuum: in illud reclinant creaturæ tuæ omnes, tutòque ac fœliciter usque sustentantur. O, si nos parùm capaciores essemus diffidentiæ, quàm manus tua omnipotens defatigationis subductionisque.

LXVII. *Visâ scintillâ sursum volante.*

Viva illa est, quæ apud Jobum occurrit similitudo, hominis ad laborem nati, scintillæque ad sursum evolandum. Naturalis nempe est ille scintillarum motus. Identidem et homini labor: mens illi creatur activa, et ratiocinationi alicui apta; membra omnia motui cuidam accommodata; nervi, motûs adminicula, concessi; sed et omnes vitæ suæ rationes illum ad actionem aliquam evocant et solicitant. Ita ut osiosus homo non magis gratiâ destituatur, quàm ab ipsâ naturâ degenerat. Certè quidem, in primâ ignis accensione, scintillæ forsan aliquæ, flabellorum impulsu, hàc illàc, sùsque déque, volitare solent: sic etiam in primordiis fortè ætatis nostræ rudique adolescentiâ, juvenilis quædam vanitas nos ad motus inordinatos irregularesque incitaverit; sed, ubi deferbuerint illæ ardentiores adolescentiæ flammæ, et nos quandam dispositionis stabilitatem fuerimus assecuti, jam sursum volant scintillæ nostræ, vitaque nostra totus labor est. Et quare non id nos facimus, cui creatione destinamur? Cur non detrectaverit nobis potiùs vitam Deus, quàm nos Deo opus? Nostris profectò ingratiis laboramus, si necessitate impulsi id facimus.

Obedientiâ tui, O Deus, permotus, aliquid semper agere velim. Nec me quicquam solabitur unquam labor meus, si mihi ipsi potiùs, provisioni inservierit, quàm tibi, sacrificio.

LXVIII. *Corvo conspecto.*

Non possum ego unquam alitem hunc adspicere, quin statim Eliam cogitem; miraculumque, non minùs fidei ipsius, quàm alimoniæ stupeam. Fortis illa quidem stabilisque fiducia fuit, quæ ipsum in remotam divexit solitudinem, ut à corvis alimen-

retiredness, to expect food from ravens. This fowl, we know, is ravenous: all is too little, that he can forage for himself: and the prophet's reason must needs suggest to him, that in a dry barren desert bread and flesh must be great dainties: yet he goes aside, to expect victuals from that purveyance. He knew this fowl to be no less greedy, than unclean: unclean, as in law, so in the nature of his feed; what is his ordinary prey, but loathsome carrion? yet, since God had appointed him this caterer, he stands not upon the nice points of a fastidious squeamishness; but confidently depends upon that uncouth provision: and, accordingly, those unlikely purveyors bring him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening. Not one of those hungry ravens could swallow one morsel of those viands, which were sent by them to a better mouth. The river of Cherith sooner failed him than the tender of their service. No doubt, Elijah's stomach was often up before that his incurious diet came: when, expecting from the mouth of his cave, out of what coast of heaven these his servitors might be descried; upon the sight of them, he magnified, with a thankful heart, the wonderful goodness and truth of his God; and was nourished more with his faith, than with his food.

O God, how infinite is thy providence, wisdom, power! We, creatures, are not what we are, but what thou wilt have us: when thy turn is to be served, we have none of our own. Give me but faith, and do what thou wilt.

LXIX. *On a worm.*

It was a homely expression, which God makes of the state of his Church; *Fear not, thou worm Jacob.* Every foot is ready to tread on this despised creature. While it kept itself in that cold obscure cell of the earth, wherein it was hidden; it lay safe, because it was secret: but now, that it hath put itself forth of that close cave, and hath presented itself to the light of the sun, to the eye of passengers; how is it vexed with the scorching beams; and wrings up and down, in a helpless perplexity, not finding where to shroud itself! how obnoxious is it, to the fowls of the air, to the feet of men and beasts!

He, that made this creature such, and calls his Church so, well knew the answerableness of their condition. How doth the world overlook and contemn that little flock, whose best guard hath ever been secrecy! And, if ever that despicable number have dared to shew itself, how hath it been scorched, and trampled upon, and entertained with all variety of persecution!

O Saviour, thy Spouse fares no otherwise, than thyself. To match her fully, thou hast said of thyself, *I am a worm, and no man.* Such thou wert in thine humbled estate here on earth:

tum expectaret. Rapax est, ut nos probè novimus, iste ales: vix sibi sufficit, quod alicunde poterit deprædari: sed et ipsa ratio non potuerat non prophetæ suggerere, quantæ in arido quodam remotoque deserto deliciæ forent panis ac carnes: secedit tamen ille, etiam ab hoc œconomo cibum præstolaturus. Noverat is volucrem hanc non magis voracem, quàm immundam: immundam quidem, uti legi, ita etiam pastûs sui ratione; nam, quo tandem nisi fœtidissimis vescitur cadaveribus? cùm tamen Deus hunc illi obsonatorem ordinaverit, non fastidiosè nauseat quidem; sed mirâ animi confidentiâ insolitam illam cibi apparationem expectat: proque fiduciâ suâ, illi parùm idonei obsonatores panem et carnem mane, vespere panem et carnem constantissimè apportant. Nec quis famelicorum horum corvorum vel unum ciborum illorum frustulum, qui meliori destinati sunt palato, deglutire potuit. Citiùs defecit Cherith fluvius, quàm officiosum istorum obsequium. Eliæ, proculdubiò, appetitus sæpiusculè incuriosam hanc dietam antevorterat: ubi ille, è speluncæ suæ limine, avidis curiosisque oculis observaverat, è quâ tandem cœli plagâ prodigiosi isti ministri devolarent; advenientesque à longè conspicatus, grato animo, miram Dei sui bonitatem veritatemque recoluerat; plusque suâ fide, quàm cibo nutriebatur.

O Deus, quâm infinita est providentia, sapientia, potentia tua! Nos, misellæ creaturæ tuæ, non id sumus quod existimus, sed quod tu nos existere voluisti: ubi tua res agitur, nihil nobis de nostro suppetit. Indulge mihi fidem, et fac quod voles.

LXIX. *Viso verme.*

Quam humili loquendi modo, exprimit Deus Ecclesiæ suæ conditionem; *Ne metue, ô vermis Jacob.* Nullus non pes est, quin despicatissimam illam creaturam calcare soleat. Dum intra frigidas obscurasque terræ cellulas, in quibus delituerat, sese contineret; tutò, quia secretè, habitaverat: nunc verò, cùm ex abditis illis cavernulis se exeruerit semel, luminique solari sese audacter præsentaverit, oculisque simul transeuntium; quàm radiis hisce fervidioribus torretur illico; hàc ac illàc se torquet, miserè cruciata, quò se subducat nescia! quàm palam, et volucribus cœli, et hominum bestiarumque pedibus obnoxia!

Qui tale fecit animalculum hoc, sicque appellare voluit Ecclesiam suam, benè nôrat conditionis utriusque analogiam. Quàm despicit contemnitque mundus pusillum illum gregem, cujus tutamen maximum fuit semper obscuritas! Sicubi verò unquam contemptissima hæc bonorum paucitas mundo se exhibere ausa fuerit, quàm statim tosta, quàm calcata, quàm omni persecutionum genere accepta fuit!

O Servator, non aliter quidem Sponsæ tuæ, quàm ipsi tibi factum sentio. Par ut illi fores, tu de te dixisti ipse, *Vermis sum, non homo.* Talis in illâ terrenæ humiliationis conditione

such thou wouldest be. But, as it is a true word, that he, who made the angels in heaven, made also the worms on earth: so it is no less true, that he, who made himself and his Church worms upon earth, hath raised our nature in his person above the angels; and our person, in his Church, to little less than angels. It matters not, how we fare in this valley of tears, while we are sure of that infinite amends of glory above.

LXX. *On the putting on of his clothes.*

What a poor thing were man, if he were not beholden to other creatures! The earth affords him flax, for his linen; bread, for his belly: the beasts, his ordinary clothes; the silk-worm, his bravery: the back and bowels of the earth, his metals and fuel; the fishes, fowls, beasts, his nourishment. His wit indeed works upon all these, to improve them to his own advantage: but they must yield him materials, else he subsists not. And yet, we fools are proud of ourselves; yea, proud of the cast suits of the very basest creatures. There is not one of them, that have so much need of us. They would enjoy themselves, the more, if man were not.

O God, the more we are sensible of our own indigence, the more let us wonder at thine all-sufficiency in thyself; and long for that happy condition, wherein, thou, which art all perfection, shalt be all in all to us.

LXXI. *On the sight of a great library.*

What a world of wit is here packed up together! I know not, whether this sight doth more dismay, or comfort me: it dismays me, to think that here is so much, that I cannot know; it comforts me, to think that this variety yields so good helps, to know what I should. There is no truer word than that of Solomon; *There is no end of making many books.* This sight verifies it. There is no end: indeed, it were pity there should. God hath given to man a busy soul; the agitation whereof cannot but, through time and experience, work out many hidden truths: to suppress these, would be no other than injurious to mankind, whose minds like unto so many candles should be kindled by each other. The thoughts of our deliberation are most accurate: these we vent into our papers. What a happiness is it, that, without all offence of necromancy, I may here call up any of the ancient Worthies of Learning, whether human or divine, and confer with them of all my doubts! that I can, at pleasure, summon whole synods of reverend Fathers and acute Doctors from all the coasts of the earth, to give

fuisti: talis esse voluisti. Sed, uti verum verbum illud est, qui fecit in cœlo angelos, etiam in terrâ fecisse vermiculos: ita non minùs etiam verum est, qui se et Ecclesiam suam vermes fecit super terram, naturam utique nostram sibi adsumptam super omnes angelos elevâsse; personamque nostram, Ecclesiæ suæ membra, paulò minùs angelis honorâsse. Parùm refert, quid nobis fiat in hâc valle lachrymarum, dum certi simus pauxillum hoc miseriæ æterno cœlestis gloriæ pondere compensandum.

LXX. *Se induendo.*

Quam misella res homo foret, nisi id, quod ipsi benè est, aliis creaturis deberet! Terra, et linum, tergo suppeditat; et ventri, panem: communia vestimenta, bestiæ; superbiora, bombyces: viscera dorsumque terræ, metalla fomitemque; pisces, volucres, animalia reliqua, alimentum subministrant. Ingenium quidem illius novit, hæc omnia ad suum usum convertere: materiem verò nisi ipsa porrigerent, actum de homine esset. Et tamen, nos fatui admiratione nostri impotenter efferimur; imò, vilissimorum animalculorum exuviis superbimus. Nec quod horum est, æquè quod nostri indigeat. Imò potiùs fruerentur illa sese, eò magis, si homo non esset.

O Deus, quanto magis egestatem nostram persentiscimus, tanto magis *αὐτάρκειον* tuam admiremur; ambiamusque fœlicem illam conditionem, in quâ, tu, qui totus perfectio es, omnia in omnibus es nobis aliquando futurus.

LXXI. *Conspectâ bibliothecâ instructissimâ.*

Quantus ingenii et eruditionis mundus istìc congeritur! Nescio certè, plusne mihi animi adimat, addatve spectaculum hoc: adimit quidem, quòd tam multa hìc sint, quæ ego scire nullus unquam potero; addit verò, quòd varietas hæc tanta tam accommoda mihi adminicula suppeditet, ea quæ debeo cognoscendi. Nihil verius est illo Solomonis; *Librorum conficiendorum finis nullus est.* Etiam spectaculum istoc luculento indicio est. Finis nullus est: imò, nec esse debet quidem. Operosam agilemque animam indulsit homini Deus; cujus assiduæ agitationes non possunt non multas, obstetricante interim tempore et experientiâ, abstrusas veritates in lucem producere: istas si quis supprimere ac suffocare vellet, næ ille humano generi, cujus mens mutuo lumine accendi usque solet, haud parùm injurius foret. E diuturnâ deliberatione et studio ortæ cogitationes accuratissimæ omnium sint oportet: has scilicet chartis committimus. Quantæ fœlicitatis est, posse me heic, absque omni necromanticæ vitio, quemlibet priscorum Herôum Doctrinæ, sive humanæ sive divinæ, statim evocare, cumque illis dubia mea omnia liberrimè communicare! posse, prolibito, totas reverendorum Patrum acutissimorumque Doctorum Synodos ab omnibus terræ plagis, suffragia sua mihi, de arduis quibusque

their well-studied judgments, in all points of question, which I propose! Neither can I cast my eye casually upon any of these silent masters, but I must learn somewhat. It is a wantonness to complain of choice. No law binds us to read all: but the more we can take in and digest, the better-liking must the mind needs be. Blessed be God, that hath set up so many clear lamps in his Church: now, none, but the wilfully blind, can plead darkness. And blessed be the memory of those his faithful servants, that have left their blood, their spirits, their lives, in these precious papers; and have willingly wasted themselves into these during monuments, to give light unto others.

LXXII. *On the red cross on a door.*

O SIGN fearfully significant! This sickness is a Cross indeed; and that a bloody one: both the form and colour import death. The Israelites' doors, whose lintels were besprinkled with blood, were passed over by the destroying angel: here, the destroying angel hath smitten; and hath left this mark of his deadly blow. We are wont to fight cheerfully under this ensign abroad, and be victorious: why should we tremble at it at home?

O God, there, thou fightest for us; here, against us. Under that, we have fought for thee; but under this, because our sins have fought against thee, we are fought against by thy judgments. Yet, Lord, it is thy cross, though a heavy one: it is ours, by merit; thine, by imposition. O Lord, sanctify thine affliction; and remove thy vengeance.

LXXIII. *On the change of weather.*

I KNOW not whether it be worse, that the heavens look upon us always with one face, or ever varying: for, as continual change of weather causes uncertainty of health, so a permanent settledness of one season causeth a certainty of distemper. Perpetual moisture dissolves us: perpetual heat evaporates, or inflames us: cold stupifies us: drought obstructs, and withers us.

Neither is it otherwise, in the state of the mind. If our thoughts should be always volatile, changing, inconstant; we should never attain to any good habit of the soul, whether in matter of judgment or disposition: but, if they should be always fixed, we should run into the danger of some desperate extremity. To be ever thinking, would make us mad: to be ever thinking of our crosses or sins, would make us heartlessly dejected; to be ever thinking of pleasures and contentments, would melt us into a loose wantonness: to be ever doubting

subortis quæstionibus, non temera illa quidem sed maturè digesta laturas, convocare! Neque vel casu oculos conjicere possum in tacitorum istorum præceptorum quempiam, quin aliquid addiscam illico. De copiâ verò conqueri, delicati est nauseantisque animi. Nulla nos lex jubet omnes perlegere: quanto verò plures imbiberimus digesserimusque, tanto certè magis crescat pinguescatque animus necesse est. Benedictus sit Deus, qui tot claras lampades in Ecclesiâ suâ accenderit: nemo nunc, nisi qui cæcutit volens, tenebras causari potest. Benedicta sit etiam fidelium ipsius servorum memoria, qui tantum sudoris, sanguinis, spirituumque, animarum denique, in pretiosissimis hisce chartis reliquerint; seque lubentes in duratura hæc monumenta profuderint, ut aliis prælucerent.

LXXII. *Visâ cruce rubeâ, pestis insigni, foribus appictâ.*

O SIGNUM planè dirum ac horrendum! Morbus iste vera Crux est; eaque profectò sanguinea: et forma et color ipse mortem præ se ferunt. Israelitarum fores, quarum superliminaria sanguine conspersa sunt, ab interfectore angelo tutæ ac immunes erant: ecce istìc, destruens angelus percussit; et tam læthalis plagæ stigma post se reliquit. Sub hoc signo solemus alibi pugnare alacres, victoriamque reportare: quare ita nunc istud horremus domi?

O Deus, tu pro nobis, alibi, pugnas; hìc, contra nos. Sub illo, nos pro te dimicavimus; sub hoc verò, quoniam peccata nostra contra nos dimicârunt, judiciis tuis oppugnamur. Et tamen, O Deus, crux tua est, quantumlibet gravis: nostra quidem, merito; inflictione verò, tua. Domine, afflictionem tuam sanctifica; tolle iram.

LXXIII. *Ad cœli mutationem vicissitudinemque.*

NESCIO insalubriusne esset, cœlum nos unâ semper facie contueri, an semper variâ: nam, ut continua quædam cœli mutatio valetudinis incertitudinem, sic et permanens unius temperiei constantia certitudinem invaletudinis necessariò producit. Dissolvit nos humiditas perpetua: perpetuus calor exhalat spiritus, inflammatve: stupefacit frigus: siccitas obstruit, arefacitque.

Nec, quoad animi statum, aliter se habet. Si cogitationes nostræ semper volatiles, variæ, ac inconstantes forent; nusquam perfectum aliquem mentis habitum, sive judicium spectemus sive dispositionem, assequeremur: si, è contrà, semper fixæ, certè periculum sine dubio perniciosi alicujus excessûs incurreremus. Semper cogitando, insaniremus planè: semper cogitando sive cruciatus nostros sive peccata, animum penitùs desponderemus; semper cogitando voluptates jucunditatesque, in luxuriosam quandam delicatamque mollitiem dissolveremur: dubitare semper ac metuere, diræ cujusdam et infernalis ser-

and fearing, were a hellish servitude; to be ever bold and confident, were a dangerous presumption: but the interchanges of these in a due moderation, keep the soul in health.

O God, howsoever these variations be necessary for my spiritual condition, let me have no weather but sun-shine from thee. Do thou *lift up the light of thy countenance upon me; and stablish me ever, with thy free Spirit.*

LXXIV. *On the sight of a marriage.*

What a comfortable and feeling resemblance is here of Christ and his Church! I regard not the persons: I regard the institution. Neither the husband, nor the wife, are now any more their own: they have either of them given over themselves to other: not only the wife, which is the weaker vessel, hath yielded over herself to the stronger protection and participation of an abler head; but the husband hath resigned his right in himself over to his feebler consort, so as now her weakness is his, his strength is hers. Yea, their very flesh hath altered property: hers, is his; his, is hers. Yea, their very soul and spirit may no more be severed, in respect of mutual affection, than from their own several bodies.

It is thus, O Saviour, with Thee and thy Church. We are not our own, but thine; who hast married us to thyself in truth and righteousness: what powers, what endowments have we, but from and in thee? And, as our holy boldness dares interest ourselves in thy graces, so thy wonderfully-compassionate mercy vouchsafes to interest thyself in our infirmities: thy poor Church suffers on earth; thou feelest in heaven; and, as complaining of our stripes, canst say, *Why persecutest thou me?* Thou, again, art not so thine own, as that thou art not also ours: thy sufferings, thy merits, thy obedience, thy life, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession, glory, yea thy blessed Humanity, yea thy glorious Deity, by virtue of our right, of our union, are so ours, as that we would not give our part in thee for ten thousand worlds.

O gracious Saviour, as thou canst not but love and cherish this poor and unworthy soul of mine, which thou hast mercifully espoused to thyself: so give me grace to honour and obey thee; and, forsaking all the base and sinful rivalry of the world, to hold me only unto thee while I live here, that I may perfectly enjoy thee hereafter.

LXXV. *On the sight of a snake.*

I know not what horror we find in ourselves at the sight of a serpent. Other creatures are more loathsome; and some no less deadly, than it: yet there is none, at which our blood

vitutis esset; audere verò semper et fausta quæque certissimè sibi polliceri, periculosissimæ foret præfidentiæ: horum autem omnium probè temperatæ vicissitudines, sanam vividamque animam conservant.

Utcunque tamen, O Deus, variæ mutationes istæ spirituali conditioni meæ apprimè necessariæ sint, faxis ut à te nil nisi sudum ac serenum sentiam. *Attolle tu mihi lumen vultus tui; Spirituque tuo libero, animam meam semper stabilito.*

LXXIV. *Conspecto conjugii ritu publico.*

Quam jucunda quàmque perfecta exhibetur istìc Christi ac Ecclesiæ conjunctionis, similitudo! Personas non moror: institutionem cogito. Neque maritus, neque uxor, jam in propriâ potestate sunt: dediderunt sese mutuò alterutri: non modò uxor, vas fragilius, addixit se totam protectioni ac participationi capitis fortioris potentiorisque; sed et maritus ita se totum infirmiori conjugi resignavit, ut uxoris imbecillitates viro, viri autem vires ac facultates uxori cesserint. Imò, et ipsa illorum caro proprietatem suam commutaverit: uxoris quæ erat, viri est; quæ viri itidem, et uxoris. Imò, ipsorum anima spiritusque, respectu mutui affectûs, non magis à se invicem, quàm à propriis corporibus possunt separari.

Sic se habet, O Servator, inter Te et Ecclesiam tuam. Nostri non sumus, tui sumus; desponsasti tu nos tibi scilicet veritate et justitiâ: quæ nobis facultates, quæ dotes, nisi et à te et in te suppetunt? et, ut audax nostra fiducia sanctaque audacia tuas sibi gratias appropriare præsumit, ita et benignissima misericordia tua dignatur te nostris induere infirmitatibus: misella Ecclesia tua patitur in terrâ; tu sentis in cœlo; quasique de plagis ipsius conquestus, exclamas, *Quare me persequeris?* Itidem, et tu non ita tuus es, quin ut et noster interea sis: tui cruciatus, merita tua, tua obedientia, vita, mors, resurrectio, ascensio, intercessio, gloria, imò et tua beatissima Humanitas, et Divinitas gloriosissima, virtute juris in te nostri, unionisque nobiscum tuæ, ita nostri sunt, ut ne mille quidem mundi nostram in te partem redemptitare possint.

O misericors et beneficentissime Servator, ut tu non potes non amare ac fovere pauperculam hanc indignamque animam, quam tu tibi ipsi desponsasti: ita et indulge mihi reciprocè gratiam hanc, ut te colam, tibi obediam; spretisque vilibus vitiosisque procantis mundi blandimentis, me tibi totum dum hìc superero unicè servem, ut te deinceps æternùm fruar postmodum.

LXXV. *Conspecto angue.*

Nescio quis nobis ad conspectum serpentis horror oboriatur. Deformiora sunt animalia quædam alia; sed et quædam etiam illis, non minùs mortifera: nullum tamen est, quo viso,

riseth so much as at this. Whence should this be, but out of an instinct of our old enmity? We were stung in paradise; and cannot but feel it. But, here is our weakness: it was not the body of the serpent, that could have hurt us, without the suggestion of sin; and yet, we love the sin, while we hate the serpent.

Every day are we wounded with the sting of that old serpent, and complain not: and so much more deadly is that sting, by how much it is less felt. There is a sting of guilt; and there is a sting of remorse: there is mortal venom in the first, whereof we are the least sensible; there is less danger, in the second. The Israelites found themselves stung by those fiery serpents in the desert; and the sense of their pain sent them to seek for cure. The world, is our desert; and, as *the sting of death is sin;* so the sting of sin, is death. I do not more wish to find ease, than pain. If I complain enough, I cannot fail of cure.

O thou, which art the true Brazen Serpent, lifted up in this wilderness, raise up mine eyes to thee, and fasten them upon thee. Thy mercy shall make my soul whole; my wound, sovereign.

LXXVI. *On the ruins of an abbey.*

It is not so easy to say, what it was that built up these walls; as what it was, that pulled them down: even the wickedness of the possessors. Every stone hath a tongue, to accuse the superstition, hypocrisy, idleness, luxury of the late owners. Methinks, I see it written all along, in capital letters, upon these heaps, *A fruitful land maketh he barren, for the iniquity of them that dwell therein.* Perhaps, there wanted not some sacrilege in the demolishers. In all the carriage of these businesses, there was a just hand, that knew how to make an wholesome and profitable use of mutual sins. Full little did the builders or the in-dwellers think, that this costly and warm fabric should so soon end violently in a desolate rubbish.

It is not for us to be high-minded, but to fear. No roof is so high, no wall so strong, as that sin cannot level it with the dust. Were any pile so close, that it could keep out air; yet it could not keep out judgment, where sin hath been foreadmitted. In vain shall we promise stability to those houses, which we have made witnesses of and accessaries to our shameful uncleannesses: the firmness of any building, is not so much in the matter, as in the owner. Happy is that cottage, that hath an honest master; and woe be to that palace, that is viciously inhabited.

æquè resilit sanguis noster obrigetque. Unde fieri potest hoc, nisi ex quodam veteris inimicitiæ instinctu? Percussi olim fuimus in paradiso, venenato hujus aculeo; neque non adhuc sentire possumus lethale illud virus. O nostram, tamen, fatuitatem: ipsum serpentis illius corpus nobis nocere non potuerat, absque suggestione peccati; et tamen, peccatum diligimus, odimus serpentem.

Quotidie veteris illius serpentis stimulo vulneramur, et non conquerimur: et aculeus ille tanto magis perimit, quo sentitur minùs. Est aculeus quidam reatûs; est et aculeus doloris: in illo mortiferum virus est, cujus nos quidem sensum habemus minimum; in hoc, minus est periculi. Ab ardentibus illis in deserto serpentibus morsos se deprehenderunt Israelitæ; sensusque doloris eos illico ad quærendum remedium instigavit. Ecce desertum nostrum, mundus est: et, ut *stimulus mortis est peccatum;* ita et stimulus peccati, mors. Non medelam magis opto, quàm dolorem. Si satis dolere ac queri possim, non sanari quidem non potero.

O tu, qui verus es Serpens ille æneus, palam in deserto elevatus, tolle oculos ad te meos, eosque in te fige. Misericordia tua et animam meam sanam faciet; et vel ipsum vulnus, medicinam.

LXXVI. *Visis monasterii cujusdam ruinis.*

Non ita facile dictu est, quid parietes istos olim extruxerit; ac quid modò dejecerit: ipsa nempe dominorum nequitia. Unicuique lapidi lingua est, quæ nuperorum possessorum superstitionem, hypocrisin, otium, luxuriam subincuset. Videor mihi, videre in unâquaque harum congerie, majusculis characteribus, inscriptum, *Terram frugiferam sterilem reddit, ob iniquitatem incolentium.* Non defuit, fortè, aliquod in demolitoribus ædium istarum sacrilegii. In toto quidem negotio hoc, justa quædam manus fuit, quæ mutua hominum peccata ad sanum salubremque usum redigere noverat. Parùm profectò cogitârant vel architecti vel incolæ, tam sumptuosam commodèque constructam fabricam adeò citò violenterque in desertis ruderibus desituram.

Non est quòd nos efferamur animo, sed timeamus. Nullum ita altum tectorium est, nullus paries tam firmus, quem peccatum solo pulverique æquare non possit. Esto moles quæpiam tam accuratè fabricata clausaque, ut ne aerem quidem ipsum admittat; peccatum intromiserit modò, judicium Dei frustra excludere tentaverit. Nequicquam profectò stabilitatem ædibus illis pollicebimur, quas nos turpissimæ immunditiæ nostræ et testes et reas usque fecerimus: ædificii cujusque firmitudo, non tam materiæ adscribenda est, quàm domino. Fœlix illa casa est, quæ honestum sortita est dominum; væ palatio, cui vitiosus obtigit habitator.

LXXVII. *On the discharging of a piece.*

Good Lord, how witty men are, to kill one another! What fine devices they have found out, to murder afar off; to slay many at once; and so to fetch off lives, that, while a whole lane is made of carcases with one blow, nobody knows who hurt him! And what honour do we place in slaughter! Those arms, wherein we pride ourselves, are such, as which we or our ancestors have purchased with blood: the monuments of our glory, are the spoils of a subdued and slain enemy. Where, contrarily, all the titles of God sound of mercy, and gracious respects to man: God the Father, is the Maker and Preserver of men: God the Son, is the Saviour of mankind: God the Holy Ghost, styles himself the Comforter. Alas, whose image do we bear, in this disposition; but his, whose true title is, *The Destroyer?* It is easy, to take away the life: it is not easy, to give it. Give me the man, that can devise, how to save troops of men from killing: his name shall have room in my Calendar. There is more true honour in a civic garland, for the preserving of one subject; than in a laurel, for the victory of many enemies.

O God, there are enough, that bend their thoughts, to undo what thou hast made: enable thou me, to bestow my endeavours, in reprieving or rescuing that, which might otherwise perish. O thou, who art our common Saviour, make thou me both ambitious and able, to help to save some, other besides myself.

LXXVIII. *On the tolling of a passing bell.*

How doleful and heavy is this summons of death! This sound is not for our ears, but for our hearts: it calls us not only to our prayers, but to our preparation; to our prayers, for the departing soul; to our preparation, for our own departing. We have never so much need of prayers, as in our last combat: then is our great Adversary most eager: then are we the weakest: then nature is so over laboured, that it gives us not leisure, to make use of gracious motions. There is no preparation, so necessary, as for this conflict: all our life is little enough to make ready for our last hour. What am I better than my neighbours? How oft hath this bell reported to me, the farewell of many more strong and vigorous bodies than my own; of many more cheerful and lively spirits! And now what doth it, but call me to the thought of my parting? Here is no abiding for me: I must away too.

LXXVII. *Ad displosionem bombardæ.*

Deus Bone, quàm ingeniosi sunt homines, se trucidandis invicem! Quàm bellas excogitârunt machinas, quibus se à longè possint mutuò occidere; atque ita vitam adimere, ut, dum phalanges totæ uno ictu prosternuntur, nemo nôrit quis se læserit! Quantum verò honoris in cæde mutuâ collocamus! Illa insignia, quibus superbimus, ejusmodi sunt, quæ aut nos aut proavi nostri sanguine comparavimus: gloriæ nostræ monumenta quid aliud sunt, nisi victi occisique hostis spolia. Ubi, è contrà, tituli omnes Divini misericordiam sonant, summamque erga genus humanum benignitatem: Deus Pater, Creator est hominum Conservatorque: Deus Filius, humani generis Servator: Spiritus denique Sanctus, Consolatorem seipsum indigitat. Væ mihi, cujus imago est quam nos, ita ferociter affecti, gestamus; nisi illius, cui verus titulus est, *Homicida ab initio?* Vitam quidem auferre, facile est: non ita facile, restituere. Cedo mihi hominem, qui rationem adinvenire possit totas hominum cohortes, ab occisione conservandi: sacrum illi erit in Calendario meo ac rubricatum nomen. Plus veri honoris est in coronâ civicâ, unius subditi fidelis servati causâ; quàm in laureâ, plurimis devictis hostibus.

O Deus, satis illorum hominum est, qui animum in id unum intendunt, ut quæ tu fecisti destruant: inde tu mihi, excitaque et animum et operam, ut servare quoquo modo possim ac redimere peritura. O tu, qui communis es nostrûm omnium Servator, indulge mihi et ambitionem et facultatem, alium aliquem, præter meipsum, ad salutem perducendi.

LXXVIII. *Audito campanæ sono moribundi cujusdam obitum præmonentis.*

Quam tristis ac lugubris est hæc mortis summonitio! Sonus iste non aures nostras ferire debet, sed pectora: neque modò preces nostras exigit, sed apparatum; preces quidem, pro decessurâ statim animâ; nostri verò decessûs, apparatum. Nusquam profectò æquè precibus indigemus, ac in ultimo hoc certamine: tunc etenim, et nos ferocissimè aggreditur dirus ille Hostis, et nos illi resistendo maximè impares sumus: tunc ita opprimitur natura, ut parum suppetat otii, sanctos motus aut eliciendi aut revocandi quidem. Nihil quicquam occurrere potest, quod æquè præparationem nostram requirat, atque pugna hæc ultima: tota vita nostra vix sufficit extremæ huic horæ. Quis ego sum, aut quò tandem melior vicinis? Quoties retulit mihi campana hæc ipsa, exitum multorum robustiorum magisque vividorum corporum; spirituum alacriorum vivaciorumque! Nunc verò quid, nisi me revocat ad seriam egressûs mei cogitationem? Non est quòd istìc morari sperem: abeundum est mihi quoque.

O thou, that art the God of Comfort, help thy poor servant, that is now struggling with his last enemy. His sad friends stand gazing upon him, and weeping over him; but they cannot succour him: needs must they leave him, to do this great work alone: none, but thou, *to whom belong the issues of death*, canst relieve his distressed and over-matched soul. And, for me, let no man die without me: as I die daily, so teach me to die once: acquaint me beforehand with that messenger, which I must trust to. *Oh, teach me so to number my days, that I may apply my heart to true wisdom.*

LXXIX. *On a defamation dispersed.*

WERE I the first or the best, that ever was slandered, perhaps it would be somewhat difficult, to command myself patience. Grief is wont to be abated, either by partners, or precedents: the want whereof dejects us beyond measure, as men singled out for patterns of misery. Now, while I find this the common condition of all, that ever have been reputed virtuous, why am I troubled with the whisperings of false tongues[e]?

O God, the Devil slandered thee in paradise. O Saviour, men slandered thee on earth, more than men or devils can reproach me. Thou art the best, as thou art the best, that ever was smitten by a lying and venomous tongue. It is too much favour, that is done me by malicious lips, that they conform me to thy sufferings: I could not be so happy, if they were not so spiteful. O thou glorious pattern of reproached innocence, if I may not die for thee, yet let me thus bleed with thee.

LXXX. *On a ring of bells.*

WHILE every bell keeps due time and order, what a sweet and harmonious sound they make! All the neighbour villages are cheered with that common music: but when once they jar and check each other; either jangling together, or striking preposterously; how harsh, and unpleasing is that noise! So that, as we testify our public rejoicing, by an orderly and well-tuned peal; so, when we would signify that the town is on fire, we ring confusedly.

It is thus in Church and Commonwealth. When every one knows and keeps their due ranks, there is a melodious concert

[e] *Si Christus Judam passus est, cur non ego patior Birrhichionem?* Dial. de S. Martino, Sever. Sulpit.

O tu, qui Miserationum omnium Deus es, propitius esto misello servo tuo, qui jam modò cum novissimo illo hoste conflictatur. Amici ejus mœsti illum circumstant, et intuentur intentiùs, moribundoque allachrymantur; cui succurrere parùm possunt: necesse est eum sibi relinquant, ut magnum hoc opus sibi solus transigat: nemo, præter te solum, *penes quem sunt mortis exitus*, miseram hanc et tantis hostibus imparem congressam animam relevare potest. Et, quod me attinet, sine me nemo proximorum moriatur: uti ego quotidie morior, ita doce me mori semel: fac me præ manu familiarem illi nuntio, qui mihi necessariò expectandus est. *Doce me sic numerare dies meos, ut cor meum veræ addicam sapientiæ.*

LXXIX. *Defamatione quâdam divulgatâ.*

Si vel primus ego vel optimus omnium essem, cui probra immeritò fuissent ingesta, difficilius fortè foret, patientiam mihi imperare. Aut participatione, aut exemplis, imminui solet dolor: quibus utrisque ubi destituimur, supra modum dejici solemus, acsi miseriarum archetypi quidam designaremur. Nunc verò, quandoquidem communem hanc omnium, qui virtutem unquam coluere, conditionem comperio, quorsum ego falsiloquarum linguarum sibilationibus ita nimiùm crucior?

O Deus, ipsum te defamavit, Diabolus in paradiso. Te verò, O Servator, contumeliis magis impetierunt homines in terrâ, quàm nos impetere possunt homines dæmonesve. Tu, qui omnium optimus es, eminentissimus etiam illorum omnium es, qui mendaci venenatâque linguâ unquam fuêre sauciati. Nimiùm mihi favent linguæ hæ maledicæ, quòd me tuis passionibus conformem præstent: nisi illæ ita invidæ ac mordaces essent, ego certè ita fœlix esse non possem. O tu, qui gloriosissimum es innocentiæ contumeliosè exceptæ exemplar, quandoquidem pro te mori non liceat, da mihi saltem tecum vel sic vulnerari.

LXXX. *Audito quodam campanarum concentu.*

Dum tempus suum atque ordinem servant hæ campanæ, quàm suavem harmonicumque sonum edunt! Villulæ quæque vicinæ communi hoc concentu recreantur: ubi verò discors sonant, alteraque alteri obstrepit; sive coincidente sonitu, sive præposterè se ingerente; quàm injucundus est stridor ille, et haud parùm ingratus! Ita ut, qui gaudium publicum, benè ordinatâ regularique campanarum pulsatione, testari solemus; domorum itidem combustionem, confuso earundem sonitu, significemus.

Et sic quidem in Ecclesiâ ac Republicâ se habet. Ubi unusquisque suum novit locum ordinemque, suavissima est pacis

of peace and contentment; but, when distances and proportions of respects are not mutually observed, when either states or persons will be clashing with each other, the discord is grievous and extremely prejudicial. Such confusion either notifieth a fire already kindled, or portendeth it. Popular states may ring the changes with safety: but the Monarchical government requires a constant and regular course, of the set degrees of rule and inferiority; which cannot be violated, without a sensible discontentment and danger. For me, I do so love the peace of the Church and State, that I cannot but, with the charitable Apostle, say, *Would to God, they were cut off that trouble them;* and shall ever wish, either no jars, or no clappers.

LXXXI. *On the sight of a full table at a feast.*

WHAT great variety is here, of flesh, of fish; of both, of either: as if both nature and art did strive to pamper us! Yet methinks, enough is better than all this. Excess is but a burden; as to the provider, so to the guest. It pities and grieves me, to think what toil, what charge hath gone, to the gathering of all these dainties together; what pain so many poor creatures have been put to, in dying for a needless sacrifice to the belly; what a penance must be done by every accumbent, in sitting out the passage through all these dishes; what a task the stomach must be put to, in the concoction of so many mixtures. I am not so austerely scrupulous, as to deny the lawfulness of these abundant provisions, upon just occasions: I find my Saviour himself, more than once, at a feast: this is recorded, as well as his one long fast. Doubtless, our bountiful God hath given us his creatures, not for necessity only, but for pleasure: but these exceedings should be both rare and moderate; and, when they must be, require no less patience than temperance.

Might I have my option, O God, give me rather a little, with peace and love. He, whose provision for every day was thirty measures of fine flour and threescore measures of meal, thirty oxen, a hundred sheep, besides venison and fowl, yet can pray, *Give me the bread of sufficiency.* Let me have no *perpetual feast,* but *a good conscience:* and, from these great preparations, for the health both of soul and body, let me rise, rather hungry than surcharged.

LXXXII. *On the hearing of a lute well played on.*

THERE may be, for ought we know, infinite inventions of

contentationisque harmonia; sed, ubi debita intervalla respectuumque mutuorum proportiones justæ parùm observantur, ubi aut imperia aut personæ discordi quodam sibi clangore intersonant, gravissimæ lites incidunt ac utrisque fortasse perniciosæ. Confusio scilicet hujusmodi incendium commune vel innuit, vel certè portendit. Populares siquæ sint administrationes campanarum seriem facilè ac fortè etiam tutò variare possunt: regimen verò Monarchicum, constantem quendam regularemque ordinem, fixosque et dominii et subjectionis gradus efflagitat; qui quidem, absque manifesto præjudicio ac discrimine, violari non possunt. Me quod spectat, ita ego impensè diligo Ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ pacem, ut non possim, cum plenissimo illo quidem charitatis Apostolo, non optare *Utinam exscindantur qui ista mconturbant;* campanasque omnes cupiam, vel concordes, vel sanè elingues.

LXXXI. *Conspecto benè instructo convivio.*

Quanta istìc varietas est, carnium, piscium; utrorumque, neutrorumque: quasi et ars et natura saginationi nostræ ac deliciis conspirarent! Meo certè tamen animo, nimio hoc omni melius est quod est satis. Excessus iste oneri est; et domino, et hospiti. Dolet mihi quidem cogitare, quis labor, qui sumptus conquirendis hisce tot cupediis necessariò insumendi fuerint; quantum cruciatûs subierint tot misera animalcula, moriendo ut superfluo semel sacrificio ventri immolarentur; sed et quanta accumbentibus pœna incumbit, usque sedendi donec per omnia hæc fercula suo quodam ordine transierint; quantum denique stomacho provinciæ demandatur, tot ciborum misturas unà concoquendi. Non ita austerè rigidus sum, ut largos hosce apparatus, ubi res postulat, parùm licere censeam: etiam Servatorem meum, non semel, convivio accumbentem comperio: et hoc non minùs, quàm diuturnum illius jejunium unicum, memoratur. Proculdubio, munificus Deus noster creaturas nobis suas, non necessitatis ergò solum, sed et voluptatis, impertiit: excessus tamen isti, et rari sint oportet, et non nimii; et, ubi sunt, non minus patientiæ profectò, quàm temperantiæ desiderant.

Optio si mihi mea detur, pauxillum mihi sit, cum pace et charitate. Ille, cui quotidianum dimensum erat, triginta cori similæ et sexaginta cori farinæ, boves triginta, centum oves, præter ferinam volucresque saginatas, precatur tamen, *Da mihi panem sufficientiæ.* Nullum mihi *perpetuum convivium* sit, præter *bonam conscientiam:* ab istis verò lautis largisque epulis, liceat mihi, pro et animæ et corporis sanitate, fame potiùs quàm crapulâ laboranti, surgere.

LXXXII. *Auditâ lyrâ benè pulsatâ.*

Infinita fortassis esse possunt artis inventa, quorum possi-

art, the possibility whereof we should hardly ever believe, if they were fore-reported to us. Had we lived in some rude and remote part of the world; and should have been told, that it is possible, only by a hollow piece of wood, and the guts of beasts stirred by the fingers of men, to make so sweet and melodious a noise; we should have thought it utterly incredible: yet now, that we see and hear it ordinarily done, we make it no wonder.

It is no marvel, if we cannot fore-imagine what kind and means of harmony, God will have used by his saints and angels in heaven; when these poor matters seem so strange to our conceits, which yet our very senses are convinced of.

O God, thou knowest infinite ways to glorify thyself by thy creatures, which do far transcend our weak and finite capacities. Let me wonder at thy wisdom and power; and be more awful in my adorations, than curious in my inquiries.

LXXXIII. *On the sight and noise of a peacock.*

I SEE there are many kinds of hypocrites. Of all birds, this makes the fairest shew, and the worst noise: so as this is a hypocrite to the eye. There are others, as the blackbird, that looks foul and sooty; but sings well: this is a hypocrite to the ear. There are others, that please us well, both in their shew and voice; but are cross in their carriage and condition; as the popingay, whose colours are beautiful, and noise delightful, yet is it apt to do mischief, in scratching and biting any hand that comes near it: these are hypocrites both to the eye and ear. Yet there is a degree further, beyond the example of all brute creatures, of them, whose shew, whose words, whose actions are fair; but their hearts are foul and abominable. No outward beauty can make the hypocrite other than odious. For me, let my profession agree with my words, my words with my actions, my actions with my heart; and let all of them be approved of the God of Truth.

LXXXIV. *On a penitent malefactor.*

I KNOW not whether I should more admire the wisdom or the mercy of God, in his proceedings with men. Had not this man sinned thus notoriously, he had never been thus happy. While his courses were fair and civil; yet he was graceless: now, his miscarriage hath drawn him into a just affliction; his affliction hath humbled him. God hath taken this advantage of his humiliation, for his conversion. Had not one foot slipped into the mouth of hell, he had never been in this forwardness to heaven.

There is no man so weak or foolish, as that he hath not

bilitatem, famæ talia alicubi posse fieri referenti, vix profectò crederemus. Si in rudiore aliquâ remotioreque mundi plagâ vixissemus; audivissemusque, fieri posse, ut ab excavatis dolatisque lignis, bestiarumque illiis motis parumper humanâ manu, tam suavis harmonicusque sonus ederetur; nos planè incredibile putassemus: nunc verò, cùm hoc vulgo fieri et videamus et audiamus quotidie, ne miramur quidem.

Mirum non est, si nos præcogitare nequeamus, sive genera sive modos harmoniæ illius supernæ, quam a sanctis angelisque in cœlo usurpari voluit Deus; cùm minima hæc, quorum sensus noster facilè convincitur, ita nimis admiranda videantur.

Nôsti tu, O Deus, infinitas temetipsum per creaturas tuas te glorificandi rationes, quæ finitum ingenioli nostri captum longissimè transcendunt. Fac sapientiam tuam potentiamque usque stupeam; simque adorando humilior, quàm curiosior inquirendo.

LXXXIII. *Viso et audito pavone.*

Video hypocritarum non unum esse genus. Inter omnes alitum species, hic, et pulcherrimus videtur, et sonat ingratissimè: ita ut hic hypocritam se præstet oculo. Sunt et alii, huic adversi, uti merula, quæ nigra videtur; cantat tamen optimè: hypocrita nempe illa auri est. Sunt et alii, qui, et specie et voce, sat nobis placent; moribus verò ac gestu offendunt; qualis est psittacus, cujus colores venusti sunt, sonus non injucundus; mordere tamen solet ille, proximamque manum quamque unguibus impetere: hic et oculo et auri hypocrita est. Gradus tamen adhuc ulterior, præter irrationalium omnium exemplum, eorum est, scilicet, quorum species, voces, gestus, moresque, non perplacere non possunt; corda tamen fœdissima sint, et horrendâ impietate plena. Externæ venustatis non est, hypocritam facere non verè turpem et odiosum. Quod ad me, curæ mihi sit, ut professio mea cum verbis, verba cum actionibus, actiones cum corde conspirent; utque omnia hæc à Deo Veritatis approbe[illegible]

[illegible] *elerato quodam seriò pœnitente.*

[illegible] sapientiam an misericordiam Dei, in [illegible]. Nisi ita flagitiosè peccâsset hic [illegible]set. Dum se inculpatè gesserat [illegible]batur: nunc, illud in quod inci[illegible]i calamitatem superintulit; humi[illegible]lumiliationis istius ansam arripuit [illegible]onvertendo. Ni pes illi unus in os [illegible]unquam profectò ita cœlo appropin-

[illegible] væcors aut imbecillus est, ut cui parùm

strength or wit enough, to sin, or to make ill use of his sin: it is only the goodness of an Infinite God, that can make our sin good to us, though evil in itself.

O God, it is no thank to ourselves or to our sins, that we are bettered with evil. The work is thine: let thine be the glory.

LXXXV. *On the sight of a lily.*

THIS must needs be a goodly flower, that our Saviour hath singled out, to compare with Solomon; and that not in his ordinary dress, but in all his royalty. Surely, the earth had never, so glorious a king as he. Nature yielded nothing, that might set forth royal magnificence, that he wanted: yet he, that made both Solomon and this flower, says, that *Solomon in all his royalty, was not clad like it.*

What a poor thing is this earthly bravery, that is so easily overmatched! How ill judges are we of outward beauties, that contemn these goodly plants, which their Creator thus magnifies; and admire those base metals, which he, in comparison hereof, contemns! If it be their transitoriness, that embaseth them, what are we? *All flesh is grass; and all the glory of man, as the flower of grass.* As we cannot be so brave, so we cannot be more permanent.

O God, let it be my ambition, to walk with thee hereafter in white. Could I put on a robe of stars here, with proud Herod, that glittering garment could not keep me from lice or worms. Might I sit on a throne of gold within a house of ivory, I see I should not compare with this flower: I might be as transitory; I should not be so beautiful. What matters it, whether I go for a flower, or a weed, here? Whethersoever, I must wither. O thou, which art greater than Solomon, do thou clothe me with thy perfect righteousness: so shall I flourish for ever, in the courts of the house of my God.

LXXXVI. *On the sight of a coffin stuck with flowers.*

Too fair appearance, is never free from just suspicion. While here was nothing but mere wood, no flower was to be seen here: now, that this wood is lined with an unsavoury corpse, it is adorned with this sweet variety. The fir, whereof that coffin is made, yields a natural redolence alone: now, that it is stuffed thus noisomely, all helps are too little to countervail that scent of corruption.

Neither is it otherwise in the living: perpetual use of strong perfumes, argues a guiltiness of some unpleasing savour. The case is the same spiritually: an over-glorious outside of profession, implies some inward filthiness, that would fain escape

suppetant ingenium viresque, et peccandi, et peccato utendi pessimè: una Infiniti Numinis bonitas est, quæ peccatum, in se malum, nobis commodum ac salutare potest efficere.

O Deus, nihil nobis peccatisve nostris debemus, quòd malis nostris meliorescimus. Opus tuum est: tua solius sit gloria.

LXXXV. *Ad conspectum liliorum.*

Non potest non esse flos pulcherrimus, quem selegit Servator noster, ipsi Solomoni; non quotidiano quidem habitu, induto, sed splendore regio jam tum ornatissimo; conferendum. Certè, nullus unquam rex terræ fuit, æquè ac ille gloriosus. Nihil sanè produxit natura, regiæ magnificentiæ illustrandæ idoneum, quod ipsi defuit: ille tamen, qui utrunque et Solomonem et florem hunc fecerat, ait, *Solomonem, vel regio apparatu insignem, huic flori parem non fuisse.*

Quàm frivola est terrena istæc gloria, quæ tam facilè potest exuperari! Quàm iniqui sumus nos formarum externarum judices, qui speciosas hasce plantas, quas ita laudat Creator, adeò contemnimus; admiramurque viliora quæque metalla, quæ ille, istarum habitâ ratione, contemnit! Quid vero est? nunquid istæ tam citâ aritudine vilescunt? at nos ipsi quid sumus? *Omnis caro fœnum; et omnes gloria hominis, ut flos agri.* Ut nos æquè speciosi esse non possumus, ita neque magis permanentes.

O Deus, illa mihi ambitio esto, tecum postmodò albis indutum ambulare. Vestem si ego istìc stellis ornatam, cum superbo Herode, gestavero, splendida illa toga non me poterit à pediculis vermiculisve vindicare. Insiderem modò throno aureo in domo eburneâ, cum istoc tamen flore minimè forem comparandus: æquè certè caducus esse possem; non æquè speciosus. Quid refert, pro florenè, hìc, habear, an herba noxia? Uterlibet sim, arescam necesse est. O tu, qui major es Solomone, indue me perfectâ justitiâ tuâ: sic ego, in atriis domûs Dei mei, æternùm efflorescam.

LXXXVI. *Visâ sandapilâ floribus ornatâ.*

Quæ nimis pulchra videntur, vix unquam à justâ suspicione immunia sunt. Dum nil præter lignum hìc fuit, nullus istoc flos decorabat: nunc, ubi lignum hoc olido farcitur cadavere, suavissimâ hâc florum varietate adornatur illico. Abiegna hæc sandapila, de se quidem suaviter redolet: fœtidum verò hunc hospitem nacta, ita nimis florum adminiculo indiget, ut, ne horum omnium ope, putridum hunc odorem evincere possit.

Neque aliter se in vivis habet: perpetuus unguentorum aromaticorum usus, malesuavis cujusdam odoris reatum secretum arguit. Idem etiam spiritualiter usuvenit: nimis gloriosa professionis facies, internam aliquam fœditatem, quæ lucem refugit,

notice. *Our uncomely parts have more comeliness put on.* Too much ornament imports extreme deformity. For me, let my shew be moderate: so shall I neither deceive applause, nor merit too deep censure.

LXXXVII. *On the view of the world.*

It is a good thing, to see this material world; but it is a better thing, to think of the intelligible world. This thought is the sight of the soul, whereby it discerneth things like itself, spiritual and immortal; which are so much beyond the worth of these sensible objects, as a spirit is beyond a body, a pure substance beyond a corruptible, an Infinite God above a finite creature.

O God, how great a word is that, which the Psalmist says of thee, That thou *abasest thyself, to behold the things both in heaven and earth!* It is our glory, to look up even to the meanest piece of heaven: it is an abasement to thine incomprehensible Majesty, to look down upon the best of heaven. [f]Oh, what a transcendent glory must that needs be, that is abased to behold the things of heaven! What a happiness shall it be to me, that mine eyes shall be exalted to see thee, who art humbled to see the place and state of my blessedness! Yea, those very angels, that see thy face, are so resplendently glorious, that we could not overlive the sight of one of their faces, who are fain to hide their faces from the sight of thine. How many millions attend thy throne above, and thy footstool below, in the ministration to thy Saints! It is that thine invisible world, the communion wherewith can make me truly blessed. O God, if my body have fellowship here amongst beasts, of whose earthly substance it participates; let my soul be united to thee, the God of Spirits; and be raised up to enjoy the insensible society of thy blessed angels. Acquaint me beforehand with those citizens and affairs of thy heaven; and make me no stranger to my future glory.

LXXXVIII. *On the stinging of a wasp.*

How small things may annoy the greatest! Even a mouse troubles an elephant; a gnat, a lion: a very flea may disquiet a giant. What weapon can be nearer to nothing, than the sting of this wasp? yet, what a painful wound hath it given me! That scarce-visible point how it envenoms, and rankles, and swells up the flesh! The tenderness of the part adds much to the grief.

And if I be thus vexed with the touch of an angry fly, Lord, how shall I be able to endure the sting of a tormenting con-

[f] This sentence is omitted in the Latin.—Pratt.

vulgò innuit. *Partes magis pudendas minùsque decoras, vestimus honoratiùs.* Nimium ornamenti intolerandam deformitatem subindicat. Quod ad me, nil nisi mediocre ac moderatum ostentem: ita neque fallam applausum, neque nimium merebor censuræ.

LXXXVII. *Conspectâ mundi fabricâ.*

Vel materialem hunc mundum cernere, bonum est; melius tamen, mundum intelligibilem cogitare. Cogitatio hæc animæ quædam visio est, quâ res sui similes, spirituales scilicet immortalesque contemplatur; quæ quidem objecta, sensibilia quæquæ non minùs exuperant, quàm spiritus materiam corpoream, substantia pura corruptibilem, Deus Infinitus finitam creaturam, transcendit.

O Deus, quale illud Psaltis de te tui verbum est, *Humiliare te nempe temetipsum, ut contempleris et quæ in cœlo sunt et quæ in terrâ!* Haud parum nobis gloriæ est, vel infimam cœli partem contueri: humiliatio verò quædam tui est, vel optimam cœli partem despicere. Quanta mihi fœlicitas erit, adeò exaltatum iri oculos meos ut te videant, cujus tam immensa est gloria, ut vel locum statumque beatitudinis meæ videre, quoddam demissionis genus sit! Imò, ipsi illi angeli, qui faciem tuam adspiciunt, ita gloriosi sunt, ut si quam unius istorum faciem intueremur, tantæ nos gloriæ diutius superesse non possemus, qui tamen interea faciem suam ab aspectu tui splendoris abscondunt. Quot horum myriades, et throno tuo in cœlis, et scabello in terris. Sanctis istìc tuis, ministraturæ, sive adstant, sive provolvuntur! Mundus ille tuus alter invisibilis, is est, cujus communio nos verè fœlices præstare potest. O Deus, si corpus meum hìc cum brutis, quorum terrenam substantiam participat, versetur; uniatur anima mea tecum, Spirituum Deo; et ad insensibilis beatorum tuorum angelorum societatis fruitionem elevetur. Fac præ manu intercedat mihi cum civibus rebusque cœli tui sancta quædam familiaritas; neque sim futuræ gloriæ hospes ac peregrinus.

LXXXVIII. *De vespæ aculeo.*

Quam minima possunt vel maximis molestiam facessere! Mus elephantum, culex leonem, imò vel pulex gigantem, vexare potest. Ecquod telum minus esse potest vespæ aculeo? quantum tamen doloris, vel ex tantillo hujus ictu sentio! Vix visibilis ista acies, quàm venenavit, quàm tumefecit mihi carnem! Sed et non parum dolori addit, partis teneritas quædam et mollities.

Quòd si vel iratæ muscæ tactu minimo sic torquear, quomodo ferre potero dirum cruciatricis conscientiæ stimulum? Ut pars

science? As that part, is both most active, and most sensible; so, that wound, which it receives from itself, is most intolerably grievous: there were more ease in a nest of hornets, than under this one torture. O God, howsoever I speed abroad, give me peace at home; and, whatever my flesh suffer, keep my soul free.

Thus pained, wherein do I find ease, but in laying honey to the part infected? That medicine only abates the anguish. How near hath nature placed the remedy to the offence! Whensoever my heart is stung with the remorse for sin, only thy sweet and precious merits, O Blessed Saviour, can mitigate and heal the wound: they have virtue to cure me; give me grace to apply them: that sovereign receipt shall make my pain happy: I shall thus applaud my grief: *It is good for me that I was* thus *afflicted.*

LXXXIX. *On the arraignment of a felon.*

With what terror doth this malefactor stand at that bar! his hand trembles, while it is lift up for his trial: his very lips quake, while he saith, Not guilty: his countenance condemns him, before the judge; and his fear is ready to execute him, before his hangman. Yet this judge is but a weak man, that must soon after die himself: that sentence of death, which he can pronounce, is already passed by nature, upon the most innocent: that act of death, which the law inflicteth by him, is but momentary[g]: who knows whether himself shall not die more painfully?

O God, with what horror shall the guilty soul stand before thy dreadful Tribunal, in the day of the great Assizes of the World: while there is the presence of an Infinite Majesty, to daunt him; a fierce and clamorous conscience, to give in evidence against him; legions of ugly and terrible devils, waiting to seize upon him; a gulf of unquenchable fire, ready to receive him: while the glory of the Judge is no less confounding, than the cruelty of the tormentors; where the sentence is unavoidable, and the execution everlasting! Why do not these terrors of thee, my God, make me wise, to hold a privy sessions, upon my soul and actions; that, being acquitted by my own heart, I may not be condemned by thee; and being judged by myself, I may not be condemned with the world?

XC. *On the crowing of a cock.*

How harshly did this note sound, in the ear of Peter; yea, pierced his very heart! Many a time had he heard this bird, and was no whit moved with the noise: now, there was a bird

[g] This sentence is not noticed in the Latin.—Pratt.

illa, et maximè agit, et sentit exquisitissimè; ita, vulnus, quod sibi infligit, necesse est ut supra modum grave sit et dolorificum: tutiùs profectò quis inter crabronum examina volutaretur, quàm uni hujus cruciatui subjaceret. O Deus, quicquid de me forìs fiat, da mihi pacem domi; et, quicquid caro mea patiatur, animam mihi sanam servato et incolumen.

Ecquod verò sic cruciato remedium, nisi parte affectâ melle statim illitâ? Ea sola medicina dolorem minuit. Quàm prope noxam collocavit remedium natura! Quandocunque cor meum peccati aculeo pungitur, sola tua dulcissima, O Servator, preciosissimaque merita, mitigare dolorem ac sanare vulnus possunt: illa medendi virtutem habent; da mihi unà applicandi gratiam: pharmacum hoc ilicet certissimum dolorem meum faciet salutarem: sic ego cruciatui meo gratulabor: *Bonum mihi est, quòd* sic *fuerim afflictus.*

LXXXIX. *Viso reo pro tribunali consistente.*

Quanto cum terrore pro tribunali stat reus iste! tremit illi manus, dum probationis ergò elevatur: motitantur timore labia, dum se insontem pronunciant: vel ante judicis sententiam, damnat illum facies pallida et consternata; ante carnificis manum, mortem illi metus infert. Judex tamen iste imbecillis homo est, post non multos dies moriturus ipse: sententia, quam fert ille, mortis, jamdudum à naturâ ipsâ in hominem quemque, vel innocentissimum, lata est: sed et actus ille mortis, quem per eum lex infligit, brevis et momentaneus est.

O Deus, quanto cum horrore consistet coram tremendo Tribunali tuo peccatrix reprobi anima, in die magni illius Consessûs universalisque Judicii: terrebit eam Infinitæ Majestatis præsentia; ferox ac clamosa conscientia eam accusabit; deformium ac terribilium dæmonum legiones in procinctu stant, rapere; eam ad supplicium paratissimæ ignis inextinguibilis horrenda vorago præcipitandam expectat: quam denique non minùs confundit gloria Judicis, quàm crudelitas carnificum; ubi sententia inevitabilis est, et pœna sempiterna! Quorsum verò non ita me sagacem prudentemque reddunt terrores hi tui, O Deus, ut secretum quoddam, in animam meam actionesque, judicium exerceam; adeò ut, à corde meo absolutus, à te parùm condemner; et, à meipso judicatus, non damner cum seculo?

XC. *Audito galli cantu.*

Quam asperè sonuit vox hæc, in aure Petri; imò, cor illi planè transfixit! Sæpe quidem audîerat is alitis istius sonum, neque quicquam illo priùs movebatur: nunc verò, is alitem

in his bosom, that crowed louder than this; whose shrill accent, conjoined with this, astonished the guilty disciple. The weary labourer, when he is awakened from his sweet sleep by this natural clock of the household, is not so angry at this troublesome bird, nor so vexed at the hearing of that unseasonable sound, as Peter was, when this fowl awakened his sleeping conscience, and called him to a timely repentance. This cock did but crow, like others; neither made or knew any difference of this tone and the rest: there was a Divine hand, that ordered this morning's note, to be a summons of penitence. He, that foretold it, had fore-appointed it: that bird could not but crow then; and all the noise in the High Priest's hall could not keep that sound from Peter's ear.

But, O Saviour, couldest thou find leisure, when thou stoodest at the bar of that unjust and cruel judgment, amidst all that bloody rabble of enemies, in the sense of all their fury and the expectation of thine own death, to listen unto this monitor of Peter's repentance; and, upon the hearing of it, to cast back thine eyes upon thy denying, cursing, abjuring disciple? O mercy without measure, and beyond all the possibility of our admiration; to neglect thyself, for a sinner! to attend the repentance of one, when thou wert about to lay down thy life for all!

O God, thou art still equally merciful. Every elect soul is no less dear unto thee. Let the sound of thy faithful monitors smite my ears; and let the beams of thy merciful eyes wound my heart: so as I may go forth, and weep bitterly.

XCI. *On the variety of thoughts.*

When I bethink myself, how eternity depends upon this moment of life, I wonder how I can think of any thing, but heaven: but, when I see the distractions of my thoughts, and the aberrations of my life, I wonder, how I can be so bewitched, as, while I believe a heaven, so to forget it. All that I can do, is, to be angry at mine own vanity. My thoughts would not be so many, if they were all right. There are ten thousand by-ways, for one direct. As there is but one heaven, so there is but one way to it; that living way, wherein I walk by faith, by obedience. All things, the more perfect they are, the more do they reduce themselves towards that unity, which is the centre of all perfection.

O thou, who art one and infinite, draw in my heart, from all these straggling and unprofitable cogitations; and confine it to thy heaven, and to thyself who art the heaven of that heaven. Let me have no life, but in thee; no care, but to enjoy thee; no ambition, but thy glory. Oh, make me thus imperfectly

gestabat alium in pectore, magis sonorum; cujus canori accentus, cum hisce conjuncti, conscium malè discipulum penè exanimârant. Fessus labore agricola, cum à dulci somno, primo mane, à familiari hoc nativoque horologio excitatur, non ita succenset molestæ huic avi, neque adeò vexatur intempestivo hoc sono, ac Petrus fuit, ubi volucris istæc expergefecit illum ab alto sopore conscientiæ, et ad tempestivam resipiscentiam revocavit. Non aliter cecinit gallus iste, quàm alii solent; neque discrimen notarum suarum ullum sensit: Divina manus fuit, quæ matutinos hosce accentus ordinaverat, summonendæ pœnitentiæ. Qui prædixerat hoc, et prædeterminaverat itidem: non potuit non tunc canere ales ille; omnis, quantumvis confusus, strepitus, in Pontificis Maximi aulâ non potuit sonum hunc ab aure Petri intercipere ac detinere.

At, O Servator, supereratnè tibi hoc otii, dum pro tribunali stabas injusti illius crudelisque judicii, inter sanguinolentam inimicorum turbam, dum furorem ipsorum sentires tuamque expectares mortem, ut aurem dares Petrinæ resipiscentiæ monitori; auditoque hoc semel, retorqueres oculos in renegantem, execrantem, abjurantemque discipulum? O misericordiam sine modo, supraque omnem nostræ admirationis potentiam; temetipsum negligere, præ peccatore! unius advertere ac irritare pœnitentiam, cùm jam vitam tuam pro omnibus depositurus modò esses!

O Deus, æquè tu semper misericors es. Æquè tibi chara est electa quævis anima. Fidelium monitorum tuorum sonus aurem meam usque feriat; et misericordium oculorum tuorum radii saucient cor meum: sic ego exibo, et flebo amarissimè.

XCI. *De cogitationum varietate.*

Ubi cogito, quàm ab hoc vitæ momento pendet æternitas, miror posse me quid aliud, præter cœlum, meditari: ubi video cogitationum mearum distractiones varias, vitæque meæ aberrationes, miror rursum, quomodo ita possim fascinari, ut cœlum hoc, quod credo, adeò obliviscar. Quod unum modò facere possum, illud est, vanitati meæ succensere. Non ita variæ essent cogitationes meæ, si rectæ forent omnes. Pro uno directo tramite, mille sunt devia. Ut unum tantùm cœlum est, ita una est, quæ eò ducit, via; viva illa nempe via, in quâ, fide et obedientiâ ambulo. Quo perfectiora sunt omnia, eo se magis ad unitatem illam, quæ perfectionis omnis centrum est, reducunt.

O tu, qui unus es idemque infinitus, retrahe cor meum, ab omnibus vagis inutilibusque cogitationibus; affigeque me tuo cœlo, tibique ipsi qui cœli illius cœlum es. Nulla mihi, nisi in te, vita sit; nulla cura, nisi te fruendi; nulla, nisi gloriæ tuæ, ambitio. Fac me sic, ante tempus, imperfectè fœlicem; ut,

happy, before my time; that, when my time shall be no more, I may be perfectly happy with thee in all eternity.

XCII. *On the sight of a harlot carted.*

With what noise, and tumult, and zeal of solemn justice, is this sin punished! The streets are not more full of beholders, than clamours. Every one strives to express his detestation of the fact, by some token of revenge: one casts mire, another water, another rotten eggs, upon the miserable offender. Neither, indeed, is she worthy of less: but, in the mean time, no man looks home to himself. It is no uncharity to say, That too many insult in this just punishment, who have deserved more.

Alas, we men value sins, by the outward scandal; but the wise and holy God, against whom only our sins are done, esteems them, according to the intrinsical iniquity of them, and according to the secret violation of his will and justice: thus, those sins, which are slight to us, are to him heinous. We, ignorants, would have rung David's adultery with basons; but as for his numbering of the people, we should have past it over as venial: the wise justice of the Almighty found more wickedness in this, which we should scarce have accused. Doubtless, there is more mischief in a secret infidelity, which the world either cannot know or cares not to censure, than in the foulest adultery. Public sins have more shame; private may have more guilt. If the world cannot charge me of those, it is enough, that I can charge my soul of worse. Let others rejoice, in these public executions: let me pity the sins of others, and be humbled under the sense of my own.

XCIII. *On the smell of a rose.*

Smelling, is one of the meanest, and least useful of the senses: yet there is none of the five, that receives or gives so exquisite a contentment as it. Methinks, there is no earthly thing, that yields so perfect a pleasure to any sense, as the odour of the first rose doth to the scent.

It is the wisdom and bounty of the Creator, so to order it, that those senses, which have more affinity with the body, and with that earth whereof it is made, should receive their delight and contentation by those things, which are bred of the earth; but those, which are more sprightful, and have more affinity with the soul, should be reserved for the perfection of their pleasure, to another world. There, and then only, shall my sight make my soul eternally blessed.

ubi tempus non erit amplius, perfectè beatus esse possim per omnem æternitatem.

XCII. *Ad conspectum meretricis plaustro exceptæ publicisque contumeliis expositæ.*

Quanto cum strepitu, ac tumultu, zeloque publicæ justitiæ, punitur peccatum hoc! Neque pleniores sunt plateæ spectantium oculis, quàm clamoribus insectantium. Contendit unusquisque odium facti, aliquo vindictæ symbolo, testari: cœnum hic, ille aquam, alius quis ova putrida, in miseram conjicit meretricem. Nec quo, certè, minore supplicio digna illa est: at nemo, interea, domum reflectit oculos, ut se videat. Nullus in charitatem peccaverim, si dixero, Multos justæ huic pœnæ insultare acriùs, qui meruerint graviorem.

Nos homines, externo quidem scandalo, peccata metimur; sed Deus ille sapientissimus sanctissimusque, cui soli peccamus, ad intrinsecæ iniquitatis modum, secretamque voluntatis et justitiæ suæ violationem, ea solet æstimare: atque ita, quæ nobis leviuscula, gravia illi delicta videri solent. Nos, fatui, Davidis adulterium plaustro ac tympanis probrosè excipiendum censuissemus; numerationem autem populi, vix culpæ quidem loco habuissemus: sapientissima verò Dei Omnipotentis justitia multum in hoc comperit criminis, quod nos ne accusâssemus quidem. Proculdubio, plus est in secreto quodam atheismo, quem mundus censurâ notare aut nescit aut parùm curat, flagitii, quàm in adulterio quovis turpissimo. Publica peccata plus habent pudoris; privata plus fortè habere possunt reatûs. Si illorum insimulare me nequeat mundus, sat est, posse me animam meam incusare graviorum. Gestiant alii, quantum volunt, in publicis hisce suppliciis: misereat me peccati aliorum, sensuque mei humilier.

XCIII. *Ad rosæ odorem.*

Odoratus, unus quidem est ex sensibus infimis, et qui minimo omnium inserviat usui: ex iis tamen quinque nullus est, qui æquè exquisitam voluptatem recipit redditve. Nihil quidem terrenum, ut mihi videri solet, tam perfectè sensum ullum delectat, quàm rosæ primæ odor olfactum.

Ita ordinavit sapientia et benignitas Creatoris, ut sensus ii, qui magis affines sunt corpori, terræque illi ex quâ corpus fit, suavissimè afficerentur illis rebus, quæ ex terrâ genitæ sunt; ii autem, qui magis spirituales sunt, plusque cum animâ affinitatis habent, voluptatis suæ perfectionem, velut seculo illi alteri servatam, aliundè expectarent. Tunc, et ibi solùm, visus meus animam meam præstabit æternùm fœlicem.

XCIV. *On a cancelled bond.*

While this obligation was in force, I was in servitude to my parchment: my bond was double; to a payment, to a penalty: now, that is discharged, what is it better than a waste scroll; regarded for nothing, but the witness of its own voidance and nullity?

No otherwise is it with the severe law of my Creator. Out of Christ, it stands in full force: and binds me over, either to perfect obedience, which I cannot possibly perform; or to exquisite torment and eternal death, which I am never able to endure. But now, that my Saviour hath fastened it cancelled to his Cross, in respect of the rigour and malediction of it, I look upon it, as the monument of my past danger and bondage: I know, by it, how much was owed by me; how much was paid for me. The direction of it is everlasting: the obligation by it unto death is frustrate. I am free from curse, who never can be free from obedience.

O Saviour, take thou glory; and give me peace.

XCV. *On the report of a great loss by sea.*

The earth and the water, are both of them great givers, and both great takers: as they give matter and sustentation to all sublunary creatures, so they take all back again; insatiably devouring, at last, the fruits of their own wombs. Yet of the two, the earth is both more beneficial, and less cruel: for, as that yields us the most general maintenance, and wealth, and supportation; so it doth not lightly take ought from us, but that which we resign over to it, and which naturally falls back unto it. Whereas the water, as it affords but a small part of our livelihood, and some few knacks of ornament; so it is apt violently to snatch away both us and ours; and to bereave that, which it never gave: it yields us no precious metals; and yet, in an instant, fetches away millions. And yet, notwithstanding all the hard measure we receive from it, how many do we daily see, that might have firm ground under them, who yet will be trusting to the mercy of the sea! Yea, how many, that have hardly crawled out from a desperate shipwreck, will yet be trying the fidelity of that unsure and untrusty element!

O God, how venturous we are, where we have reason to distrust! how incredulously fearful, where we have cause to be confident! Who ever relied upon thy gracious providence and sure promises, O Lord, and hath miscarried? Yet here, we pull in our faith, and make excuses for our diffidence. And if Peter have tried those waves to be no other than solid pavement under his feet, while his soul trod confidently; yet when

XCIV. *Ad conspectum syngraphæ luceratæ et irritæ.*

QUAMDIU valebat illud chirographum, ego membranulæ meæ servus eram: duplex erat obligatio mea; solutioni una, altera verò pœnæ: nunc verò, ubi adimpletur conditio solviturque debitum, quid aliud est nisi irrita quædam chartula; nulli usui idonea, nisi forsan ut testis sit suæ frustrationis nullitatisque?

Neque se habet aliter severa lex Creatoris mei. Extra Christum, perfectè valet vigetque: meque vel ad absolutam, quam præstare nequeo obedientiam; vel ad cruciatum exquisitissimum mortemque æternam, quam subire nequeo; necessariò obligat. Nunc verò cùm illam Servator meus cassatam penitùs, quoad rigorem maledictionemque, Cruci suæ affixerit, respicio quidem hanc, ut prioris periculi et servitutis monumentum: hinc probè novi, quantum debuerim; quantum nomine meo solutum fuerit. Directio ejus perpetua est: obligatio ad mortem evanuit. Immunis sum à maledicto, qui ab obedientiâ meâ nunquam ero immunis.

O Servator, tu tibi sume gloriam; da mihi pacem.

XCV. *Audito naufragio quodam.*

TERRA et aqua, uti benefici largitores sunt, ita et voracissimi etiam receptatores: ut materiam sustentationemque sublunaribus quibusque suppeditant, ita et eandem totam non multò post resumunt; fructum uteri sui, tandem, avidè insatiabiliterque deglutientes. Ex his tamen duobus, terra magis munifica est, et crudelis minùs: hæc etenim, ut plusculum alimoniæ, opum, supportationisque subministrat; ita vix quid ùnquam à nobis recipit, quod nos ipsi non lubentes ei resignaverimus, quodque in eam, vi quâdam naturæ, non sponte recidat. Ubi aqua, ut non multum nutrimenti, præter paucula quædam ad ornatum, confert; ita nos nostraque violentâ manu rapere parata est; quæque nunquam dederat, desubitò auferre: nulla nobis metalla preciosa elargitur; et tamen, momento temporis, multos auri argentique acervos unà diripit. Nihilominùs tamen, non obstante quotidianæ hujusce rapinæ tristi experientiâ, quàm multos videmus indies, quibus firmam pedibus calcare terram satis liceat, misericordiæ maris confidere etiamnum ausos! Imò, quot ubique occurrunt, qui cùm vix dum periculosissimum naufragium evaserint, fidei tamen instabilis illius et malè-fidi elementi se adhuc concredere non dubitant!

O Deus, quàm nos audaces sumus, ubi meritò diffidere deberemus! quàm diffidenter timidi, ubi certissima obvenit causa fiduciæ! Quis unquam, O Domine, in benignissimam providentiam tuam firmissimaque promissa recubuit perperàm? Istìc tamen, fidem nostram anxiè retrahimus, excusationesque cudimus incredulitatis. Quòd si Petrus undas illas solidum sub pedibus suis pavimentum senserit, dum confidenter calcaverat

a billow and a wind agree to threaten him, his faith flags, and he begins to sink.

O Lord, teach me to doubt, where I am sure to find nothing but uncertainty; and, to be assuredly confident, where there can be no possibility of any cause of doubting.

XCVI. *On sight of a bright sky full of stars.*

I CANNOT blame Empedocles, if he professed a desire to live upon earth, only that he might behold the face of the heavens: surely, if there were no other, this were a sufficient errand, for a man's being here below, to see and observe these goodly spangles of light above our heads; their places, their quantities, their motions.

But the employment of a Christian is far more noble and excellent. Heaven is open to him; and he can look beyond the veil; and see further above those stars, than it is thither; and there discern those glories, that may answer so rich a pavement: upon the clear sight whereof, I cannot wonder, if the Chosen Vessel desired to leave the earth, in so happy an exchange.

O God, I bless thine infiniteness for what I see with these bodily eyes: but, if thou shalt but draw the curtain, and let me by the eye of faith see the inside of that thy glorious frame, I shall need no other happiness here. My soul cannot be capable of more favour, than sight here, and fruition hereafter.

XCVII. *On the rumours of wars.*

GOOD Lord, what a shambles is Christendom become of late! How are men killed, like flies; and blood poured out, like water! Surely, the cruelty and ambition of the great have a heavy reckoning to make, for so many thousand souls. I condemn not just arms: those are as necessary, as the unjust are hateful. Even Michael and his Angels fight; and the style of God is, *The Lord of Hosts: But, woe be to the man, by whom the offence cometh.* Usurpation of other's rights, violation of oaths and contracts, and lastly erroneous zeal, are guilty of all these public murders. Private men's injuries are washed off with tears; but wrongs done to princes and public states, are hardly wiped off but with blood. Doubtless, that fearful comet did not more certainly portend these wars; than these wars presage the approach of the end of the world. The earth was never without some broils, since it was peopled but with three men; but so universal a combustion was never in the Christian world, since it was.

illius anima; ubi tamen fluctus decumanus flatusque paulò violentior hominem unà adoriri consentiunt, languescere jam fides ejus, ipse verò subsidere statim incipit.

O Deus, doce me illîc dubitare, ubi nihil præter incertitudinem comperire certus sum; et, ubi nulla potest subesse dubitationis causa, securè semper confidere.

XCVI. *Viso cœlo sereno stellis referto.*

Empedoclem profectò culpare nequeo, qui vitam in terrâ traducere se velle professus est, solùm ut cœli faciem intueretur: certè, si nihil nobis præterea negotii foret, satis hoc pensi esset, in hâc infimâ mundi parte, adspicere et observare scintillantia illa cœli luminaria super capita nostra regulariter circumvolventia; eorumque situs, molem, motus.

Christiani verò opus longè nobilius excellentiusque est. Apertum est illi cœlum; is ultra velum cernere potest; altiùsque supra has stellas, quàm distant a nobis stellæ, prospicere; ibique tantum gloriæ notare, quantum tam specioso ac magnifico pavimento respondere possit: quo quidem conspecto, mirari non possum, si Vas illud Electum, tam fœlicis mutationis gloriam ambiens, terram hanc derelinquere vehementer cupîerit.

O Deus, ego, ob hæc quæ oculis usurpo meis, Infinitatem tuam summopere laudo: sed, si velum tibi placuerit retrahere tantillum, fideique meæ oculo intimam gloriosæ fabricæ tuæ partem repræsentare, non aliam quidem istîc beatitudinem desiderabo. Neque majoris favoris capax esse potest anima mea, quàm ut heic videat, fruaturque postmodò.

XCVII. *Audito rumore belli.*

Deus Bone, qualis laniena jam pridem factus est orbis Christianus! Quàm mactantur homines, ut muscæ; sanguisque, instar aquæ, effunditur? Certè quidem, crudelitas et ambitio magnatum tot millium pereuntiam animarum rationem, diram illam quidem tristissimamque, olim redditura est. Justa equidem arma nullus damno: illa non minùs necessaria sunt, quàm injusta sunt humano generi infesta. Etiam Michael et Angeli ejus pugnant; sed et titulus est ipsius Dei, *Dominus Exercituum: Sed, væ homini illi, quisquis demum fuerit, per quem scandalum hoc venit.* Juris alieni usurpatio, juramentorum contractuumque violatio, zelusque malè-sanus, rei sunt publicæ hujus internecionis. Privatorum hominum injuriæ lachrymis facilè lavantur; principibus verò rerumque publicarum administratoribus illatæ, vix quidem sanguine diluuntur. Sine dubio, horrendus ille cometa non certiùs portendebat bella hæc, tam fera ac diuturna; quàm bella hæc mundi finem præsagiunt. Nunquam lite quâdam vacabat terra, ex quo tres tulit incolas; sed tam universales discordiarum flammæ, ex quo Christianus orbis extitit, nunquam profectò exarserunt.

O Saviour, what can I think of this, but that, as thou wouldest have a general peace, upon thy first coming into the world; so, upon thy second coming, thou meanest there shall be a no less general war upon earth? That peace made way for thy meek appearance: this war, for thy dreadful and terrible.

XCVIII. *On a child crying.*

It was upon great reason, that the Apostle charges us, not to be children in Understanding. What fools we all once are! Even at first we cry and smile, we know not wherefore: we have not wit enough, to make signs, what hurts us, or where we complain: we can wry the mouth; but not seek the breast; and if we want help, we can only lament, and sprawl, and die. After, when some months have taught us, to distinguish a little betwixt things and persons, we cry for every toy, even that which may most hurt us; and, when there is no other cause, we cry only to hear our own noise; and are straight stilled with a greater: and if it be but upon the breeding of a tooth, we are so wayward, that nothing will please us; and if some formerly-liked knack be given to quiet us, we cast away that which we have, if we have not what we would seem to like. We fear neither fire, nor water: nothing scares us, but either a rod or a feigned bug-bear. We misknow our parents: not acknowledging any friend, but the tailor, that brings us a fine coat; or the nurse, that dresses us gay. The more that our riper years resemble these dispositions, the more childish we are; and more worthy, both of our own and other's censure.

But again, it was upon no less reason, that the Apostle charges us, to be children in Maliciousness. Those little innocents bear no grudge: they are sooner pleased than angry: and if any man have wronged them, let them but have given a stroke unto the nurse, to beat the offender, it is enough; at the same instant, they put forth their hand for reconcilement, and offer themselves unto those arms that trespassed. And when they are most froward, they are stilled with a pleasant song. The old word is, that "An old man is twice a child;" but I say, happy is he, that is thus a child always. It is a great imperfection to want knowledge; but, of the two, it is better to be a child in understanding, than a man in maliciousness.

XCIX. *On the beginning of a sickness.*

It was my own fault, if I looked not for this. All things must undergo their changes. I have enjoyed many fair days: there was no reason, I should not at last make account of clouds and storms. Could I have done well, without any mixtures of

O Servator, quid mihi aliud, ista seriò cogitanti, occurrit, nisi te, qui universalem pacem per orbem totum in priore adventu tuo, obtinere voluisti; statuisse etiam, ut, in secundo, adventu tuo, bellum non minùs universale terram exerceret? Pax illa mitissimæ præsentiæ tuæ sternebat viam: bellum verò istud, formidandæ ac terribili.

XCVIII. *Puero ejulante.*

Non sine justâ ratione, jubet Apostolus, ne quoad intelligentiam pueri simus. Quàm fatui semel sumus omnes! Lachrymamur primulùm ridemusque, quorsum verò utrūmque facimus planè nescimus: non sat nobis ingenii suppetit, ut indicio aliquo innuamus, quid nos lædat, aut de quo conqueramur: os quidem detorquere possumus, hàc illàc; ubera verò quæritare parùm novimus: quòd si præstò fortè non sit adjutrix quæpiam, tantùm plorare, motitari, mori deinceps possumus. Postea verò, ubi menses aliquot nos docuerint forsan, inter res personasque aliquantulum distinguere, tricas quasque, etiam maximè nocivas, stridulo fletu prosequimur; et, ubi nulla subest causa alia, ejulamus modò ut nosmet ejulantes audiamus; et sono majore victi, conticescimus: quin et solo dentitionis dolore ita morosi sumus, ut nihil quicquam nos placare possit; quòd si qua priorum, quæ olim placuerunt, næniarum, nobis sedandis porrigatur, abjicimus quæ habemus, si quæ cupimus habere parùm suppetant. Nec ignem metuimus, nec aquam: nihil nos terret, præter aut virgam, aut spectrum aliquod fictitium. Fallit nos parentum nostrorum notitia: nec quem agnoscimus amicum, præter sutorem vestiarium, qui novam adduxerit tunicam; aut nutricem, quæ nos ornaverit bellulè. Quo propiùs accedit ad dispositionem hanc maturior ætas nostra, eo magis pueriles sumus; nostrâque et aliorum censurâ digniores.

Rursum verò, non minore de causâ, præcipit Apostolus, ut, quoad malitiam, pueri simus. Parvuli isti verè innocentes nullâ secretâ laborant malevolentiâ: placantur ferè citiùs quàm irritantur: quòd si quis injuriam illis intulisse visus fuerit, ubi alapa nutrici porrigitur, quâ offendentem cædat, sedantur illico; eodemque momento, manum exerunt reconciliationis ergò, seque in provocantis brachia dedunt ultrò. Ubi autem vel morosissimi sunt, cantilenâ aliquâ suaviore ad priscam quietem reducuntur. Vetus verbum est, "Senem bis puerum esse;" fœlix verò est, inquam ego, qui sic semper puer manet. Magnæ imperfectionis est, scientiâ destitui; è duobus, tamen, minus malum est ut quis intelligentiâ puer sit, quàm vir malitiâ.

XCIX. *Ineunte morbo.*

Mea quidem unius culpâ fit, quòd ego istud non expectaverim. Omnia suas vicissitudines subeant necesse est. Multos ego serenos detrivi dies: non erat, quòd non aliquando nubes et turbines præsentirem. Si modò potuissem ego semper benè

sin, I might have hoped for entire health; but, since I have interspersed my obedience with many sinful failings and enormities, why do I think much, to interchange health with sickness? What I now feel, I know: I am not worthy to know what I must feel. As my times, so my measures, are in the hands of a wise and good God. My comfort is, he, that sends these evils, proportions them. If they be sharp, I am sure they are just: the most, that I am capable to endure, is the least part, of what I have deserved to suffer. Nature would fain be at ease; but, Lord, whatever become of this carcase, thou hast reason to have respect to thine own glory. I have sinned; and must smart. It is the glory of thy mercy, to beat my body, for the safety of my soul. The worst of sickness, is pain; and the worst of pain, is but death. As for pain, if it be extreme, it cannot be long; and if it be long, such is the difference of earthly and hellish torments, it cannot be extreme. As for death, it is both unavoidable and beneficial: there ends my misery, and begins my glory: a few groans are well bestowed, for a preface to an immortal joy.

Howsoever, O God, thy messenger is worthy to be welcome. *It is the Lord: let him do, whatsoever he will.*

C. *On the challenge of a promise.*

It is true, an honest man's word must be his master. When I have promised, I am indebted; and debts may be claimed, must be paid. But yet, there is a great deal of difference, in our engagements: some things we promise, because they are due; some things are only due, because they are promised. These latter, which are but the mere engagements of courtesy, cannot so absolutely bind us, that, notwithstanding any intervention of unworthiness or misbehaviour in the person expectant, we are tied to make our word good, though to the cutting of our own throats. All favourable promises presuppose a capacity in the receiver: where that palpably faileth, common equity sets us free. I promised to send a fair sword to my friend: he is, since that time, turned frantic: must I send it; or be charged with unfaithfulness, if I send it not?

O God, thy title is *The God of Truth.* Thou canst no more cease to be faithful, than to be. How oft hast thou promised, that no good thing shall be wanting to thine; and yet we know, thy dearest children have complained of want! Is thy word therefore challengeable? Far, far be this wicked presumption from our thoughts. No: these, thy promises of outward

agere, absque omni peccati misturâ, perfectam fortè sanitatem meritò sperassem; sed, cùm obedientiam meam multis defectibus vitiosis enormibusque delictis intersperserim, cur mihi ægrè est, misceri morbum valetudini? Quid nunc sentiam, novi: quid deinceps perpessurus sim, non dignus sum qui sciam. Ut tempora mea, ita rerum mearum mensuræ, penes sapientissimum benignissimumque Deum sunt. Illud me solatur unicè, qui mihi immisit mala hæc, modum etiam iisdem malis præstituisse. Si gravia sint, scio esse justa: maximum eorum, quæ ego ferre possum, minimum est eorum, quæ perpeti meruerim. Quieti indulgere vellet natura; sed, O Deus, quicquid fiat de cadavere hoc meo, jure bono tu gloriam tuam respicis. Ego peccavi; necesse est vapulem. Miserecordiæ tuæ ingens gloria est, corpus meum verberare, ut animam serves. Pessimum morbi, dolor est; pessimum doloris, mors est. Dolorem quod spectat, si gravis is sit, diuturnus esse nequit; si diuturnus, illud nempe discriminis est inter terrenum hunc et infernum cruciatum, gravis esse non potest. Mortem verò quod attinet, et inevitabilis illa est, et haud parùm benefica: ibi desinit miseria mea, incipit gloria. Benè locantur pauci gemitus, ubi præludio sunt immortalis gloriæ.

Quicquid sit, nuntius tuus, O Deus, dignus est qui summâ gratulatione excipiatur. *Dominus est ilicet: quid vult, faciat.*

C. *Promisso quodam vehementiùs postulato.*

Verum est illud quidem, honestum quemque verbi sui semel emissi servum esse. Ubi promiserim, debitor sum; debita autem, et postulari possunt, et solvi necesse habent. Multum tamen est, in obligationum nostrarum generibus, discrimen: quædam pollicemur, quòd debita sint; quædam verò, eo solo nomine debentur, quòd ultrò promiserimus. Posteriora hæc, quæ mera sunt favoris et beneficentiæ spontaneæ vincula, nos absolutè quidem ita ligare, ut, quicquid interveniat in expectante mali, necessariò teneamur, quanquam maximo cum nostro incommodo, præstare promissum, planè nequeunt. Pollicita quæque gratuita capacitatem quandam in recipiente semper præsupponunt: quâ demptâ, ipsa nos communis æquitas liberat et absolvit. Gladium quendam accuratè sculptum amico cuidam meo promiseram: is, interea temporis, in phrenesin incidit: quid? nunquid hunc aut mittere teneor; aut statim arguor violatæ fidei, qui non miserim?

O Deus, meritò quidem audis tu *Deus Veritatis.* Neque minùs impossibile est ut tu fidelis non sis, quàm ut esse desinas. Quoties pollicitus es tu, nihil quicquam boni tuis defuturum; quoties tamen audivimus, filios tuos charissimos fame et inediâ laborâsse! Quid? vacillatnè ergo verbum tuum, nostrisque cavillis obnoxium erit? Absit, absit, ut cogitationes nobis occurrant ita audacter impiæ. Minimè verò: quæ gra-

favours, are never but with a subintelligence of a condition of our capableness, of our expedience. Thou seest, that plenty, or ease, would be our bane: thy love forbears to satisfy us, with a harmful blessing. We are worthy to be plagued with prejudicial kindnesses, if we do not acknowledge thy wisdom and care in our want. It is enough for us, that thy best mercies are our dues, because thy promises: we cannot too much claim that, which thou hast absolutely engaged thyself to give; and, in giving, shalt make us eternally happy.

CI. *On the sight of flies.*

When I look upon these flies, and gnats, and worms, I have reason to think, what am I to my Infinite Creator, more than these? And, if these had my reason, why might they not expostulate with their Maker, why they are but such; why they live to so little purpose, and die without either notice or use? And, if I had no more reason than they, I should be, as they, content with any condition. That reason, which I have, is not of my own giving: he, that hath given me reason, might as well have given it to them; or have made me, as reasonless, as they. There is no cause, why his greater gift should make me mutinous and malecontent. I will thank my God, for what I am, for what I have; and never quarrel with him, for what I want.

CII. *On the sight of a fantastical zealot.*

It is not the intent of grace, to mould our bodies anew; but to make use of them, as it finds us. The disposition of men much follows the temper of their bodily humours. This mixture of humours, wrought upon by grace, causeth that strange variety, which we see in professions pretendedly religious. When grace lights upon a sad, melancholic spirit; nothing is affected, but sullenness, and extreme mortification, and dislike even of lawful freedom; nothing, but positions and practices of severe austerity: when, contrarily, upon the cheerful and lively, all draws towards liberty and joy; those thoughts do now please best, which enlarge the heart to mirth and contentation. It is the greatest improvement of Christian wisdom, to distinguish, in all professions, betwixt grace and humour; to give God his own glory, and men their own infirmities.

CIII. *On the sight of a scavenger working in the kennel.*

The wise providence of God hath fitted men with spirits

tiam externam spectant promissa, nunquam non cum certâ quâdam conditionis sive capacitatis nostræ, sive expedientiæ subintelligentiâ, proponuntur. Vides tu scilicet, rerum omnium affluentiam, quietemque, exitio nobis fore: amor tuus noxio nos beneficio cumulare detrectat. Digni sumus qui infestis perniciosisque favoribus puniamur, si prudentiam tuam curamque eximiam in nostrâ hâc indigentiâ grato animo non agnoscamus. Sufficit nobis abundè, miserationum tuarum optimas quasque debitas nobis esse, quia à te promissas: non possumus nimis confidenter poscere, quod tu certissimè largiri promiseris; largiendoque, nos æternùm beatos præstiturus es.

CI. *Muscis quibusdam conspectis.*

Quoties muscas istas, culices, ac vermiculos intuero, est sanè quòd cogitem, Quid sum ego Infinito Creatori meo, plus quàm isti? Quòd, si hi rationis meæ participes essent, quidni conditorem suum compellarent, cur tales facti sint; cur tam inutiles vivant, tantoque cum neglectu moriantur? Et, si mihi æquè ac illis deesset ratio, sorte ego quâvis, quemadmodum et illi, sat benè contentus forem. Ratio, quâ præditus sum, non à meipso profluit: illam qui mihi solus indidit, potuit et istis non minùs dedisse; meve, si visum fuisset, non minùs quam istos, rationis expertem condidisse. Non est, quòd me morosum ingratumque reddat major illius benignitas. Quicquid sim, quicquid habeam, Deo meo acceptum referam; quicquid defuerit, absit ut cum ipso expostulem.

CII. *Viso zelote quodam fanatico.*

Corpora nostra de novo formare, gratiæ propositum non est; sed iis uti potiùs, prout disposita invenerit. Ingenia moresque hominum sequuntur, ut plurimùm, humorum in corpore qualemcunque temperiem. Ista humorum mixtio, gratiâ insuper operante, efficit stupendam illam varietatem, quæ in religiosâ quâque professione elucet. Cùm in animum tristem, mæstumque, gratia inciderit; nihil heic affectatur, nisi morositas quædam, et singularis vitæ austeritas, licitæque et probate libertatis tetrica repudiatio; nihil denique, præter durissimæ severitatis et theses et praxin assiduam: cum verò, è contrà, hilarem ac jucundum beârit gratia, ad libertatem lætitiamque tendunt omnia; eæ cogitationes nunc maximè arrident, quibus ad lepores et festivitatem quandam cor dilatari possit. Maximum arguit in sapientiâ Christianâ profectum, posse inter simplicem gratiam et nativum cujusque ingenium, quæcunque demum professio sit, discrimen statuere; debitam Deo gloriam tribuere, propriasque hominibus infirmitates.

CIII. *Conspecto sordido quodam canalium expurgatore.*

Hominum animos accommodavit infinita Dei providentia ip-

answerable to their condition. If mean men should bear the minds of great lords, no servile works would be done: all would be commanders; and none could live. If, contrarily, great persons had the low spirits of drudges, there could be no order, no obedience; because there should be none to command. Now, out of this discord of dispositions, God hath contrived an excellent harmony of government and peace: since, the use, which each sort must needs have of other, binds them to maintain the quality of their own ranks: and to do those offices, which are requisite for the preservation of themselves and the public. As inferiors then, must bless God, for the graces and authority of their betters; so must superiors no less bless him, for the humility and serviceableness of the meaner; and those, which are of the mid rank, must bless him for both.

CIV. *On a pair of spectacles.*

I LOOK upon these, not as objects, but as helps: as not meaning, that my sight should rest in them, but pass through them; and, by their aid, discern some other things which I desire to see.

Many such glasses my soul hath, and useth. I look through the glass of the Creatures, at the power and wisdom of their Maker: I look through the glass of the Scriptures, at the great mystery of redemption, and the glory of a heavenly inheritance: I look through God's Favours, at his infinite mercy; through his Judgments, at his incomprehensible justice. But, as these spectacles of mine presuppose a faculty in the eye, and cannot give me sight when I want it, but only clear that sight which I have; no more can these glasses of the Creatures, of Scriptures, of Favours, and Judgments, enable me to apprehend those blessed objects, except I have an eye of faith, whereto they may be presented. These helps to an unbelieving man, are but as spectacles to the blind. As the natural eyes, so the spiritual, have their degrees of dimness. But I have ill improved my age, if, as my natural eyes decay, my spiritual eye be not cleared and confirmed: but, at my best, I shall never but need spectacles, till I come to *see, as I am seen.*

CV. *On motes in the sun.*

How these little motes move up and down in the sun, and never rest; whereas the great mountains stand ever still, and move not, but with an earthquake!

Even so light and busy spirits are in continual agitation, to little purpose; while great deep wits sit still, and stir not but

sorum conditionibus quibuscumque. Si plebeii magnatum animos gererent, de servilibus quibusque officiis actum penitùs esset: omnes nempe imperare vellent; vivere posset nemo. Et, si magnatibus inesset sordidum mancipiorum ingenium, actum itidem esset de ordine et obsequio; quia nemo sic quidem imperitare noverit. Nunc verò, ex hâc morum discordiâ, eruit ordinavitque Deus optimam regiminis et pacis harmoniam: eò nimirum, quòd necessarius utriusque sortis in se invicem nexus, cogat unumquemque, proprium, in quo positus est, ordinem usque sustinere; eaque præstare officia, quæ ad sui reique publicæ tutelam maximè expedierint. Ut itaque inferiorum est, Deo benedicere, ob superiorum merita et potestatem; ita neque minùs superioribus incumbit, ob inferiorum humilitatem et observantiam, gratias ipsi habere maximas; quique mediæ conditionis sunt, pares, utrorumque nomine, referre oportet.

CIV. *De perspecillis suis.*

Ista ego intueor, non ut objecta, sed ut adjumenta: neque, ut in ipsis visio mea terminetur, sed per ista transeat; eorumque adminiculo, alia quædam visu digna clariùs conspicetur.

Multa hujusmodi specula habet anima, usurpatque. Per Creaturarum speculum, ad potentiam ac sapientiam Creatoris fertur oculus: per Scripturas, ad magnum redemptionis mysterium, cœlestisque hæreditatis gloriam: per Dei Beneficia, ad immensam ipsius miserecordiam; per Judicia, ad justitiam ejusdem incomprehensibilem. Verùm, ut mea hæc perspecilla facultatem in oculo supponunt, nec mihi cæco possunt visum impertire, sed lippienti tantùm clariorem reddere; ita, neque possunt ista Creaturarum, Scripturarum, Beneficiorum, Judiciorumve specula, potestatem mihi indere beatifica illa objecta quovismodo apprehendendi, nisi et oculum fidei habuero, cui ista demum præsententur. Certè hæc qualiacunque auxilia infideli, pariter se habent ac cæco perspecilla. Ut naturales oculi, sic etiam et spirituales, suos habent caliginis gradus. Pessimè autem de ætate meâ merui, si, dum defecerint paulatim naturales isti ocelli, altera illa spiritualis acies non et perspicacior indies et firmior evaserit: etsi, ubi me vel optimè habuero, nunquam non perspecillis mihi opus erit, donec tandem *videro, uti videor ipse.*

CV. *Visis atomis in solis radiis.*

Quam inquieto cursu atomi istæ minutulæ, sursum deorsum, in radiis solaribus motitantur; dum fixi interim hærent montes, nec unquam, nisi motâ terrâ ipsâ, moveri solent!

Sic levia ac operosa ingenia nunquam non agitantur, multo cum laboris dispendio, fructu penè nullo; dum solida et profunda delitescunt, nec, nisi necessitate quâdam impellente, pro-

upon extreme occasions. Were the motion of these little atoms as useful as it is restless, I would rather be a mote than a mountain.

CVI. *On the sight of a bladder.*

EVERY thing must be taken in his meet time: let this bladder alone till it be dry, and all the wind in the world cannot raise it up; whereas now it is new and moist, the least breath fills, and enlarges it.

It is no otherwise in ages and dispositions. Inform the child in precepts of learning and virtue, while years make him capable; how pliably he yieldeth! how happily is he replenished with knowledge and goodness! Let him alone, till time and ill example have hardened him; till he be settled in a habit of evil, and contracted and clung together with sensual delights; now he becomes utterly indocible. Sooner may that bladder be broken, than distended.

CVII. *On a man sleeping.*

I DO not more wonder at any man's art, than at his, who professes to think of nothing, to do nothing: and I do not a little marvel at that man, who says he can sleep without a dream. For, the mind of man is a restless thing: and, though it give the body leave to repose itself, as knowing it is a mortal and earthly piece; yet itself, being a spirit, and therefore active and indefatigable, is ever in motion. Give me a sea, that moves not; a sun, that shines not; an open eye, that sees not: and I shall yield there may be a reasonable soul, that works not. It is possible, that, through a natural or accidental stupidity, a man may not perceive his own thoughts; as sometimes the eye or ear may be distracted not to discern his own objects; but, in the mean time, he thinks that, whereof he cannot give an account: like as we many times dream, when we cannot report our fancy, I should more easily put myself to school unto that man, who undertakes the profession of thinking many things at once. Instantany motions are more proper for a spirit, than a dull rest. Since my mind will needs be ever working, it shall be my care, that it may always be well employed.

CVIII. *On the sight of a death's-head.*

I WONDER at the practice of the ancient both Greeks and Romans, whose use was, to bring up a death's-head, in the midst of their feasts; on purpose, to stir up their guests to drink harder, and to frolic more: the sight whereof, one would think, should have rather abated their courage; and have tempered their jollity.

deunt. Esset modò atomorum motus iste utilis æquè ac inquietus, atomus ego quàm mons esse malim.

CVI. *Conspectâ vesicâ recente.*

Suum unicuique rei tempus oportunum est: vesica ista, ubi semel peraruerit, nullo quantovis flatu distenditur; recens jam et humida, intumescit illico tota, halituque vel lenissimo dilatatur.

Neque aliter se habet cum hominum indole ac ætate. Si puerum adhuc tenellum literarum virtutisque præceptis institueris, mirum quàm facilem se geret! quàm suaviter eruditionem ac pietatem omnem imbibit! Sine illum modò, donec longiore tempore pravoque exemplo induruerit; donec malis se habitibus obfirmaverit, et vitiosis cupiditatibus contractus quasi compressusque fuerit; nunc indocilis fit penitissimè. Citiùs jam vesica ista rumpi sanè, quam distendi poterit.

CVII. *Viso quodam dormiente.*

Nullius ego artem miror magis, quàm illius, qui nihil cogitare profitetur, nihilque agere: sed et illius, qui se absque ullo insomnio dormire posse ait. Siquidem, irrequieta res est animus humanus: qui, licet corpori det veniam, mortali quidem illi ac terrenæ moli, ut quieti indulgeat; ipse tamen, spiritualis cùm sit, eoque nomine activus et indefessus, continuo motu agitatur. Da mihi mare, tranquillum undique et immotum; solem, qui non luceat; oculum apertum, qui nihil tamen videat: ego concedam identidem animam rationalem esse posse otiosam. Possibile quidem est homini, ex naturali sive accidentariâ forsan stupiditate, cogitationes suas proprias non sentire; uti et adeò distrahi aliquando contingat oculum auremve, ut proprium sibi objectum neuter percipiat; interea tamen, illud vel hic cogitat, cujus fortasse rationem reddere non potest: quemadmodum sæpiùs ita elabuntur nobis insomnia, ut phantasmata nostra postea repetere et revocare nequeamus. Illi ego me potiùs in disciplinam tradiderim, qui plura simul cogitandi artem profitetur. Motus instantanei spiritibus magis conveniunt, quàm plumbea quædam quies ac pigritia. Cùm anima mea nunquam non agere aliquid gestiat, curæ mihi erit, ut semper benè agendo occupetur.

CVIII. *Viso cranio humano.*

Miror ego antiquorum cùm Græcorum tùm Romanorum morem, quibus solenne erat, media inter epula, mortui cranium convivis apponere; eo quidem fine, ut discumbentes liberiùs genio indulgerent, et ad pocula hilaritatemque solutiores ferrentur: quod quidem spectaculum, ut mihi videtur, terrorem potiùs incutere; et, si quod aliud, luxuriantibus frænum injicere potuisset.

But however it was with them, who believed there was nothing after death; that the consideration of the short time of their pleasures and being, spurred them on to a free and full fruition of that mirth and excess, which they should not long live to enjoy: yet to us, that are Christians; and therefore, know that this short life doth but make way for an eternity of joy or torment afterwards, and that after the feast we must account of a reckoning; there cannot be a greater cooler for the heat of our intemperate desires and rage of our appetites, than the meditation of the shortness of life and the certainty of death. Who would over-pamper a body, for the worms? Who would be so mad, as to let himself loose to that momentary pleasure of sin, which ere long must cost him everlasting pain and misery? For me, methinks this head speaks no other language, than this: "Lose no time: thou art dying: do thy best: thou mayest do good but a while; and shalt fare well for ever."

CIX. *On the sight of a left-handed man.*

It is both an old and easy observation, that, however the senses are alike strong and active on the right side and on the left; yet that the limbs on the right side are stronger than those of the left, because they are more exercised than the other: upon which self-same reason it must follow, that a left-handed man hath more strength in his left arm than in his right.

Neither is it otherwise in the soul. Our intellectual parts grow vigorous with employment; and lauguish with disuse. I have known excellent preachers and pregnant disputants, that have lost these faculties with lack of action; and others, but meanly qualified with natural gifts, that have attained to a laudable measure of abilities by improvement of their little. I would rather lack good parts, than that good parts should lack me. Not to have great gifts, is no fault of mine: it is my fault, not to use them.

CX. *On the sight of an old, unthatched cottage.*

There cannot be a truer emblem of crazy old age: mouldered and clay walls; a thin, uncovered roof; bending studs; dark and broken windows; in short, a house ready to fall on the head of the indweller.

The best body is but a cottage: if newer and better timbered, yet such as age will equally impair, and make thus ragged and ruinous; or, before that, perhaps casualty of fire, or tempest,

Verùm, quicquid illi demum fecerint, qui nihil amplius post mortem superesse crediderunt; ideoque breve cogitantes ævum et voluptatum et vitæ suæ, incitârunt se, eo quidem acriùs, ad liberiorem libidinis suæ usum prosecutionemque, quò minùs diutulè illâ frui liceret: nobis certè, qui Christiani sumus; eoque nomine, haud ignari vitam hanc breviculam ad futuram gaudii vel pœnarum æternitatem viam sternere, sed et sumptuum quoque rationem à nobis post epulas tandem exposcendam; nihil est quod libidinis æstum magis temperare possit impetumve appetituum cohibere, quàm ut de vitæ fragilitate mortisque certitudine seriò semper meditemur. Ecquis ventrem saginare vellet, ut vermibus epulum instruat? Ecquis ita desiperet, ut momentaneis peccati blandimentis, eâ quidem lege, ut pœnas in æternum duraturas deinceps luat, se totum addiceret? Me quod spectat, videor mihi audire cranium hoc, haud aliter quàm sic me allocutum: "Ne quid temporis prodigas: et tu moriturus es: optimis quibusque operam impendas: non licebit diu benefacere; sic age, ut benè valeas æternùm."

CIX. *Ad conspectùm scævæ cujusdam.*

Vetus est facilisque observatio illa, utut sensus dexteriores sinisterioresque æquè activi vegetique sint; membra tamen dextravorsum posita sinistris aliquantò esse fortiora, quia scilicet sæpiùs magisque exercentur: unde etiam sequitur, quòd cui manus sinistra magis in usu est, eidem et brachium sinistrum dextro dexterius validiusque sit.

Neque aliter in animâ se habet. Facultates nostræ intellectuales exercitio plùs roborantur; otio verò languescunt. Novi ipse concionatores egregios disputatoresque acutissimos, qui tamen utrique hoc, quicquid erat artis, desuetudine paulatim perdiderunt; alios verò, indole quidem mediocres, qui frequenti exercitio ita demum auxerint, ut non contemnendum utriusque facultatis modum fuerint assecuti. Malo mihi desint egregiæ animi dotes, quàm ut ego illis desim. Carere istis, mihi vitio non erit: vitio certè est, non benè uti.

CX. *Conspecto tuguriolo pauperculo vetere, nudato tegmine stramineo caducoque.*

Infirmæ senectutis aptius emblema cogitari non potest: ecce enim parietes lutosi, jamque modò in pulverem abituri; tectum rarius, detectumque; recurvata statumina; obscuræ fractæque fenestræ; domus, denique, tota in domini sui caput illico ruitura.

Corpus vel validissimum casa vilis est tenuisque: si recentiore et meliore ligno constructa, qualem tamen tempus æquè facilè corrumpet, istâque non minùs sordidam ac laciniosam relinquet; et, quæ forsan incendio, tempestatibus, hostiumque

or violence of an enemy. One of the chief cares of men is, to dwell well. Some build for themselves; fair, but not strong: others build for posterity; strong, but not fair, not high: but happy is that man, that builds for eternity; as strong, as fair, as high as the glorious contignations of heaven.

CXI. *On the sight of a fair pearl.*

WHAT a pure and precious creature is this; which yet is taken out of the mud of the sea! Who can complain of a base original, when he sees such excellencies so descended? These shell-fishes, that have no sexes, and therefore are made out of corruption, what glorious things they yield, to adorn and make proud the greatest princesses!

God's great works go not by likelihoods. How easily can he fetch glory out of obscurity, who brought all out of nothing!

CXII. *On a screen.*

METHINKS this screen, that stands betwixt me and the fire, is like some good friend at the court; which keeps me from the heat of the unjust displeasure of the great, wherewith I might perhaps otherwise be causelessly scorched.

But how happy am I, if the interposition of my Saviour, my best Friend in Heaven, may screen me from the deserved wrath of that great God, *who is a consuming fire.*

CXIII. *On a bur-leaf.*

NEITHER the vine, nor the oak, nor the cedar, nor any tree that I know within our climate, yields so great a leaf, as this weed; which yet, after all expectation, brings forth nothing but a bur, unprofitable, troublesome.

So have I seen none make greater profession of religion, than an ignorant man; whose indiscreet forwardness yields no fruit, but a factious disturbance to the Church, wherein he lives. Too much shew is not so much better than none at all, as an ill fruit is worse than none at all.

CXIV. *On the singing of a bird.*

IT is probable, that none of those creatures that want reason, delight so much in pleasant sounds as a bird: whence it is, that both it spends so much time in singing, and is more apt to imitate those modulations which it hears from men.

Frequent practice, if it be voluntary, argues a delight in that

violentâ impetitione citiùs corruet. Hoc sibi imprimis curandum homines proponere solent, ut benè habitent. Alii qu dem sibimet ædificant; splendidè fortè satis, at parùm solidè stabiliterque: alii posteris; firmiter satis, at non altè, nitidèque: fœlicem verò illum, qui ædificat æternitati; firmitudine, splendore, ac sublimitate nihil infra cœli supremi contignationem æmulatus.

CXI. *Conspectâ quâdam gemmâ luculentâ.*

Quam puri verèque preciosi sunt uniones isti; ex imâ tamen maris fæce deprompti! Ecquis vel vilissimâ se natum origine conqueritur, qui eximias hasce naturæ delicias sic conspicatur oriundas? Conchylia hæc, quæ sexu carent, atque ideo ex merâ putredine ortum deducunt, quàm gloriosas edunt gemmas, quibus et ornare se solent et superbire maximæ orbis dominæ!

Non externâ quâdam specie, ac eventûs probabilitate æstimanda sunt, magna Dei opificia. Qui omnia è nihilo eduxit, quàm facili negotio eruit ex obscuritate gloriam!

CXII. *Visâ quâdam antepyrâ.*

Quam similis mihi videtur antepyra hæc, inter me et ignem tam commodè interjecta, fido cuidam patrono aulico; cujus intercessio me ab ardore injustæ potentum iræ, quo immeritò forsan, absque hoc foret, mihi torreri contingat, tutò servat protegitque.

Quòd si interpositio benignissimi Servatoris mei, Unici mihi in cœlis Patroni, tueri me velit à meritissimâ excandescentiâ magni illius Dei, *qui ignis consumens est*, quàm ego verè beatus fuero!

CXIII. *Viso petasite, vel bardanæ quam vocant, folio largiore.*

Neque vitis, nec quercus, nec cedrus, nec quæ alia quam novi arbor in totâ hac mundi plagâ, æquè amplum edit folium, ac herbula hæc; quæ tamen, post satis longam expectationem, nihil quicquam profert præter lappam, inutilem, molestamque.

Ita neminem omnium plus religiosæ professionis ostentare vidi, quàm hominem ignarum; cujus malèfervidum ingenium nihil fructus edit, præter seditiosam quandam Ecclesiæ, in quâ degit, perturbationem. Nimia boni species non tanto melior est omnino nullam, quanto fractus malus est nullo deterior.

CXIV. *Audito aviculæ cantu.*

Nimio quàm probabile est, inter animalia omnia, rationis expertia, aves sonorum dulcedine maximè delectari: quo fit, ut et istæ tantum temporis cantando deterant, et imitandis hominum modulationibus haud parùm sint aptiores.

Actionum frequentia, modò voluntaria fuerit, arguit volupta-

which we do; and delight makes us more apt to practise, and more capable of perfection in that we practise.

O God, if I take pleasure in thy Law, I shall meditate of it with comfort, speak of it with boldness, and practise it with cheerfulness.

CXV. *On the sight of a man yawning.*

It is a marvellous thing, to see the real effects and strong operation of consent or sympathy, even where there is no bodily touch. So, one sad man puts the whole company into dumps: so, one man's yawning affects and stretches the jaws of many beholders: so, the looking upon blear eyes taints the eye with blearness.

From hence it is easy to see the ground of our Saviour's expostulation with his persecutor, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* The Church is persecuted below: he feels it above; and complains. So much as the person is more apprehensive, must he needs be more affected.

O Saviour, thou canst not but be deeply sensible of all our miseries and necessities: if we do not feel thy wrongs, and the wants of our brethren, we have no part in thee.

CXVI. *On the sight of a tree lopped.*

In the lopping of these trees, experience, and good husbandry, hath taught men, to leave one bough still growing in the top; the better to draw up the sap from the root.

The like wisdom is fit to be observed in censures; which are intended altogether for reformation, not for destruction. So must they be inflicted, that the patient be not utterly discouraged, and stript of hope and comfort: but that, while he suffereth, he may feel his good tendered; and his amendment both aimed at, and expected.

O God, if thou shouldest deal with me as I deserve, thou shouldest not only shred my boughs, but cut down my stock, and stock up my root; and yet thou dost but prune my superfluous branches, and cherishest the rest. How unworthy am I of this mercy; if, while thou art thus indulgent unto me, I be severe and cruel to others, perhaps less ill-deserving than myself!

CXVII. *On a scholar that offered violence to himself.*

Had this man lain long under some eminent discontentment, it had been easy to find out the motive of his miscarriage. Weak nature is easily over-laid with impatience: it must be only the power of grace, that can grapple with vehement evils,

tem quandam complacentiamque in iis quæ facimus; voluptas verò illa nos reddit et agendi peritiores, et magis capaces perfectionis cujusdam in iis quibus jugiter exercemur.

O Deus, si in Lege tuâ delectationem meam omnem locavero, hanc unam meditabor alacer, audax eloquar, præstabo sedulus fœlixque.

CXV. *Conspecto quodam oscitante.*

Si quis realem effectum fortemque operationem sympathiæ, etiam ubi nullus intercedit contactus corporeus, sedulò observaverit, haud parùm sanè mirabitur. Ita, unius mæstitia totum conventum tristitiâ quâdam afficit: ita, unius oscitatio aperit distenditque plurimorum aspectantium fauces: ita, lipporum intuitus oculum inficit pari lippitudine.

Facilè hinc videmus, quâ fretus ratione, Servator noster cum insectatore suo tam vehementer expostulaverit, *Saule, Saule, quìd me persequeris?* Ecclesia patitur in terrâ: is sentit in cœlo; quiritaturque. Quanto magis persona sensu valet et apprehensione, tanto acriùs afficiatur necesse est.

Non potes tu, O Servator Benignissime, non exquisitissimè sentire miserias infirmitatesque nostras: ni nos itidem illatas tibi injurias, fratrumque nostrorum necessitates senserimus, nihil sanè nobis tecum fuerit commercii.

CXVI. *Visâ arbore quâdam resectâ.*

In frondatione hâc, experientia, reique rusticæ peritia, homines edocuit, ramum saltem unum in arboris summitate relinquere; quo succus ab imâ radice attrahatur retineaturque.

Eadem planè prudentia in censuris observanda est; iis nimirum quæ corrigendis moribus, non personis destruendis inserviunt. Ita nempe infligendæ sunt illæ, ut non animum prorsùs despondeat reus, speque omni ac solatio destituatur: sed ut sentiat quas patitur pœnas, ad animæ suæ bonum intendi universas; reformationemque suam et unicè propositam agnoscat, et exinde expectatam.

O Deus, si sic mecum agere velles ac ipse merui, non solùm ramos mihi omnes resecares, sed stirpem etiam ipsum rescinderes, penitùsve eradicares; tu verò superfluos mihi quosdam ramusculos amputare miserecors voluisti, stolones reliquos fovere. Quàm indignus fuero ego hâc gratiâ; si, dum tua sic mihi favet indulgentia, ipse aliis, minùs fortasse malè meritis, severum me crudelemque præstitero!

CXVII. *De studioso quodam qui vim sibi intulerat.*

Si gravi aliquâ insignique ægritudine laborâsset iste, tanti hujusce mali causam adinvenire haud difficile fuisset. Imbellis natura hæc facilè quidem obruitur impatientiâ: unica sit oportet vis divinæ gratiæ, quæ cum maximis malis confligere possit, de-

and master them. But here, the world cannot say, what could be guilty of occasioning this violence. This man's hand was full; his fame untainted; his body no burden; his disposition, for ought we saw, fair; his life guiltless: yet something did the Tempter find, to aggravate unto his feeble thoughts, and to represent worthy of a dispatch.

What a poor thing is life, whereof so slight occasions can make us weary! What impotent wretches are we, when we are not sustained! One would think this the most impossible of all motions. Naturally, every man loves himself: and life is sweet; death abhorred. What is it, that Satan can despair to persuade men unto, if he can draw them, to an unnatural abandoning of life, and pursuit of death? Why should I doubt of prevailing with my own heart, by the powerful over-ruling of God's Spirit, to contemn life and to affect death, for the sake of my Saviour, in exchange of a few miserable moments for eternity of joy: when I see men, upon an unreasonable suggestion of that Evil Spirit, cast away their lives for nothing; and so hastening their temporal death, that they hazard an eternal?

CXVIII. *On the coming in of the judge.*

THE construction of men and their actions, is altogether according to the disposition of the lookers on. The same face of the Judge, without any inward alteration, is seen, with terror by the guilty, with joy and confidence by the oppressed innocent: like as the same lips of the Bridegroom drop both myrrh and honey at once; honey to the well-disposed heart, myrrh to the rebellious: and the same cup relishes well to the healthful, and distastes the feverous: the same word is, though a sweet, yet a contrary, savour to the different receivers: and the same sun comforts the strong sight, dazzles the weak.

For a man to affect, either to do or speak that which may be pleasing to all men, is but a weak and idle ambition; when we see him, that is infinitely good, appear terrible to more than he appears lovely. Goodness is itself, with whatever eyes it is looked upon. There can be no safety for that man, that regards more the censure of men, than the truth of being. He, that seeks to win all hearts, hath lost his own.

CXIX. *On the sight of a heap of stones.*

UNDER such a pile it was, that the first martyr was buried: none of all the ancient kings had so glorious a tomb: there were many stones, and every one precious. Jacob leaned his

que illis denique devictis triumphare. Istìc verò, nemo omnium suspicari potest, quid tandem fuerit quod hominem hunc ad tam immanem *αὐτοκτόνιαν* impulerit. Supellex illi non curta fuit; fama illæsa; sat sanum corpus; animi verò dispositio, quantum quidem nobis apparuit, candida ac serena; vita denique inculpata: aliquid tamen invenit Tentator, quod suggereret impotenti huic animæ, tantâ violentiâ non indignum.

Quàm misella res est vita nostra, cujus nos ita facilè tædeat! Quàm nos mera sumus debilitas, ni à supremâ illâ manu sustentemur! Ex omnibus illis tentationibus, quæ mentem humanam invadere solent, quis non autumaret hanc maximè impossibilem; "Occide te?" Diligit se nempe quisque, naturæ instinctu: vita suavis est; mors infesta. Quid est, quod non speret Diabolus persuadere hominibus, cùm inducere ipsos possit, ut vitam abdicare, mortem ambire mavelint? Aut quid desperem ego tantum apud me valere, ut aliquando possim, potenti Spiritûs Divini efficaciâ, vitam contemnere, causâque Servatoris mei, oppetere mortem illam, in quâ pauca quædam pœnarum momenta cum æternitate gaudii commutantur: cùm alios quosdam videam, quantumlibet improbabiliter suggerente Satanâ, gratìs prodigere animam; atque ita temporalem sibi mortem accelerantes, ut æternæ periculum interea incurrere non dubitent?

CXVIII. *De judicis adventu.*

Prout afficiuntur spectatorum animi, sic planè homines humanæque actiones construi solent. Eadem facies Judicis, absque ullâ sui mutatione, à reis non sine terrore quodam, non sine gaudio fiduciâque ab insontibus oppressis, conspicitur: eadem Sponsi labia et mel simul et myrrham distillant; benè quidem dispositis animis mel dulcissimum, myrrham verò rebellibus præfractisque: uti et poculum idem optimè sapit sano, febricitanti displicet: verbum idem, his *ὀσμὴ θανάτου* illis *ζωῆς*; *εὐωδία* tamen Christi utrobique: idem solis radius fortem oculi aciem refocillat, perstringit debilem.

Id sibi demum ut quisquam hominum proponat, sive facere sive loqui quod omnibus perplaceat, impotentis cujusdam et otiosæ ambitionis est; quando-quidem videmus illum, qui infinitè bonus est, terribilem longè pluribus quàm amabilem apparere. Non est aliud à se bonitas, quibuscunque tandem oculis conspiciatur. Tutus profectò esse nusquam potest, qui pluris facit hominum censuram, quàm conditionis suæ veritatem ac justitiam. Qui omnium corda ambitiosè captat, suum perdidit.

CXIX. *Conspecto lapidum acervo.*

Sub tali acervo, sepultus est primus martyrum: nullus antiquorum regum sortitus est tumulum æquè gloriosum: multi istìc lapides erant, et pretiosi omnes. Jacob olim caput suum in

head upon a stone, and saw that heavenly vision of angels ascending and descending: many stones light upon Stephen's head, in the instant, of his seeing the heavens opened, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God. Lo, Jacob, resting upon that one stone, saw but the angels: Stephen, being to rest for once under those many stones, saw the Lord of the Angels. Jacob saw the Angels moving: Stephen saw Jesus standing. As Jacob therefore afterwards, according to his vow, made there an altar to God; so Stephen now in the present gathers these stones together, of which he erected a holy altar, whereon he offered up himself a blessed sacrifice unto God. And, if there be *a time of gathering stones, and a time of casting them away;* this was the time, wherein the Jews cast, and Stephen gathered up these stones for a monument of eternal glory. O blessed Saint, thou didst not so clearly see heaven opened, as heaven saw thee covered: thou didst not so perfectly see thy Jesus standing, as he saw thee lying patiently, courageously under that fatal heap. Do I mistake it? or are those stones, not flints and pebbles; but diamonds, and rubies, and carbuncles to set upon thy crown of glory?

CXX. *On the sight of a bat and owl.*

THESE night-birds are glad to hide their heads all the day: and if, by some violence, they be unseasonably forced out of their secrecy, how are they followed and beaten by the birds of the day!

With us men it is contrary. The sons of darkness do, with all eagerness of malice, pursue the children of the light, and drive them into corners, and make a prey of them: the opposition is alike; but the advantage lies on the worse side. Is it, for that the spiritual light is no less hateful to those children of darkness, than the natural night is to those cheerful birds of the day? or is it, for that the sons of darkness, challenging no less propriety in the world than the fowl do in the lightsome air, abhor and wonder at the conscionable, as strange and uncouth? Howsoever, as these bats and owls were made for the night, being accordingly shaped, foul and ill-favoured; so we know these vicious men, however they may please themselves, have in them a true deformity, fit to be shrouded in darkness; and, as they delight in the works of darkness, so they are justly reserved to a state of darkness.

CXXI. *On the sight of a well-fleeced sheep.*

WHAT a warm winter-coat hath God provided, for this quiet

lapidem reclinavit, viditque cœleste illud spectaculum, ascendentium descendentiumque angelorum: in caput Stephani congesti sunt lapides multi, eodem planè momento, quo cœlum vidit apertum, Jesumque ad dextram Patris consistentem. Ecce, Jacob, uni illi recumbens lapidi, angelos tantùm vidit: Stephanus verò, sub lapidibus multis illico se repositurus, angelorum Dominum conspexit. Jacob vidit angelos sùsque déque moventes: Jesum stantem conspexit Stephanus. Ut ergo Jacob, juxta quod voverat, altare illic erexit Deo postmodùm; ita et Stephanus modò congerit lapides istos, è quibus sanctum altare struit, ipse in gratissimam Deo victimam immolandus. Et, si *tempus uspiam sit colligendi lapides, et tempus item dispergendi;* certè, hoc ipsissimum tempus erat, quo et dispergebant Judæi, et colligebat Stephanus lapides istos, æternæ tanti martyris gloriæ futures monumento. Non ita clarè videras tu, ô Beatissime, cœlum tibi apertum, ac cœlum te coopertum conspicabatur: non ita liquidò vidisti tu Jesum tuum in cœlo stantem, ac ille te sub fatali hoc cumulo patienter, fortiterque jacentem conspexit. Fallor? aut lapides illi non fuerunt siliciæ, calculive, aut quod aliud vile genus; sed adamantes, pyropive, aut siqui alii preciosiores, coronæ illi gloriæ, quâ cingereris, immortalis decorandæ.

CXX. *De bubone et vespertilione.*

Istæ noctis alumnæ toto die latitare gestiunt: et si, casu quodam aut insperatâ vi, è latebris suis intempestivè propellantur, quàm insectanter illico excipiuntur cædunturque ab avibus quibusque luci-colis!

Longè aliter nobiscum se res habet. Filii tenebrarum qui sunt, filios lucis violentâ quâdam malitiâ persequi, fugare, deprædari ubiquè solent: par utrobique inimicitia est; viget tamen istìc prævaletque pars deterior. Numquid hinc fit istud, quòd lux spiritualis non minùs tenebrarum filiis exosa sit, quàm nox naturalis alacribus illis diei clientibus esse solet? aut verò hinc forsan, quòd tenebrarum filii, haud minùs sibi jus proprietatis in sæculo hoc vendicantes, quàm alites illi in æthere claro illuminatoque faciunt, pium quemque, ut peregrinum prodigiosumque animal, horrent et insectantur? Quicquid sit, ut vespertiliones ac bubones isti, nocti quasi destinati factique videntur, atque ideo deformitatem quandam turpitudinemque præ se ferunt; ita novimus nos hosce pravos improbosque, utut sibi ipsi perplaceant, verè fædos esse, idoneosque qui tenebris usque obnubilentur; et, uti operibus tenebrarum unicè delectantur, ita et ad conditionem horroris ac tenebrarum plenam meritò reservari.

CXXI. *Viso vellere ovino.*

Animal verò hoc quietum innoxiumque, quàm, Dei sic pro-

innocent creature! As, indeed, how wonderful is his wisdom, and goodness, in all his purveyances! Those creatures, which are apter for motion and withal most fearful by nature, hath he clad somewhat thinner; and hath allotted them safe and warm burrows, within the earth: those, that are fit for labour and use, hath he furnished with a strong hide: and, for man, whom he hath thought good to bring forth naked, tender, helpless; he hath endued his parents and himself with that noble faculty of reason, whereby he may provide all manner of helps for himself. Yet again, so bountiful is God in his provisions, that he is not lavish; so distributing his gifts, that there is no more superfluity than want: those creatures, that have beaks, have no teeth; and those, that have shells without, have no bones within: all have enough; nothing hath all. Neither is it otherwise in that one kind, of man, whom he meant for the lord of all: variety of gifts is here mixed with a frugal dispensation: none hath cause to boast: none to complain: every man is as free from an absolute defect, as from perfection.

I desire not to comprehend, O Lord: teach me to do nothing, but wonder.

CXXII. *On the hearing of thunder.*

THERE is no grace, whereof I find so general a want in myself and others, as an awful fear of the infinite Majesty of God. Men are ready to affect and profess a kind of familiarity with God, out of a pretence of love: whereas if they knew him aright, they could not think of him without dread, nor name him without trembling. Their narrow hearts strive to conceive of him, according to the scantling of their own strait and ignorant apprehension: whereas they should only desire to have their thoughts swallowed up, with an adoring wonder of his divine incomprehensibleness. Though he thunder not always, he is always equally dreadful. There is none of his works, which doth not bewray Omnipotency. I blush at the sauciness of vain men, that will be circumscribing the powerful acts of the Almighty, within the compass of natural causes; forbearing to wonder, at what they profess to know. Nothing but ignorance can be guilty of this boldness. There is no Divinity, but in an humble fear; no philosophy, but a silent admiration.

CXXIII. *On the sight of a hedgehog.*

I MARVELLED, at the first reading, what the Greeks meant by that proverb of theirs, "The fox knows many pretty wiles, but the hedgehog knows one great one:" but, when I considered the nature and practice of this creature, I easily found

videntis beneficio, vestitissimum est! Sed et in cæterorum omnium administratione, quàm stupenda est divina bonitas, et sapientia! Aptioribus motui animalibus naturâque formidolosioribus, leviorem tenuioremque tunicam induit; ac subterraneos præterea cuniculos, tutos quidem illos, paravit: quæ verò laboribus usibusque humanis destinavit, crassiore ac firmiore tergore munivit: hominem, denique, quod spectat, nudum, tenellum, inopem in hanc lucem producturus; nobilem illam rationis facultatem parentibus ipsique demum indidit, quâ omnia quibus opus foret facilè suppeditare posset. Ita, tamen, munificus cùm sit Deus, prodigus non est; dona sua sic æquâ manu spargens, ut nihil cuiquam aut desit aut verò superfluat: animalia, quæ rostris freta sunt, dentibus carent; testacea quæ sunt, carent ossibus: sat est omnibus; nulli nimium. Neque aliter fit homini, quem creaturarum omnium dominum esse voluit Deus: donorum varietas parcâ quâdam largitate et istìc dispensatur: non est quòd glorietur quispiam; non est quòd queratur: ita quisque ab extremâ indigentiâ, ac à summâ perfectione, immunis est.

Non ausim, O Domine Deus, illud ambire ut comprehendam: doce me modò, ut mirari aliquando discam.

CXXII. *Audito tonitru.*

Nulla cogitanti mihi virtus occurrit, cujus adeò universalem defectum in me aliisque persentisco, ac quæ tremendæ Dei Majestati debetur usque reverentiæ. Homines sæpiùs familiaritatem quandam cum Deo affectare ac profiteri, sub specie sancti amoris, nimio quàm proclives sumus: quem si rectè cognoscerent mortales, nec absque pavore cogitarent, nec absque tremore nominarent quidem. Angusta illorum corda juxta tenuem intellectûs sui, nimiùm incapacis, modulum, de Deo sentire ac imaginari solent: cùm illud oporteret tantùm ambire ac studere sedulò, ut, divinæ incomprehensibilitatis stupore et adoratione, toti absorbeantur. Non semper tonat ille quidem, æquè tamen semper tremendus. Ex omnibus quotquot uspiam fiunt operibus ejus, nullum non prodit Omnipotentiam. Rubore profectò suffundor, quoties vanorum hominum audaciam cogito, qui actus Omnipotentis, intra naturalium causarum cancellos circumscribere non verentur; illud mirari nolentes, quod scire profitentur. Sola inscitia tantæ hujus audaciæ rea est. Una est in humillimâ quâdam reverentiâ, Theologia; una, in tacito stupore, Philosophia.

CXXIII. *Conspecto erinaceo, vel echino.*

Mirabar equidem, primo intuitu, quid sibi voluerint Græci diverbio illo suo, *Πολλα μέν*, &c. "Multa quidem scire vulpeculam, erinaceum verò unum quiddam sed magnum:" at, cùm naturam moresque animalis hujusce perpendissem, facilè intel-

the reason of that speech; grounded upon the care and shift, that it makes for its own preservation. While it is under covert, it knows how to bar the fore-door against the cold northern and eastern blasts; and to open the back-door, for quieter and calmer air. When it is pursued, it knows how to roll up itself round within those thorns, with which nature hath environed it: so as the dog, instead of a beast, finds now nothing but a ball of pricks to wound his jaws; and goes away crying from so untoothsome a prey.

He, that sent the sluggard to school to the pismire, sends also in effect the careless and imprudent man to the hedgehog, while he saith, *If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself.* The main care of any creature is self-preservation: whatsoever doth that best, is the wisest. These creatures, that are all body, have well improved the instincts of nature, if they can provide for their bodily safety: man, that is a reasonable soul, shall have done nothing, if he make not sure work for the better part.

O God, make me soul-wise: I shall never envy their craft, that pity my simplicity.

CXXIV. *On the sight of a goat.*

This creature is in an ill name. It is not for any good qualities, that God hath made choice of the goat, to resemble the wicked and reprobate soul. It is unruly, and salacious, and noisome.

I cannot see one of them, but I presently recall to my thoughts the woeful condition of those on the left-hand, whom God hath set aside to so fearful a damnation. They are here mixed with the flock: their colour differs nothing from the sheep; or if we do discern them, by their rougher coat and odious scent, we sever ourselves from them: but, the time shall come, when he shall sever them from us, who hath appointed our innocency to the fold, and their harmfulness to an everlasting slaughter. Onwards, if they climb higher than we; and feed upon those craggy cliffs, which we dare scarce reach to with our eyes; their boldness is not greater than their danger, neither is their ascent more perilous than their ruin deadly.

CXXV. *On the sight of the blind and the lame.*

Here is a true natural commerce of senses. The blind man hath legs; the lame man hath eyes: the lame man lends his eyes to the blind; the blind man lends his legs to the lame;

lexi quò respexerit adagium illud; unumque illud magnum comperi, curam salutis suæ callidè satis conservandæ. Quamdiu siquidem sub tectorio suo delitescit, ostium suum aquilonaris orientalisque venti flatibus rigidioribus obstruere catè novit; posticum verò aperire, ut leniore interim aurâ commodè perfruatur. Egressum foràs insequitur canis, jam modò comprehensurus, in globum illico convolvitur erinaceus, sentibusque illis quibus ipsum undique munivit natura ita totus jacet circumseptus: ut delusus hostis, vice bestiæ, quam avidè venabatur, nihil præter pilam quandam spinosam, quâ fauces ipsi miserè doleant, reperire possit; jamque a prædâ tam ingratâ, non sine clamore, territus ac sauciatus aufugit.

Qui formicæ ignavum tradidit in disciplinam, echino itidem securum videtur improvidumque demandâsse, dum, *Si sapis*, ais, *tibimet ipsi sapias*. Animantium cuique præcipuè incumbit suæ salutis cura conatusque: quicquid verò hoc optimè omnium præstiterit, meritò audit prudentissimum. Quæ merum corpus sunt animalia, naturæ instinctui fecerunt satis, si quæ ad corporis tutelam spectant solicitè sibi prospexerint: homo autem, qui ratione insuper præditus est, nihil egisse judicabitur, nisi meliori sui parti largè tutòque providerit.

O Deus, animæ meæ fac sapiam satis: astutiæ illorum, qui simplicitatis meæ miserentur, si invidero, dispeream.

CXXIV. *Viso capro.*

Male audit hoc animal. Neque quid præ se fert boni, quòd ex aliis omnibus à Deo ipso eligatur istud, quo improbæ reprobæque animæ conditio aptissimè exprimatur. Petulcus est ilicet, salax, fætidus.

Quoties sanè hircum conspicio, non possum non in animum revocare horrendum eorum statum, quos ad sinistram sepositos ad gehennam devovit justus vindex Deus. In terris quidem gregi fortè miscentur isti: nec externo colore à genuinis ovibus quicquam discrepant; quòd si quem forsan horum, hirsutâ pelle, tetro infestoque odore, dignoscere contigerit, nosmetipsos forte tantisper dum subducimus: at, veniet aliquando dies, quo à nobis illos æternùm segregabit is, qui innocentiam nostram caulæ assignavit, eorumque nequitiam perpetuæ, quam meriti sunt, lanienæ. Interim verò scandant illi, quantum lubet; celsissimè, præruptisque in montibus, quos vix quidem nos oculis audemus attingere, securè pascantur; non est audacia ipsorum periculo suo major, nec ascensus præceps magis quàm ruina certa deploranda.

CXXV. *Cæco et claudo unà conspectis.*

Verum istìc est et naturale sensuum commercium. Cæco pedes sunt; claudo, oculi: claudus cæco oculos commodat;

and now both of them move, where otherwise both must sit still and perish. It is hard to say, whether is more beholden to other: the one gives strength, the other direction; both of them equally necessary to motion.

Though it be not in other cases so sensible, yet surely this very traffic of faculties is that, whereby we live; neither could the world subsist without it: one man lends a brain; another, an arm: one, a tongue; another a hand. He, that knows wherefore he made all, hath taken order, to improve every part to the benefit of the whole. What do I wish ought that is not useful? And if there be any thing in me, that may serve to the good of others, it is not mine, but the Church's. I cannot live, but by others: it were injurious, if others should not likewise share with me.

CXXVI. *On the sight of a map of the world.*

WHAT a poor little spot is a country! A man may hide with his thumb, the great territories of those, that would be accounted Monarchs. In vain, should the great Cham, or the great Mogul, or Prester John, seek here for his court: it is well, if he can find his kingdom, amongst these parcels. And, if we take all together, these shreds of islands and these patches of continent, what a mere indivisible point they are, in comparison of that vast circle of heaven, wherewith they are encompassed!

It is not easy for a man to be known to that whole land wherein he lives: but if he could be so famous, the next country perhaps never hears of his name: and, if he can attain to be talked of there, yet the remoter parts cannot take notice that there is such a thing: and if they did all speak of nothing else, what were he the better? O the narrow bounds of earthly glory! O the vain affection of human applause! Only that man is happily famous, who is known and recorded in heaven.

CXXVII. *On the sight of hemlock.*

THERE is no creature of itself evil: misapplication may make the best so: and there is a good use to be made of the worst. This weed, which is too well proved to be poisonous, yet to the goat is medicinal; as serving, by the coldness of it, to temper the feverous heat of that beast. So we see the marmoset eating of spiders; both for pleasure and cure.

Our ignorance may not bring a scandal upon God's workmanship; or, if it do, his wisdom knows how, to make a good use even of our injury. I cannot say, but the very venom of

cæcus claudo pedes; jamque movet uterque, aliter verò quiescant ambo pereantque necesse est. Uter horum plus alteri debeat, nescio: hic vires dat, ille viam dirigit; utrunque motui æquè necessarium.

Certè, ipsum hoc facultatum commercium, etsi aliis in rebus non ita liquidò pateat, illud est, quo vivimus; et sine quo, ne mundus quidem posset subsistere: hic cerebrum affert; ille, brachium: linguam, hic; ille, manum. Qui solus novit cur ista omnia creaverit, ita etiam singula disposuit, ut unaquæque pars communi totius universi beneficio aliquid conferat. Quorsum optarim ego inutile quicquam? Si quid verò in me sit, quod aliorum bono inserviat, non meum est, ilicet, sed Ecclesiæ. Absque aliorum ope, vivere non possum: injurius essem, nisi me aliis itidem æquè communicarem.

CXXVI. *Visâ tabulâ orbis geographicâ.*

Quam minutula est, parvæque liturræ similis, regio aliqua tota! Magna eorum imperia, qui Monarchæ audire volunt, facilè quis vel pollice uno tegat. Frustrà, hìc aulam sibi quærat magnus ille Tartarorum Chamus, Mogores Indus, aut Ethiopum, quisquis est, Imperator: satis est, si regnum quisque suum, inter tot orbis segmina, indigitare possit. Et, si insularum ista fragmenta continentisque insuper minutiæ in unum colligantur, quàm nihil aliud sunt hæc omnia nisi punctum indivisibile, præ vasto cœli ambitu, quo cinguntur universa!

Haud facile homini est patriæ suæ toti innotescere: quòd si forsan eò usque fama ipsius pertingere possit, terræ tamen vicinæ nomen ejus prorsùs inauditum est: vel, si et illìc per hominum ora volitare meruerit, partes saltem remotiores tale quiddam esse in rerum naturâ penitùs ignorant: tandem verò si demus, quod tamen nemo unquam mortalium assecutus est, uno omnium ore solum celebrari, quanto interim est ille reliquis melior beatiorve? O angustos terrenæ gloriæ fines! O inanem popularis auræ captationem! Solus ille, demum, verè fœliciterque celebris est, cujus nomen cœlo et notum est et inscriptum.

CXXVII. *Ad conspectum cicutæ.*

Nulla creaturarum ex se suâque naturâ mala est: applicatione quidem sinistrâ, vel optima quæque fit mala: uti et, è contrà, pessima fieri potest usu salutaris. Herba hæc, quam nimia experientia venenosam probavit, capro tamen benignum satis pharmacum est; quippe quæ, frigiditate nimiâ, febricitantis animalis calorem optimè temperet. Ita cercopithecus araneas liberè comedit; dapes hinc sibi parans et remedia.

Non est quòd ignorantia nostra opificio Dei contumeliam inferat; vel, si nos istoc ausi, satis novit summa ipsius sapientia, hoc, quicquid est injuriæ, in bonum sibi convertere. Indubium

the creatures is to excellent purpose: how much more their beneficial qualities! If ought hurt us, the fault is ours; in mistaking the evil for good: in the mean time, we owe praise to the Maker, and to the creature a just and thankful allowance.

CXXVIII. *On a flower-de-luce.*

THIS flower is but unpleasingly fulsome for scent; but the root of it is so fragrant, that the delicatest ladies are glad to put it into their sweet bags: contrarily, the rose tree hath a sweet flower, but a savourless root: and the saffron yields an odoriferous and cordial spire, while both the flower and the root are unpleasing. It is with vegetables, as with metals.

God never meant to have his best always in view: neither meant he to have all eminences concealed. He would have us to know him, to be both secretly rich, and openly bountiful. If we do not use every grace in its own kind, God loses the thanks, and we the benefit.

CXXIX. *On the sight of two trees, one high, the other broad.*

THOSE trees, that shoot up in height, are seldom broad; as, contrarily, those trees, that are spreading, are seldom tall: it were too much ambition in that plant, which would be both ways eminent.

Thus it is with men. The covetous man, that affects to spread in wealth, seldom cares to aspire unto height of honour: the proud man, whose heart is set upon preferment, regards not, in comparison thereof, the growth of his wealth. There is a poor shrub in a valley, that is neither tall nor broad, nor cares to he either, which speeds better than they both. The tall tree is cut down, for timber; the broad tree is lopped, for fire-wood; besides, that the tempest hath power on them both: whereas the low shrub is neither envied by the wind, nor threatened by the axe; but fostered rather, for that little shelter which it affords the shepherd. If there be glory in greatness, meanness hath security. Let me never envy their diet, that would rather be unsafe, than inglorious.

CXXX. *On the sight of a drunken man.*

REASON is an excellent faculty; and, indeed, that, which alone differenceth us from brute creatures: without which, what is man, but a two-legged beast? And, as all precious things are tender, and subject to miscarriage; so is this, above others: the want of some little sleep, the violence of a fever, or one cup too much, puts it into utter distemper. What can

planè est, ipsum creaturarum venenum commodis usibus inservire: quanto magis qualitates earum beneficas! Si quid fortè nobis noceat, in nos cudendum est ilicet; pro bono malum incautè imprudenterque eligentibus. Interim, Creatori laudes, creaturis verò æquam gratamque comprobationem, debemus.

CXXVIII. *Viso lilio.*

Flos iste satis ingratum præbet naribus odorem; cujus tamen radix adeò redolet, ut ab heroinis delicatissimis inter aromata fragrantissma reponi soleat: rosa, è contrà, florem habet admodum dulcem, radicem verò planè inodoram: crocus, flavas quasdam virgulas emittit non minùs suaves quàm salutares, dum et flos et radix sensui meritò displiceant. Ut vegetabilibus hisce fit, sic pariter et metallis.

Noluit Deus optima quæque semper oculis patere: neque, ex adverso, præstantissima quæque celari voluit. Scire nempe nos voluit esse se, et clàm divitem, et palàm beneficum. Si unoquoque Dei dono, suo genere ac loco, parùm utamur; amittit Deus debitas gratias, nos fructum et beneficium.

CXXIX. *De arboribus duabus, altâ unâ, latâ alterâ.*

Quæ proceriores sunt arbores, rarò admodum expanduntur latiùs; è contrà, rarissima est in latioribus plantis proceritas: ambitione nimiâ laboraret illa plantarum, quæ utroque modo eminere contenderet.

Idem et hominibus usuvenit. Avarus, cui divitiæ maximo in pretio sunt quique ad metalla sese damnavit, ultrò honoris adsequi fastigium parùm curat: ex adverso, superbus, cujus animus honoribus ambiendis totus incumbit, præ his, divitias facilè aspernatur. Est quidem humilis frutex in valle subsidens, qui neque procerus neque amplus est, neutri tamen invidet, utroque longè fœlicior. Procerior nempe hæc arbor, ædificiis struendis exscinditur; latior verò illa, alendo igni resecatur; adde, quòd tempestatibus utraque magis sit obnoxia: dum arbustum humilius à venti invidiâ et securis ictu, securum usque crescit; magisque fovetur indies, ut pastori decumbenti tantillum umbræ præbeat. Esto in summâ dignitate gloria, sua est mediocritati securitas. Ne mihi invidiam moveat unquam illorum optio, qui malètuti malunt esse, quàm inglorii.

CXXX. *Ad conspectum ebrii.*

Facultas longè omnium præstantissima ratio est; et quæ, revera, sola nos à brutis distinguit: sine quâ, quid aliud est homo, quàm brutum bipes? Pretiosa quæque uti teneriora vulgò sunt, tantoque magis periculis obnoxia; ita, præ aliis, ratio: brevis quædam ἀγρυπνία, febris violentia, unumve plus æquo poculum, totam disturbat distrahitque. Quid de hoc

we make of this thing? man, I cannot call him. He hath shape; so hath a dead corpse, as well as he: he hath life; so hath a beast, as well as he: reason, either for the time he hath not; or, if he have it he hath it so depraved and marred for the exercise of it, that brutishness is much less ill-beseeming. Surely, the natural bestiality is so much less odious than the moral, as there is difference in the causes of both: that is of God's making; this, of our own: it is no shame to the beast, that God hath made him so; it is a just shame to a man, that he hath made himself a beast.

CXXXI. *On the whetting of a scythe.*

Recreation is intended to the mind, as whetting is to the scythe; to sharpen the edge of it, which otherwise would grow dull and blunt. He, therefore, that spends his whole time in recreation, is ever whetting, never mowing: his grass may grow, and his steed starve. As, contrarily, he, that always toils and never recreates, is ever mowing, never whetting; labouring much to little purpose: as good no scythe, as no edge. Then only doth the work go forward, when the scythe is so seasonably and moderately whetted, that it may cut; and so cuts, that it may have the help of sharpening. I would so interchange, that I neither be dull with work, nor idle and wanton with recreation.

CXXXII. *On the sight of a looking-glass.*

When I look in another man's face, I see that man; and that man sees me, as I do him: but, when I look in my glass, I do not see myself; I see only an image or representation of myself: howsoever it is like me, yet it is not I. It is for an ignorant child, to look behind the glass; to find out the babe, that he seeth: I know it is not there; and that the resemblance varies, according to the dimness or different fashion of the glass.

At our best, we do but thus see God, here below. One sees him more clearly; another, more obscurely: but all, in a glass. Hereafter, we shall see him, not as he appears, but as he is: so shall we see him in the face, as he sees us: the face of our glorified spirits shall see the glorious face of him, who is the God of Spirits. In the mean time, the proudest dame shall not more ply her glass, to look upon that face of hers, which she thinks beautiful; than I shall gaze upon the clearest glass of my thoughts, to see that face of God, which I know to be infinitely fair and glorious.

animali, homo certè quidem non ést, tandem dicemus? Externam adhuc formam habet; habet et cadaver, æquè perfectam: vitam sortitur insuper; sortitur æquè et brutum: rationem, aut pro tempore penitùs perdidit; aut, saltem ita prorsùs, quoad exercitium corrupit vitiavitque, ut ipsa, fas mihi sic loqui, brutalitas multò minùs dedeceat. Certè, bestia naturalis, eo est morali minùs odiosa, quo causæ utriusque differunt magis: illum Deus ipse fecit; hanc, nos quidem ipsi: nihil est, quod brutum pudeat sic fuisse conditum; hominem autem est, quod maximè dispudeat in brutum turpiter degenerâsse.

CXXXI. *Viso messore falcem coticulâ exacuente.*

Otium ludusque animo, ut cos falci, aciei scilicet quæ nimis aliter hebesceret exacuendæ, inservire et solet et debet. Quisquis, itaque, totum temporis sui ludo otiove impendit, semper exacuit, nunquam metit: floridum illi fortè gramen est, equus famelicus. Quique, è contrà, sine intermissione ullâ laboribus desudat, metit ille semper, exacuit nunquam; multum operæ nequicquam perdens: quid enim juvat falx, cui deest acies? Tum demum res benè succedit, cùm ita tempestivè ac moderatè falx acuitur, ut scindere possit; atque ita scindit, ut cote interim indigeat. Sic mihi intermutentur vices, ut neque hebescam labore, nec otio nimio torpeam.

CXXXII. *Admoto speculo.*

Cum alterius faciem intueor, hominem video; qui et me vicissim, æquè videt: at, cùm speculum inspicio, mei tantùm imaginem, per omnia quidem mihi persimilem, video; meipsum interea non video. Puerorum est, puerulum, quem vident, pone speculum latentem quærere: ego nihil ibi subesse sat novi; sed et similitudinem quoque variari, juxta vel obscuritatem vel formam speculi variam.

Cùm vel optimè sumus dispositi, non aliter nos Deum, in terris, videre possumus. Hic quidem clariùs ipsum videt; obscuriùs, ille: uterque, in speculo tamen. In cœlis, Deum videbimus, non uti apparet, sed ut revera est: faciem ejus intuebimur, quemadmodum et ille nostram: spiritûs nostri glorificata facies, gloriosissimam illius faciem, qui est Spirituum Deus, liberè intuebitur. Interea temporis, non frequentiùs fixis in speculum oculis hærebit fæminarum superbissima, vultum, quem ipsa credit formosissimum, curiosè speculando; quàm ego clarissimum cogitationum mearum speculum oculis usurpabo meis, ut vultum illum Dei contempler, quem infinitè pulchrum et splendidum esse novi.

CXXXIII. *On the shining of a piece of rotten wood.*

How bright doth this wood shine! When it is in the fire, it will not so beam forth, as it doth in this cold darkness. What an emblem is here of our future estate! This piece, while it grew in the tree, shone not at all: now, that it is putrified, it casts forth this pleasing lustre.

Thus it is with us: while we live here, we neither are nor seem other than miserable; when we are dead once, then begins our glory: then doth the soul shine in the brightness of heavenly glory; then doth our good name shine upon earth, in those beams, which, before, envy had either held in or overcast. Why are we so over-desirous of our growth, when we may be thus advantaged, by our rottenness?

CXXXIV. *On an ivy-tree.*

BEHOLD a true emblem of false love. Here are kind embracements, but deadly: how close doth this weed cling unto that oak, and seems to hug and shade it! but, in the mean time, draws away the sap; and, at last, kills it.

Such is a harlot's love: such is a parasite's. Give me that love and friendship, which is between the vine and the elm; whereby, the elm is no whit worse, and the vine much the better. That wholesome and noble plant doth not so close wind itself about the tree that upholds it, as to gall the bark, or to suck away the moisture: and, again, the elm yields a beneficial supportation to that weak, though generous, plant. As God, so wise men, know to measure love, not by profession and compliment, which is commonly most high and vehement in the falsest, but by reality of performance. He is no enemy, that hurts me not: I am not his friend, whom I desire not to benefit.

CXXXV. *On a quartan ague.*

I HAVE known, when those things, which have made a healthful man sick, have been the means of making a sick man whole. The quartan hath of old been justly styled the shame of physicians; yet, I have more than once observed it to be cured by a surfeit. One devil is sometime used, for the ejection of another.

Thus have I also seen it, in the sickness of the soul. The same God, whose justice is wont to punish sin with sin, even his mercy doth so use the matter, that he cures one sin by another. So have we known a proud man healed, by the shame of his uncleanness; a furious man healed, by a rash bloodshed.

CXXXIII. *Viso ligni cariosi splendore.*

Quam clarè micat lignum istud! In foco, non ita radiabit, ac jam modò sub mediis tenebris facit. Quàm pulchrum hic est futuræ conditionis nostræ emblema! Quamdiu lignum hoc arbori concreverat, nihil quicquam splenduit: jam verò, putrefactum, fulgorem illico et lucem emittit.

Ita nos homines, quamdiu vitam istìc degimus, toti et sumus et videmur miseri; non citiùs morti cessimus, quàm gloria nostra statim elucere cæperit: ecce tunc, et cælestis gloriæ fulgore coruscat anima; et nomen nostrum, in terris superstes, radios illos liberè emittit, quos, antea aut prorsùs suppresserat invidia, aut saltem obfuscârat. Quìd nunc ita crescere nimis discupimus, cùm nos, ex ipsâ quidem putredine, tantum lucrari constiterit.

CXXXIV. *Visâ hederâ.*

Ecce istìc fucati amoris verum emblema. Blandi hi sunt, sed fatales amplexus: quàm intimè herba hæc quercui se adjungit, arctequè amplexa umbram præbet non ingratam! dum, interea, succùm illi suffuratur clanculùm; vitamque, tandem, exugit.

Talis est meretricis affectus: talis et parasiti. Da mihi veram mutuamque vitis et ulmi amicitiam; eam scilicet, quâ et viti melius sit, et ulmo nihilo pejus. Salutaris illa nobilisque planta suffulcientem arborem non adeò rudibus ulmis circumplectitur, ut corticem lædere possit, succumve exhaurire: ulmus, è contrà, debilem quidem illam, at generosam tamen, alumnam benignè sustinet. Ut Deus, ita et homines, satis nôrunt, amorem, non ex merâ professione externisque ceremoniis, quæ vel simulatoribus excidunt sæpenumerò calidiores, sed ex ipsis actionibus, æstimare. Ille mihi inimicus non est, qui nocere nollet: nec ego illi amicus, cui non cupiam benefacere.

CXXXV. *De febre quartana.*

Expertus sum aliquando, ea ipsa, quibus morbum contrahit sanus, media etiam fuisse, quibus ægrotus sanaretur. Febris quartana medicorum opprobium olim, nec immeritò, audiit; quam tamen, merâ crapulâ, non semel sede suâ pulsam observavi. Est ubi dæmonum unus, alterius ejectioni operam elocat.

Sed et idem etiam, in animæ morbis comperi. Idem Deus, cujus justitia peccatum peccato plectere solet, non rarò etiam, mirificè operante ipsius miserecordiâ, peccatum etiam peccato, justissimè tamen, medetur. Sic superbum turpissimæ, in quam inciderat, libidinis, pudore conversum aliquando novimus; sic furiosè iracundum, temero quodam homicidio cicuratum vidit

It matters not greatly, what the medicine be, while the physician is infinitely powerful, infinitely skilful. What danger can there be of my safety, when God shall heal me, as well by evil, as by good?

CXXXVI. *On the sight of a loaded cart.*

It is a passionate expression, wherein God bemoans himself of the sins of Israel, *Ye have pressed me, as a cart is pressed with sheaves.* An empty cart runs lightly away: but if it be soundly loaden, it goes sadly, sets hard, groans under the weight, and makes deep impressions; the wheels creak, and the axle-tree bends; and all the frame of it is put unto the utmost stress.

He, that is Omnipotent, can bear any thing, but too much sin: his justice will not let his mercy be overstrained. No marvel, if a guilty soul say, *Mine iniquity is greater than I can bear;* when the Infinite God complains of the weight of men's sins. But, let not vain men think, that God complains out of the want of power, but out of the abundance of mercy. He cannot be the worse for our sins: we are. It grieves him, to be overprovoked to our punishment. Then doth he account the cart to crack, yea to break, when he is urged to break forth into just vengeance.

O Saviour, the sins of the whole world lay upon thee: thou sweatedst blood, under the load. What would become of me, if I should bear but one sheaf of that load; every ear whereof, yea every grain of that ear, were enough to press down my soul to the nethermost hell?

CXXXVII. *On the sight of a dwarf.*

Amongst all the bounteous gifts of God, what is it, that he hath equally bestowed upon all; except it be our very being while we are? He hath not given to all men the same stature of body, not the same strength of wit, not the same capacity of memory, not the same beauty of parts, not the same measure of wealth or honour.

Thus hath he done also in matter of grace. There are spiritual dwarfs: there are giants. There are perfect men; children; babes; embryos. This inequality doth so much more praise the mercy and wisdom of the Giver, and exercise the charity and thankfulness of the receiver. The essence of our Humanity doth not consist in stature: he, that is little of growth, is as much man, as he, that is taller. Even so also spiritually, the quantity of grace doth not make the Christian, but the truth of it. I shall be glad and ambitious, to add cubits to my

mus. Non est quòd de pharmaco nimiùm laboremus, dum medici infinitam cùm artem tum potestatem intelligimus. De salute meâ quid est quòd metuam, cùm Deus mihi possit non salubribus modò, sed et noxiis remediis opitulari?

CXXXVI. *Conspecto plaustro benè onusto.*

PATHETICE admodum exprimitur illa Dei de peccatis Israelis querimonia, *Pressistis me, plaustri instar tritico onusti.* Plaustrum vacuum leviter decurrit: gravi verò pondere saburratum, difficulter et ægrè progeditur, gemitque sub pondere, altos terræ cedenti sulcos imprimens; crepant rotæ, incurvatur axis; tota denique fabrica quàm maximè urgetur opprimiturque.

Omnia, præter peccatum, facilè ferre potest, qui Omnipotens est: non patitur justitia ejus, ut miserecordia ipsius nimiùm prægravetur. Mirum non est, si anima peccatorum conscia dixerit, *Major est iniquitas mea quàm ut ferre possim;* cùm Deus ipse Infinitus peccatorum nostrorum pondere se oppressum queritur. Absit, tamen, ut querelam hanc vanus quispiam putet ex potentiæ defectu, et non potiùs ex superabundantiâ miserecordiæ profectam. Peccata nostra non possunt Deum quicquam lædere: nos lædunt ipsos gravissimè. Dolet ipsi, cùm ad pœnas nobis infligendas provocatur. Tum crepitare illi plaustrum videtur, imò frangi, cùm justam de nobis vindictam sumere, quasi invitus, urgetur.

Bone Jesu, peccata mundi universa humeris tuis imposita sunt: tu sanguinis grumos exudabas ubertim, tanto pondere gravatus. Quid de me actum foret, si vel unicum de totâ illâ messe manipulum subiissem; cujus quælibet spica, imo vel unicum spicæ granulum, ad imum usque barathrum animam meam deprimeret?

CXXXVII. *Viso quodam nano.*

Ex omnibus quotquot sunt Dei beneficiis, quid est, quod is æquè omnibus impertire voluerit; nisi modò ipsum illud, quòd sumus? non eandem corporis mensuram, easdem ingenii vires, eandem memoriæ capacitatem, eundem decorum partium, eundemve aut divitiarum aut honoris cumulum.

Eodem etiam modo dona gratiæ suæ dispensavit Deus. Sunt enim nani spirituales: sunt etiam et gigantes. Viri sunt perfecti; sunt et pueri; infantes; embryones. Imparitas hæc eò magis benignitatem sapientiamque Largientis extollit, et charitatem quoque gratitudinemque recipientis exercet. Homines quòd sumus non in ipsâ corporis mensurâ consistit: pusillus quisque æquè homo est, ac proceritate eminentior. Ita etiam et spiritualiter sese habet: quantitas gratiæ non est, quæ Christianum constituit, sed veritas. Illud mihi in votis erit, ut

height; but, withal, it shall comfort me to know, that I cannot be so low of stature, as not to reach unto heaven.

CXXXVIII. *On an importunate beggar.*

It was a good rule of him, that bade us learn to pray of beggars. With what zeal, doth this man sue! With what feeling expressions! with how forcible importunity! When I meant to pass by him with silence, yet his clamour draws words from me. When I speak to him, though with excuses, rebukes, denials, repulses; his obsecrations, his adjurations draw from me that alms, which I meant not to give. How he uncovers his sores, and shews his impotence, that my eyes may help his tongue to plead! With what oratory, doth he force my compassion! so as it is scarce any thank to me that he prevails.

Why do I not thus to my God? I am sure I want no less, than the neediest: the danger of my want is greater: the alms, that I crave, is better; the store and mercy of the Giver, infinitely more.

Why shouldest thou give me, O God, that which I care not to ask? Oh, give me a true sense of my wants: and then, I cannot be cool, in asking; thou canst not be difficult, in condescending.

CXXXIX. *On a medicinal potion.*

How loathsome a draught is this! How offensive, both to the eye, and to the scent, and to the taste? Yea, the very thought of it, is a kind of sickness: and, when it is once down, my very disease is not so painful for the time, as my remedy. How doth it turn the stomach, and wring the entrails; and works a worse distemper, than that, whereof I formerly complained! And yet it must be taken, for health: neither could it be so wholesome, if it were less unpleasing; neither could it make me whole, if it did not first make me sick.

Such are the chastisements of God, and the reproofs of a friend; harsh, troublesome, grievous: but, in the end, they yield *the peaceable fruit of righteousness.*

Why do I turn away my head, and make faces, and shut mine eyes, and stop my nostrils, and nauseate and abhor to take this harmless potion for health; when we have seen mountebanks, to swallow dismembered toads, and drink the poisonous broth after them, only for a little ostentation and gain?

cubitos multos staturæ animæ meæ adjicere possim; hâc tamen, interea, firmabo me solaborque confidentiâ, quòd sciam, non posse me adeò humilem esse, quin ut cœlum aliquando attingam.

CXXXVIII. *Audito paulò importuniore mendico.*

Non malè profectò monuit, qui nos à mendicis orare discere consuluit. Quanto zelo, instat iste? Quàm fervidis votis, quàm efficaci importunitate, vim infert viatori! Cùm antea silentio ipsum præterire proposuissem, clamor rogitantis verba mihi elicit. Alloquor, non alio quidem quàm excusationum, minarum, increpationis, commotiorisque repulsæ sono; ille, obsecrationibus adjurationibusque urget acriùs; nec desistit, donec tandem eleemosynam à me, quàmlibet reluctante, impetraverit. Quàm denudat sibi ulcera, impotentiamque palam ostendit, ut oculi etiam mei linguæ exoranti suppetias ferant! Quàm bellè rhetoricatur, mirâque arte miserecordiam mihi extorquet! ut vix mihi gratias nunc deberi sentiam, qui, post tot tamque potentes preces, annuerim.

Quidni et ego sic me Deo geram? Non minùs certè egeo, quàm qui mortalium omnium pauperrimus: sed et gravius multò est inopiæ meæ periculum: eleemosynæ, quas peto, longè meliores sunt; opulentia et miserecordia Largientis, immanè quanto major!

O Deus, cur tu ultrò mihi porrigeres, quod rogare usque volens detrectaverim? Faxis, obsecro, egestatem meam verè persentiscam: tum demum, neque ego frigidè te rogare potero; neque tu ægrè, quod petîerim, erogare.

CXXXIX. *Viso pharmaco quodam.*

Quam nauseosum est hoc poculum! Oculis, naribus, gustui quàm ingratum! Cujus vel ipsa cogitatio, morbi quoddam genus est: et, ubi exhauserim, morbo ipso graviùs me affligit hoc, quicquid est, remedii. Quanto dolore stomachum afficit, intestina torquet; vehementiorem in corpore intemperiem excitans, quàm quâ priùs laborabam. Sumendum tamen est, valetudinis ergò: neque revera adeò salutare foret, si minùs foret ingratum; nec me sanum deinceps præstaret, nisi priùs ægrotum præstitisset.

Tales omnino sunt, et castigationes Dei, et amici reprehensiones; duræ forsan, pro tempore, ac molestæ: quæ tamen postmodo *καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν* opportunè producunt.

Quid ego nunc faciem indignabundus averto, oculos claudo, nares obstruo, et à certo morbi mei remedio tantopere abhorreo; cùm empiricos quosdam viderim, qui bufones discerptos audacter manducârint, moxque liquorem venenosum liberè absorpserint, idque vel lucri tantilli vel fortè ostentationis solius causâ?

It is only weakness, and want of resolution, that is guilty of this squeamishness. Why do not I cheerfully take, and quaff up that bitter cup of affliction, which my wise and good God hath mixed for the health of my soul?

CXL. *On the sight of a wheel.*

THE Prophet meant it for no other than a fearful imprecation against God's enemies, *O my God, make them like unto a wheel:* whereby what could he intend to signify, but instability of condition, and sudden violence of judgment? Those spokes of the wheel, that are now up, are, sooner than sight or thought, whirled down; and are straight raised up again, on purpose to be depressed. Neither can there be any motion so rapid and swift, as the circular.

It is a great favour of God, that he takes leisure in his affliction; so punishing us, that we have respites of repentance. There is life and hope, in these degrees of suffering; but those hurrying and whirling judgments of God have nothing in them, but wrath and confusion.

O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger. I cannot deprecate thy rebuke: my sins call for correction: but I deprecate thine anger. Thou rebukest, even where thou lovest. So rebuke me, that, while I smart with thy rod, I may rejoice in thy mercy.

Sola quædam imbecillitas, animique parùm audentis anxietas, fastidiosi hujusce affectûs rea est. Quin ego alacris mihi sumo, totumque exhaurio amarum afflictionis poculum, quod sapiens et benignus Deus in animæ meæ salutem ægro miscere voluit?

CXL. *Ad conspectum rotæ.*

Dirissime quidem hostibus Dei imprecari voluit Propheta, dum ait, *O Deus, facito eos rotæ similes:* quo, quid aliud innuere potuit, nisi conditionis eorum instabilitatem, subitique demum judicii violentiam? Isti nimirum rotæ radii, qui nunc sursum feruntur, jam, dicto aut cogitatione citiùs, deorsum volvuntur; moxque elevantur, ut illico deprimantur denuo. Neque ullus dari potest motus æquè velox rapidusque, ac circularis.

Magnam arguit Dei benignitatem, quòd, in pœnis infligendis, moras nectere soleat; ita nos puniens, ut resipiscentiæ adhuc tempus ultrà indulgeat. In hisce suppliciorum spatiis gradibusque, vita aliqua et spes residua est; at rapidissima illa vindicis Dei judicia, nihil planè, præter furorem confusionemque æternam, præ se ferunt.

O Domine, in excandescentiâ tuâ ne me redarguas. Castigationes tuas deprecari non possum: correctionem certè quandam peccata mea necessariò efflagitant: ego iram tuam supplex deprecor. Castigas tu nempe, quos amas. Ita me verberes, quæso, ut, dum vibices tuas dolens sentio, in misericordiâ tuâ lætus acquiescam.

JOSEPHI EXONIENSIS HENOCHISMUS:

SIVE,

TRACTATUS

DE MODO AMBULANDI CUM DEO.

THE WAY OF ENOCH:

OR, A

TREATISE

ON THE

MANNER OF WALKING WITH GOD.

NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE REV. PETER HALL, M. A.

A very loose and verbose translation of this piece was published by the Rev. Henry Brown, M. A. Vicar of Nether-Swell, in Gloucestershire: Oxford, 1768, 12mo. After careful revision, and great improvement, it was adopted by Mr. Pratt. The references, and the substance of the notes, are still retained with the present translation.—H.

DOCTO AC CELEBRI CLERO DIOCESEOS EXONIENSIS;

PACEM ET GRATIAM.

VACABAT mihi pridem, uti nostis, per menses aliquot, durante Reverendissimi Archipræsulis Visitatione Metropoliticâ.

Non potui interea nihil agere. Meditatiunculas, igitur, meas vertendas non illibens suscepi: hunc etiam, præter alia quædam, meditatus insuper Henochismum; quo nihil cogitari potuit utilius, nihil salutarius.

Soluti nunc ferè sunt calami omnes in polemicas quasdam ζητήσεις, μωρὰς quidem illas, plærasque, καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους, 2 Tim. ii. 23. Et, ubi nihil est litium, cum Plautinis leguleiis, lites serunt. Friget, interim, pietas! sanctèque vivendi ratio, quasi ἀπροσδιόνυσον quiddam, vulgò negligitur!

Tædet me planè miseretque harum turbarum, quibus miserè agitatur orbis Christianus: utinam verò opis nostræ foret, illas, non dico, votis, suspiriis, lachrymis, sed quovis aut sudore aut sanguine, demum sedare!

Deus, Deus, qui solus potest, istoc accuret scilicet! Demus nos, interim, Fratres, quantum possumus, operam, ut ad verum practicæ pietatis studium, hominum animos, à vanis hisce vitilitigationibus, revocemus. Illud est, quod me istic videtis moliri; quodque, quamdiu superstitaverit mihi Deus hanc provinciam, moliturum deinceps sanctè spondeo. Vos, quod olim suis commilitonibus Gideon, facite pariter, ac me fecisse cernitis. Jud. vii. 17.

Cœlum est, quod quærimus: illò autem non disputando quidem, sed credendo et benè vivendo, pervenitur. Pauca sunt illa fidei capita, quæ Christiano cuique ad salutem creditu necessaria sunt; nec verò difficilia. O, si in illis humiliter tacitèque acquiescere disceret plebs Christiana; de reliquis haud nimis interim solicita: quodque superest temporis, piis officiis, bonisque operibus, fœliciter impenderet!

Illud, Fratres Charissimi, strenuè navemus operam, ut fiat: curemusquo sedulò, ut sanctissimis probæ vitæ exemplis ita populo præluceamus, ut, vel sic, nostros cum Deo ambulare doceamus; cum ipso, demum, unà æternùm regnaturos.

TO THE LEARNED AND FAMOUS

CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF EXETER;

GRACE AND PEACE.

You are aware that I had recently some leisure months, during the Metropolitical Visitation of the most Reverend the Archbishop.

This time I could not spend in idleness. I found a pleasure, therefore, in undertaking to translate my Occasional Meditations into Latin: and, besides some other matters, I composed this treatise, which I entitle Henochismus, or the Way of Enoch; than which no subject could be conceived, at once more useful, or more seasonable.

The pens of almost all our writers are now employed on certain polemical *questions, foolish* indeed, most of them, *and unlearned:* 2 Tim. ii. 23. And where there is no subject of contention ready, there, like the lawyers in Plautus, they sow the seeds of contention. In the mean time, piety starves! and a religious course of life is generally contemned, as something quite irrelevant and supererogatory!

For my own part, I am both wearied and ashamed of these disputes, by which the Christian world is miserably agitated: I only wish it were in my power to allay them, I say not by my prayers, my sighs, my tears, but by any fatigue or labour I could endure, by any sacrifice I could make, even unto blood!

May God, may God (for he alone is able) provide a remedy for our disorders! But let us, meanwhile, my Brethren, do our best endeavours, to recall the minds of men from these vain jarrings and wranglings, to the serious pursuit of practical religion. This it is, which you see me here attempting to accomplish; and which I solemnly promise I will continue to attempt, so long as it shall please God to entrust me with the charge of this diocese. And as Gideon formerly exhorted his fellow-soldiers, Do ye, as ye have seen me do; Judges vii. 17.

It is heaven we seek: but the way to heaven is not by a life of disputations, but of faith and holiness. The articles of faith, which every Christian must receive as necessary to his salvation, are but few; and those few by no means difficult. Oh that the whole congregation of the Church of Christ would learn to acquiesce in them with humility and quietness, and shew themselves less anxious to strive and quarrel about the rest, than happily to employ the time which yet remains in pious duties and good works!

For the accomplishment of this object, dearest Brethren, let us strenuously exert ourselves; especially, let us take care so to let our light shine before our people in the most holy example of a righteous life, that thus, at least, we may teach them to walk with God here, and to reign with him and us eternally hereafter.

- Tractatus iste
  - *DOCET*
    - REM, in quâ consistit ambulatio hæc: innuitur autem hâc,
      - PRÆSENTIA cum Deo; ejus nempe
        - *Apprehensio.*
        - *Agnitio;* ex quâ
          - Timor quidam Sanctus, ac Reverentia.
          - Studium Approbationis Divinæ.
      - FAMILIARITAS: quæ in multis dispositionibus et officiis cernitur: qualia hæc sunt,
        - *Appropriatio Dei, Fidei Actu.*
        - *Colloquium cum Deo,*
          - Interjectione Bonarum Cogitationum.
          - Piæ Animæ Responsione.
        - *Consultatio Dei in Dubiis quibusque.*
        - *Petitio in Necessariis.*
        - *Repositio in ipsius Providentiam.*
        - *Recognitio Beneficiorum.*
        - *Fruitio Dei in Bonis quibusque.*
      - MOTUS: cujus
        - *Pars Externa:*
          - Praxis Obedientiæ Activæ
            - In immediatis Divini Cultûs Exercitiis.
            - In Vocationis nostræ Muniis.
          - Declinatio Mali cujusque.
        - *Pars Interna:*
          - Relatio in Deum.
          - Deditio nostri in Dei Manus.
          - Plenioris Fruitionis Ambitio sancta.
  - *INCITAT*
    - MODUM ambulandi cum Deo; sc.
      - UNICE.
      - RECTA,
        - quoad Pedem.
        - quoad Viam.
      - ALACRITER.
      - CONSTANTER.
    - ostendens quàm
      - HONORIFICUM
      - JUCUNDUM
      - TUTUM
      - UTILE
      - sit, ita cum Deo ambulare.

- This Treatise
  - *TEACHES*
    - The THING, in which this walk consists: wherein are contained,
      - PRESENCE with God: namely, of him
        - *Apprehension.*
        - *Acknowledgment*; whence
          - Holy Fear, and Reverence.
          - Desire of Divine Approbation.
      - FAMILIARITY: which is discovered in many dispositions and duties: such are,
        - *Appropriation of God to ourselves, by an Act of Faith.*
        - *Intercourse with God,*
          - By the Interposition of Good Thoughts.
          - By the Answers of the Pious Soul.
        - *Consultation of God in all Difficulties.*
        - *Prayer in Necessities.*
        - *Repose on his Providence.*
        - *Recollection of Benefits.*
        - *Enjoyment of God in all Good Things.*
      - MOTION: of which
        - The *External* includes
          - The Habit of Active Obedience
            - In the immediate Exercises of Divine Worship.
            - In the Duties of our Vocation.
          - Careful avoiding of every Sin.
        - The *Internal* includes
          - Reference in all things to God.
          - Surrender of ourselves into the Hands of God.
          - Holy Importunity after fuller Fruition of Him.
    - The MANNER of walking with God;
      - EXCLUSIVELY.
      - STRAIGHT-FORWARDLY,
        - With respect to our Feet.
        - With respect to our Path.
      - CHEERFULLY.
      - CONSTANTLY.
  - *INCITES*, by representing how
    - HONOURABLE
    - PLEASANT
    - SAFE
    - ADVANTAGEOUS

    it is, thus to walk with God.

HENOCHISMUS;

SIVE, TRACTATUS

DE MODO AMBULANDI CUM DEO.

QUID est, quod ambire debemus Christiani, nisi ut hìc sancti simus, alibi fœlices?

Ecce istîc utrunque nobis præit, nobile exemplar, Henochus. Sanctus erat, ambulavit cum Deo; fœlix, abstulit eum ad se Deus. Sanctitatem illius consummavit fœlicitas; fœlicitati viam stravit sanctimonia. Finem non potest non assequi, quisquis ingreditur viam.

Non est quòd in virum inquiramus curiosiùs. Illud unum meditemur, quod et arguere sanctum potuit, et præstare fœlicem; ambulationem intelligo cum Deo; summam terrenæ sanctitatis, spiritualis rei fastigium.

I. 1. Agedum igitur: et directionis ergò et solatii, QUID SIT, ambulare cum Deo, seriò *DISQUIRAMUS.*

Ambulare verò cum Deo, quid aliud innuit, nisi PRÆSENTIAM, FAMILIARITATEM, MOTUM? Persona non variat modum: illud nempe suggerit nobis ratio, quisquis fuerit qui nobiscum ambulaverit, necesse fore ut præsto nobis sit, ut familiari quâdam ratione sit præsens, ut vestigia nobiscum pariter commutet commetiaturque.

(1.) A PRÆSENTIA ordiamur.

Ambulavit Abrahamus coram Deo; cum Deo Henochus: præsentiam certissimam præsupponit utrunque.

Præsentem sanè nobis semper adesse Deum, dubitari non potest: ubique is est: nec quo loco exclusus, nec inclusus mundi ambitu, terram cœlumque infinitâ majestate implet ac complectitur.

De nostrâ cum illo præsentiâ nunc agitur. Jubemur nos

THE WAY OF ENOCH;

OR, A TREATISE

ON THE MANNER OF WALKING WITH GOD.

WHAT is there, which we ought, as Christians, to desire and seek, but that we may be holy here, and happy hereafter?

Now, behold, in both respects, there is a noble example gone before us in the person of Enoch. He was holy, for he walked with God; he was happy, for God took him unto himself. His happiness filled up the measure of his holiness; his holiness paved the way for his happiness. It is impossible for any one to miss his end, when he pursues the path which leads to it.

There is no occasion for us to enquire too minutely into the general history or circumstances of the man. It will be enough for us to contemplate that single fact, which served at once to evince his holiness, and to constitute his happiness; I mean his walk with God; the sum and substance of holiness, the last and loftiest point of spiritual attainment, upon earth.

I. Let us proceed then, both for instruction and for comfort, to ENQUIRE, with all seriousness,

1. WHAT IT IS, to walk with God.

Now, to walk with God,—what else can the expression intimate, but PRESENCE, FAMILIARITY, and MOTION, with God? A difference in the person makes no difference in the nature of the thing: and common sense suggests thus much, that whosoever he may be that walks with us, he must of necessity be present with us, commend his presence with us by some familiarity of intercourse, and accompany us step by step in our progress.

(1.) Let us begin, then, with the topic of PRESENCE.

Abraham walked before God; Enoch with God: in either case alike there is a presence unequivocally presumed and implied.

Now, that God is always present with us, cannot be doubted: he is every where: neither excluded from any place, nor included within the compass of the world, he, by his infinite majesty, fills and comprehends both earth and heaven.

But it is of our presence with him that we now speak. And

scilicet non semel appropinquare Deo; quasi ab ipso nimis, et mente et affectibus, elongati.

Ut nos igitur sanctè sistamus Deo, duo requiruntur: recta imprimis Divinæ Majestatis Apprehensio; ac vera dein Præsentis Agnitio.

[1.] Et primo quidem in loco, illud expedit, ut animis nostris intimè imprimatur debita quædam, pro captûs nostri modulo, *immensissimæ Deitatis apprehendendæ ratio:* sine quâ, merum profectò imaginationis nostræ idolum pro vero Deo adorabimus. *Ubi evigilavero,* inquit Psaltes, *imagine tui satiabor.* Psalm xvii. 15.

Ecce, procul omni idololatriâ, imaginem Numinis Divini; sacram illam quidem, et, pro naturâ Dei, spiritualem; quæ nihil aliud est quàm simplicissima quædam Idea, et abstractissima animis nostris infigenda Divinæ Majestatis recognitio. Puræ nempe oportet constanterque admirabundæ menti nostræ usque insideant de Deo cogitationes; quales tantam decent gloriæ immensitatem. Representemusque, non tam intellectui nostro, quàm fidei, Infinitum Spiritum, Spirituum Deum; essentiâ unum, distinctum gloriosissimis personis; actum purissimum; lucem spiritualem; principium entitatis omnis æternum; vitæ motûsque authorem incomprehensibilem; Omnipotentem Opificem Moderatoremque Universi; totum potentiam, totum sapientiam, totum justitiam, bonitatem totum; bonitatem verò, justitiam, sapientiam, potentiam, essentialem vivamque: à certâ lucidâque notione gloriosæ Humanitatis Divinissimi Mediatoris, assurgentes ad contemplationem Infinitæ Deitatis, cui illa sacro-sanctissima natura adunitur.

Nimirum hæc ipsissima basis est omnis veræ pietatis; neque tam dux viæ est, quàm ipse oculus quo dirigimur, ipsum solum cui insistimus: sine quo, ambulamus quidem; sed, quod dicitur ἐκτος ὀδου, ambulamus; sed cum phantasmate nostro, non cum Deo.

Vereor equidem, ne istinc nimis multi, qui magnos in re Christianâ se progressus fecisse autumant, vel constitisse planè, vel haud parum certè aberrasse tandem deprehendantur.

Unum, profectò, libere ausim accusare: memet ipse comperio vel justo hujusce apprehensionis modo nimis imparem,

surely we are commanded, and that frequently, to draw near unto God; as though we were too far withdrawn from him, both in mind and in affection.

In order, therefore, that we may stand in holiness before God, two things are requisite: first, a right Apprehension of the Majesty of God; and, secondly, a true Acknowledgment of his Presence.

[1.] And, in the first place, it is expedient that a just and proper *apprehension of the immensity of the Godhead*, so far as may consist with the shallowness of human capacity, be deeply impressed on our minds: without this, in fact, we shall worship a mere idol of our own imagination, instead of the true God. *When I awake*, says the Psalmist, *I shall be satisfied with thy likeness.* Psalm xvii. 15.

Behold, then, far from all idolatry, the likeness of the Divine Being; holy indeed, and, agreeably to the nature of God, spiritual; which is nothing else, but the most simple conception, the most abstract recognition of the Divine Majesty, which can be fastened on our minds. For no other thoughts should we ever entertain of God, than such as are essentially pure, and calculated continually to engage our admiration; such, in short, as befit so vast an amplitude of glory. And we should represent, not so much to our intellect, as to our faith, that Infinite Spirit, the God of Spirits; who is one in essence, yet distinct in three most glorious persons; pure action, spiritual light; the eternal principle of all existence; the incomprehensible author of life and motion; the Almighty Creator and Governor of the Universe; himself all that is powerful, all that is wise, all that is just, all that is good; nay, the very life and essence of all goodness, of all justice, of all wisdom, of all power: while we ascend from a distinct and vivid notion of the glorious Humanity of our Divine Mediator, to a contemplation of that Infinite Godhead, to which that most holy and sacred nature is united.

Unquestionably this is the very foundation of all true religion; and not so much the guide of our path, as the very eye by which we are directed, the very ground on which we tread; without which, we may walk indeed; but it is in bye-ways, not along the high-road; with a phantom of our own, and not with God.

Indeed I confess my fears, lest, on this account, too many who suppose they have made no inconsiderable progress in the things of Christ, be found at last either to have stood still altogether, or at least to have deviated not a little from their course.

One man in the world, at all events, I may make bold to accuse without scruple: myself, myself, I discover to be miserably unequal even to a suitable method of attaining this apprehension,

errori proclivem admodum: difficillimum quidem sentiens, cogitationes animi vel rectè collocare; vel, sic locatas, figere demum ac stabilire. Nunc, sanè, necesse habeo queri de nimiâ cordis angustiâ; quâ fit ut Deitatem Immensam, intra quosdam quasi terminos impotenter coercere videar; nunc verò, de inerti quâdam animi vacuitate, tristique incogitatione; nunc, de nescientiæ tenebris; nunc, denique, de falsâ vani intellectûs luce, perperam mihi Deum referente. Quæ omnia sedulò cavere debet, quisquis cum Deo ambulare studet.

Quòd, si quis, propriæ intellectionis lumine, salutares hasce notiones acquirere speraverit; næ, ille frustrà fuerit, operamque luserit miserrimè. E cœlo, à Patre Luminum, petenda expectandaque est divina hæc irradiato. Qui pedes largitur, ut moveamus, et oculos largiatur oportet, quibus inaccessæ lucis habitatorem, quadamtenus, adspiciamus. Sine ipso, ut cum ipso ambulemus impossibile est.

[2.] Apprehensionem quandam habitualem immotamque Deitatis necessariò comitatur *præsentis agnitio:* non minùs certa quidem illa et ocularis, quàm cujuspiam hominum, quîcum sensibili modo palam et apertè conversamur. Nempe, hoc est videre invisibilem illum; ipsumque, mentis acie, non minùs clarè adstantem intueri, quàm quodcunque visibile objectum, quàm cœlum terramve, corporeis oculis usurpamus.

Illud satis constat; è materiali spiritualique substantiâ, corpore et animo, conflatum esse quod nos hominem appellamus. Utrique partium sui sunt sensus, objecta sua. Nimiùm verò nobis deerimus, nisi, dum corpusculum hoc rebus corporeis, similibus sui, occupatur, et spiritus itidem nostri cum purissimis spiritibus, præsertim verò Spirituum Domino, commercium exerceant. Fœlicitatem nobis olim perficiet illud unum, videre ipsum uti est; videre eum ut is nos videt, mutuâ quâdam fruitione nostri. Debilis ergo fidei obtusâ acie præsentem contueri, non potest non fœlicitatem nobis, interea, suaviter inchoare. Visibilem quemque ipsæ cernunt bestiæ, quarum aliquæ longè sunt hominibus perspicaciores; Spiritum verò simplicissimum conspicari, nobis semper obversantem, oculi est illuminati divinitùs. Interno fit hoc et sensu et lumine; non hôc, quod

and fearfully liable to mistake my way; experiencing equal difficulty, whether I endeavour to bring the thoughts of my mind into a right posture, or, if I have so brought them, to keep them firm and fast to their position. At one time I am constrained to lament the narrowness of my heart, as though I thought in my folly to shut up the Deity, immense and immeasurable as he is, within the limits of my own straitness; at another time, the inactivity and vacuity of my mind, and a gloomy incapacity for thought; at another, the darkness of ignorance; at another, the false light of a vain understanding, presenting me with thoughts of God as he is not. All these are liabilities, of which he, who desires to walk with God, must sedulously beware.

But if there be any one who hopes, by the light of his own understanding, to acquire the knowledge of these salutary truths, let him know that he is deceiving himself, and labouring but to his own destruction. From heaven, from the Father of Lights, this divine illumination is to be sought and expected. He who gives us feet that we may walk, must likewise give us eyes that we may see, however far and faintly, him that dwelleth in that light, which no mortal can approach unto. Without him, it is impossible for us to walk with him.

[2.] A constant and habitual apprehension of the Deity is necessarily accompanied by *an acknowledgment of his presence;* and that not less certain and ocular, than the presence of a human creature, with whom we openly and wittingly converse, under the exercise of our senses. For this is to see him that is invisible; to view him standing by us, with the eye of our mind, as palpably, as with the eye of our body we perceive the earth, the sky, or any other object laid before it.

It is evident enough, that that which we call man is compounded of material and spiritual substance, of body and soul. Now, either portion of this compound has its peculiar senses, and its peculiar objects. And we shall be greatly wanting to ourselves accordingly, unless, while the poor body is employed in bodily concerns, in things like itself, our spirits in like manner hold communion with the purest spirits, but more especially with the Lord of Spirits. For this one thing alone will hereafter complete our happiness, to see him as he is; to see him as he sees us, with a kind of reciprocal fruition of each other. Wherefore, to behold him as present, though but with the dim eye of feeble faith, cannot but ensure a pleasurable foretaste of happiness, even here on earth. The very beasts of the field distinguish such objects as fall within the range of light; and some of them with much clearer faculties of vision than men: but that most exquisite and subtile Spirit, who is ever near us, no eye can discern, but that which is enlightened from above. This is a privilege to be enjoyed both by internal sense and by in-

nobis cum brutis animalibus commune est. Etiam cæcus ille Didymus[a] Alexandrinus hoc, suo tempore, fecisse non parum gestit; et, omni ævo, quo quis sanctior fuit, eo clariùs præsentem sibi Deum conspexisse perhibetur. Venditant nobis historicorum fabulæ quosdam, mirà præditos spirituum videndorum facultate; sed et collyria quædam fingunt sibi aniculæ, quibus hoc posse fieri somniant: ecce! quod superstitiosuli isti perperàm delirant, reapse certissimè indies factitatum: nemo non regenitorum Deum ipsum sibi præsentem, non minùs clarè certòque quàm suam ipsius carnem, contuetur.

Neque verò præsentem modò nobiscum agnoscimus Deum, sed et in ipso vivere nos semper et movere persentiscimus. Verè suos Athenienses docuit Paulus, *οὐ μακρὰν*, non procul ab unoquoque nostrûm abesse quem non cernimus, Deum. Acts xvii. 27, 28. Imò, ne nos quidem ita nobis intimi sumus, ac nobis ipse. Quis nostrûm vitam sibi indulsit; creator sui? quis sibi, vel tantillum, intra fauces continere animam potest? quis motricem indidit animæ facultatem? quis dedit exercere?

Aliter tamen homo *ψυχικὸς* Deum in se, se in Deo viventem motitantemque sentit, aliter regenitus. Renatus quidem vitam agnoscit motumque, spiritualem ac divinum; carnalis verò naturalem prorsùs, indolique suæ congruum. Qui duplicem ergo in Deo vitam motumque sortimur, et naturæ et gratiæ, quin ipsum in quo bis sumus, fideliter usque agnoscimus; et sine quo nec esse nec movere possumus, cum ipso constanter ambulamus?

(*a.*) Agnitam hanc Omnipotentis Dei præsentiam necessariò sequetur, primo in loco, Humilis quædam Reverentia et Sanctus Tremor. Nec cui verò sistimur principi viro, quin venerabundo quodam nos affici sentimus; quanto magis, ubi verendissimam Dei majestatem nobis præsentem cernimus!

[a] Blind Didymus of Alexandria flourished about the year 370. He lost his sight (when he was very young, say Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Nicephorus; at four years of age, says Cardinal Fleury; from the age of five years, says Dupin) as he was just beginning to learn to read. Yet he notwithstanding made himself master of every branch of literature. He added prayer to study, incessantly beseeching God to enlighten his mind; insomuch that he became so learned in divinity, that the Christian School at Alexandria was committed to his care. He was looked upon as a kind of prodigy. Therefore he was visited by many, and esteemed by all as a person of the greatest sanctity. The great and pious St. Anthony waited upon him, and said to him, "Let not the loss of your bodily eyes trouble you. For you are indeed de-

ternal light; not by any thing which is common to men and brutes. Even blind Didymus[a] of Alexandria rejoiced not a little, that of this he was partaker in his day; and in every age, the more holy a man was, the more clearly is he known to have ascertained that God was present with him of a truth. Writers of fabulous history make their boast of some, who were endowed with the wonderful faculty of seeing spirits: and some old wives pretend they have an ointment, by which, if we are to credit their dreams, this effect may be produced. Now behold, the divinations and falsehoods of these silly enthusiasts, accomplished, in sober truth and earnest, every day! Every regenerate man as clearly and certainly observes the presence of God as the presence of his own flesh.

But we not only recognise that God is present with us, but we fully perceive that in him we continually live and move. Truly Paul instructed the Athenians, among whom he preached, that one whom we see not is not far from every one of us, that is, God. Acts xvii. 27, 28. Nay, he is nearer to us, than we are to ourselves. Who is there of us that brought himself into life? Who, that was his own Creator? Who, that by his own power can retain, but for a moment, his breath within his nostrils? Who, that has endowed his own soul with the faculty of motion? Who, that has given his soul the means of exercising that faculty?

But the carnal man obtains a very different sense of God living and moving in him, and himself in God, from the regenerate man. The regenerate man acknowledges both the life and motion to be both spiritual and divine; but the carnal man conceives them to be altogether natural, and conformable to his native disposition. How urgent, then, our duty, who have a twofold life and motion in God, faithfully and uniformly to acknowledge him, in whom we twice exist; and constantly to walk in him, without whom we can neither live nor move!

[*a*.] The presence of Almighty God thus recognised and acknowledged, an Humble Reverence, and Holy Fear will, in the first place, necessarily succeed. For we stand not even before one of the princes of this world, but we feel ourselves affected by a sense of awe; how much more, as we perceive the most dreadful majesty of God present with us!

prived of such eyes, as flies and gnats can see with. But rather rejoice that you have those eyes with which angels see, with which God himself is discerned, and his light is comprehended. And it is much better to see with the eyes of the understanding, than with those of the body." See Socrates's Eccl. Hist. b. iv. ch. 25. Sozomen's Eccl. Hist. b. iii. ch. 15. Theodoret's Eccl. Hist. b. iv. ch. 29. St. Jerome to Castrutius, Ep. 33. towards the end. Nicephorus's Eccl. Hist. b. ix. ch. 17. Cave's Hist. Liter. vol. i. p. 253. Dupin's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 103. Fleury's Eccl. Hist. b. xvii. vol. ii. p. 449, 450.—Brown.

Visâ cœlesti illâ angelorum scalâ, evigilans Patriarcha, *Quàm tremendus est*, inquit, *iste locus!* Gen. xxviii. 17. Ecce sanctum Jacobum, ad ipsius loci, in quo se Deus repræsentari voluit, conspectum, piè contremiscentem; vixque se continentem, quin solum ipsum, in quo machina illa angelica figi visa est, pronus adorârit. Quo demum stupore, divinæ illius gloriæ, quæ in summitate scalæ resplenduit, radiis, perculsum judicabimus! Certè, uti semper nobiscum Deus est, ita nunquam non aliter adest, quàm incomprehensibiliter gloriosissimus: neque agnosci à nobis unquam potest, nisi sacro quodam metu concussis, quasique adorabundâ tantæ majestatis admiratione planè absorptis.

Ego verò non parùm vereri mihi videor, ne hic affectus animi non ita, uti par est, apud Christianorum plerosque obtinere soleat. De magno illo et omnipotente Cœli Numine, et sentire et loqui assolent non pauci, stupido quodam neglectu, temerâque et incuriosâ familiaritate: haud unquam, nisi ubi tonuerit, ad potentiam ipsius pertrementes; nec quo metu Infinitæ Deitatis unquam confusi, nisi cùm insigni aliquo judiciorum suorum specimine sese terribilem exhibuerit. Ecce, seraphici illi spiritus faciem sibi abscondunt alis; Isaia. vi. 2. fulgorem Presentiæ Divinæ intueri parùm sustinentes: quorum tamen unusquisque, ita totus gloriâ ac majestate splendet, ut meritô quidem Manoah, horum uno semel conspecto, de vitâ suâ subinde desperaverit. Judges viii. 22. Nos verò, cinis ac pulvisculus, faciem gloriosissimam illius, qui horum Spirituum Deus est, audaci fronte, negligentibus oculis, securâ mente, intueri non dubitabimus? Difficile, profectò, judicatu est, prejusne fuerit, Deum præsentem non agnoscere, vel agniti præsentiâ parùm affici reverenter: quorum, illud, stupidæ cujusdam negligentiæ est; hoc, impii cujusdam stuporis: quædam certè in utroque atheismi species delitescit.

(b.) Secundo in loco, Sanctum Obedientiæ Studium, Divinæque Approbationis ambitiosa quædam Cura ac Solicitudo. Enimvero, qui tam potentem Deum sibi perpetuò præsentem agnoverit, næ ille parùm ausus fuerit quicquam præstare, quod tanto Numini displiceat; quinimmo, dabit operam sedulò, ut à Summi Judicis misericordi manu fidelitatis suæ lauream reportare mereatur. Quicquid, verò, agendum susceperit, ex animo suo anxiè sciscitabitur clanculùm; "Quomodo hoc Deo meo arridebit?"

When the Patriarch of old awoke, after the vision of the ladder of heaven, and the angels ascending and descending, he exclaimed, *How dreadful is this place!* Gen. xxviii. 17. Look at holy Jacob, trembling with awe at the very sight of the place, where God was pleased to vouchsafe a revelation of himself; and scarcely able to refrain from falling down, and worshipping the very ground on which the foot-way of the angels had appeared to rest. But with what amazement must we conceive him struck by the rays of that divine glory, which beamed forth at the top of the ladder! For, as God is present with us always, so is he never present with us otherwise, than incomprehensibly most glorious: nor can we at any time feel his presence, but we must be struck with solemn fear, and ready to melt away with reverential admiration of so great majesty.

And here I cannot conceal the fear I entertain, that this state of mind prevails not as it ought, among the generality of those who profess the religion of Christ. Not a few of them are wont both to feel, and to speak, of the great and mighty God of Heaven, with a sort of stupid negligence, or pert and careless familiarity: seldom or never trembling at the recollection of his power, unless it be when he thunders; nor confounded with the dread of his Infinite Majesty, unless when he shews himself terrible by some remarkable display of his judgments. Look, the seraphic spirits, unable to endure the brightness of the Divine Presence, cover their faces with their wings; Isaiah vi. 2. and yet with so much glory and majesty shines each of those spirits, that Manoah, at the sight of one of them but for a moment, despaired, and not without reason, of living any longer. Judges xiii. 22. And shall we, vile dust and ashes, presume to look upon the most glorious face of HIM, who is the God of those Spirits, with audacious forehead, heedless eyes, and mind undaunted and unconcerned? It is difficult to determine which of the two offences is the worse; not to acknowledge the presence of God at all, or, while acknowledging, not to behave with decent reverence towards him: the former is the token of stupid negligence; the latter, of impious insensibility: certain it is, that something very like atheism lies lurking under each of them.

(b.) In the second place, will follow a Holy Pursuit of Obedience, and an anxious Care and Solicitude for the Approbation of God. For he who acknowledges that so powerful a God is always present with him, will hardly dare attempt anything, which might displease so august a Being; but will rather use his best endeavours, worthily to receive the recompense of his fidelity from the merciful hand of his Supreme Judge. Whatsoever, therefore, he may have purposed to perform, he will put it to his own conscience, secretly and solemnly, "How will this please my God?"

Mandavit olim Abrahamo Deus, *Ambula coram me, et rectus esto.* Gen. xvii. 1. Præcepti pars una subinfert alteram: non potest non esse rectus, quisquis coram Deo ambulaverit. Gnaviter oportet sit impudens, qui coram viro, coram puerulo, peccare ausit: sed, ubi justissimus potentissimusque Vindex adstare cernitur, atque ἔκδικον in nos ὄμμα conjicere; quis non illud usurpet Josephi, *Quomodo faciam malum hoc grande, ut peccem contra Deum?* Gen. xxxix. 9.

(2.) Et de Præsentiâ quidem hactenus. Altera sequitur ambulationis hujusce statio, FAMILIARITAS.

Præterire solemus ignotos: superiores à tergo insequimur: cum solis amicis ac familiaribus ambulamus. Henochus igitur, et quilibet verè Christianus, non post Deum modò, uti assecla; sed cum Deo, uti socius, honorificè coambulat. Amicus Dei salutatur Abrahamus: 2 Chron. xx. 7. Isaiah xli. 8. James ii. 23. Eodem planè titulo, excelso quidem illo, et qui vix mortali cuiquam competere posse videretur, discipulos suos compellat Christus: John xv. 15. *Talem honorem sortiuntur omnes sancti ejus.* Psalm cxlix. 9.

Ambulare igitur cum Deo quid aliud innuit, quàm cum ipso, velut amicorum intimo, blandâ tremulâque quâdam familiaritate, conversari? Familiaris verò hæc cum Deo conversatio in multis quidem consistit piis dispositionibus ac officiis; quæ, in sacrosanctâ hâc ambulationis hujusce statione, totidem quasi stadia meritò dixerimus.

[1.] Quorum primum illud est *jus nostrum* (ut cum leguleiis loquar) *ad Deum* in Deo firmiter nobismet stabilire. Quid enim, quæso, juverit apprehendisse Deum infinito planè essentialique modo sapientem, potentem, justum, misericordem; quid, præsentem nobiscum agnovisse; nisi ipsum et nostrum insuper esse persenserimus? Certè absque hoc omnia illa gloriosissima Dei attributa nihil aliud nisi terrorem nobis et incuterent et aggravarent; absque hoc foret, ambularemus Deo à longè: cum Deo ambulare nec ausi quidem; a longè, ut alieno, ut inimico; non cum ipso, ut amico, ut Deo. Quid mihi demum profuerit alterius Deus? Væ mihi, nisi Deum habuero de proprio. Nihil mihi profectò vel tutaminis esse potest vel solatii, donec dicere possim cum Didymo illo, jam fœliciter restaurato, *Dominus meus, Deus meus;* John xx. 28. et, cum Prophetâ, *Jehovah justitia mea.* Jer. xxiii. 6. Et hoc quidem fidei stadium est, latè sese porrigens: cùm ad apprehensionem illam agnitionemque Dei, quam modò pertransivimus; tum ad reliquas actiones dispositionesque sacras, quas deinceps sumus tractaturi.

[2.] Fidelem hanc Dei appropriationem sequitur *perpetua*

The Lord commanded Abraham in days past, *Walk before me, and be thou perfect.* Gen. xvii. 1. One part of the precept implies the other: he cannot but be perfect, who walks before God. He must needs be destitute of shame, who would dare commit sin in the presence of a man, or even of a child: but when the most righteous and most mighty Judge of all is seen to stand before us, and to cast his avenging eye upon us; who would not take up the words of Joseph, *How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?* Gen. xxxix. 9.

(2.) Thus far, then, of the topic of Presence. The second particular of our walk with God is FAMILIARITY.

Strangers we generally pass by; our betters we follow at a distance; it is only with our friends and acquaintance that we walk side by side. Enoch, therefore, and every true Christian, walks, not after God merely, like a dependent, but with God honourably, as a companion. Abraham is called the friend of God. 2 Chron. xx. 7. Isaiah xli. 8. James ii. 23. With the same title, lofty as it is, and such as might seem scarcely applicable to any mortal, Christ addresses his disciples: John xv. 15. *Such honour have all his saints.* Ps. cxlix. 9.

To walk with God, then,—what else can the expression intimate, but to hold intercourse with him, in sweet and respectful familiarity, as with the nearest and dearest friend? But this familiar intercourse with God consists in many pious dispositions and duties, which we may with propriety describe as so many stages in this holy state of walking.

[1.] Of these, the first is firmly to establish for ourselves in God *our right* (to use a legal phrase) *to God.* For what can it advantage us, I pray you, to have discovered that God is infinitely and essentially wise, powerful, just, and merciful; what, to have acknowledged that he is present with us; unless we are thoroughly convinced, moreover, that he is ours? Surely, without this, all the most glorious attributes of God would only augment and aggravate our fears; without this, we should still walk far off from God: in fact, we should not presume to walk with God; we should walk far off from him, as if he were a stranger and an enemy; not with him, as our friend, as our God. For of what use can another man's God be to me? Woe is me, if I have not a God of my own! He can afford me neither safety nor consolation, till I can say with Didymus, when happily recovered from his unbelief, *My Lord, and my God!* John xx. 28. and with the Prophet, *The Lord my Righteousness.* Jer. xxiii. 6. And this is the stage of faith, which extends itself both far and wide: as well to that apprehension and acknowledgment of God, which we have just discussed; as to those holy actions and dispositions, of which we shall treat presently.

[2.] After this faithful appropriation of God to ourselves,

quædam mutui cum Deo colloquii familiaritas. Neque verò existimare debemus, ambulationem hanc planè mutam prorsùsve taciturnam: sed suavissimis dialogismis plenam. Piam animam alloquitur semper Deus, anima Deum. Deus animam, continuâ gratiæ excitatione, sanctarumque motionum injectione frequentissimâ; anima Deum, assiduâ meditatione, gratiæ acceptilatione, repromissione obedientiæ. Suggerit Deus, *Quærite faciem meam;* regerit anima, *Faciem tuam quæremus, O Deus.* Psalm xxvii. 8. Illicet hæc spirituum lingua est. Sic se solent illi, gratiosis divinisque rejaculationibus, mutuò excipere: et hoc illud est Bernardi dulce susurrium cum Deo; quo posito, impossibile planè est ut fidelis quisquam vel solus sit vel otiosus. Et hoc quidem stadium secundum esto.

[3.] Familiaris hujusce collocutionis gratiam ultrò sequetur certissima *libertas, et consulendi Deum in dubiis, et rogandi in necessariis.* Quicquid occurrerit, ad Ephodis oraculum recurrisse semper Davidem constat: 1 Sam. xxiii. 9. xxx. 7. sed et pius ille Jehosaphatus, ubi de re modò militari, expugnandâ Ramothe, questio incidisset, non tam belli duces, quam sanctos Dei prophetas, censet adeundos. 1 Kings xxii. Teraphim suos percontatur Laban: Gen. xxxi. Endorem petit illico, pythonissam coasulturus, impius quispiam Saulus: 1 Sam. xxviii. cordatus quisque ac bonus unum scitatur Deum; et is nobis adstat, et verbum illius nobis ad manus est. Non est quod enthusiasmos fanaticasque revelationes cogitemus. Æternùm præsens est consiliarius Davidis, pariter et nostri: *Testimonia tua,* אנשי עצתי, *viri consilii mei;* Ps. cxix. 24. Quicunque demum casus, quem appellant, conscientiæ, necessarius ad Christiani hominis salutem obtigerit, is, Spiritu suo, per vocem verbi sui nobis respondente ac definiente, clarè certòque determinat.

[4.] Consulendi facultatem comitatur *liberrima quædam supplicandi licentia, praxisque assidua.* Illud est, quod, Apostoli manu, jubet Deus; *Orare semper.* 1 Thess. v. 17. Non ita cordi fuisset Deo Propheta ille Regius, nisi hoc fecisset perpetim: *Venio,* inquit, *ante te in ipso crepusculo, ut vociferer.* Ps. cxix. 147: *Sed et elevatio manuum mearum ut munus vespertinum.* Ps. cxli. 2. Quìd ego mane loquor ac vesperam? septies hoc factitatum in die; Ps. cxix. 164. Sed quìd adhuc vices numero? *Invoco te,* inquit, *Jehova, totum diem;* Ps. lxxxviii. 9. *Gratiam fac mihi, Domine, quia te inclamo toto die.* Ps. lxxxvi. 3. Brevi-

there ensues a *perpetual familiarity of mutual intercourse with God.* For we must not suppose that this our walk is utterly silent and dumb: no, it is full of the most delightful discourse. God is continually addressing the pious soul, and the soul God. God addresses the soul by the continual incitements of his grace, and the incessant injection of holy thoughts and purposes; and the soul addresses God by assiduous meditation, by the application of grace received, and by renewed promises of obedience. God suggests, *Seek ye my face*; the soul replies, *Thy face, Lord, will we seek.* Ps. xxvii. 8. This is the language of spirits. Thus they mutually entertain each other with gracious and divine communications: and this is that still small voice of intercourse with God, mentioned by Bernard; to which as he betakes himself, it is absolutely impossible that any believer should ever be either alone or idle. And let this be the second stage of our walk.

[3.] After this grace of familiar intercourse with God, there will naturally follow an unequivocal *liberty, both of consulting him in our difficulties, and of beseeching him in our necessities.* We read that, whatever happened, David always had recourse to the oracle of the Ephod: 1 Sam. xxiii. 9. xxx. 7. and pious Jehosaphat, when he was at a loss what to do, even in a military affair, the assault of Ramoth, thought less of visiting the captains of the host, than the holy prophets of God. 1 Kings xxii. Laban consults his Teraphim; Gen. xxxi. and wicked Saul has recourse to the witch of Endor: 1 Sam. xxviii. but every sincere and upright man will enquire of the Lord alone; he stands by our side, and his word is ready to our hands. We are not to expect enthusiastic and fanatical revelations. He who counselled David, and who is just as able to counsel us, is ever present with us: *Thy testimonies are my counsellors.* Ps. cxix. 24. In a word, whatever case of conscience, as they call it, may occur, necessary to the salvation of a Christian man, he, by his Holy Spirit, answering and assuring us in the language of his written word, determines it with equal certainty and plainness.

[4.] Next to the liberty of consulting God, comes *a perfect freedom of supplication, with a diligent practice of that liberty.* This is what God commands by the word of the Apostle; *Pray without ceasing.* 1 Thess. v. 17. The Royal Prophet had never been a man after God's own heart, if he had not done this incessantly. *Early in the morning,* he says, *do I cry unto thee;* Ps. cxix. 147. *And the lifting of my hands is as an evening sacrifice.* Ps. cxli. 2. But why mention evening and morning? this was repeated *seven times a day.* Ps. cxix. 164. Or why specify times at all? *Lord,* says he, *I call upon thee all the day long;* Ps. lxxxviii. 9. *Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I call upon thee continually.* Ps. lxxxvi. 3. But

culum adhuc est lucis spatiolum; *O Jehova, Deus salutis meæ, interdiu clamo et noctu coram te.* Ps. lxxxviii. 1. Scilicet sic factum oportuit. Quo demum stylo alio compellârit mendicus regem? mendicus miserrimus, rerumque omnium egentissimus; regem munificentissimum ditissimumque, qui rogari largirique cupit maximè, qui quod donat possidet interea, et cui quanto plus decesserit nihil suppetit minus? Eximium verò est hoc ambulantis cum Deo privilegium; posse se, in quibuscunque periculis ac angustiis, in sinum Dei liberè conjicere; ab ipsoque et opem expectare et solatium.

[5.] Huic igitur rogandi libertati proximè adjacet *fiduciæ nostræ exercitium*, quâ pro nobis nostrisque in Dei providentiam, parùm anxiè, recumbimus. Hoc se, ab ipsis matris suæ uberibus, usque fecisse profitetur charus Deo Psaltes. Ps. xxii. 9, 10. Quàm illustre erat illud sanctæ confidentiæ specimen! Ziklagum et spoliârat hostis, et absumpserat incendio; uxores cum supellectile totâ, prædæ loco, abduxerat; magnumque ducem Israelis non minùs nudum reliquerat, quàm, cum pedo instructus et baculo, paternis olim ovibus invigilaverat. Quid verò ad hæc vir sanctissimus? *At David roboravit se in Domino Deo suo.* 1 Sam. xxx. 6. Illud est quod suadet Apostolus, *solicitudinem nostram omnem in Deum conjicere, cui curæ sumus;* 1 Peter v. 7. Et sanè, frustrà cum Deo ambulare simulaverit, qui se totum Deo concredere, sicque fidei vitam degere detrectaverit. Apage nostram sive diffidentiam, sive *αὐτοτιμωρίαν*, dum nos crudeliter torquemus curarum illarum eculeis, à quibus Miserationum Deus liberos esse voluit. Quin reponimus nos alacres in *ἐυδοκίαν* boni Dei; quovis eventu probè contenti; eodem vultu manuque eâdem, et bonum et malum ab ipso recipere paratissimi. *Dominus est: faciat quicquid ipsi visum;* 1 Sam. iii. 18. vox erat digna sancto sene. Quàm lubenter placidèque, jubente Deo, montem ascendit mitissimus piissimusque Moses, ibidem moriturus! Deut. xxxii. 49, 50; xxxiv. 1; 5. Non alio profectò animo, nec pede alio, conscenderat ille prius montem sacrum, legem à Deo recepturus, quàm modò mortem. Par illi visum est utrunque, vocante, quîcum ambulaverat, Domino.

there is yet a little space of light; *O Lord God of my salvation, evening and night I cry before thee;* Ps. lxxxviii. 1. And so it was his duty to do. In what other way but this should a beggar address a king? a beggar, the most miserable wretch on earth, the most destitute of common necessaries; and a king, the most abundant in riches, the most liberal in gifts; whose greatest pleasure is to be asked, and to bestow favours; who continues to possess that which he gives away; and how much so ever he may part with, enjoys not one jot the less? A singular privilege, forsooth, is this, for one who walks with God; to be able, in every difficulty and every danger, to cast himself without reserve into the bosom of God; and from him to expect both help and comfort.

[5.] Near akin, then, to this liberty of approaching God in prayer, lies that *exercise of our confidence,* in which, without the smallest anxiety, we repose, both for ourselves and our concerns, on the providence of God. This the Psalmist, whom God loved, professes that he always had done, *even from his mother's breasts.* Ps. xxii. 9, 10. How illustrious a proof is here of his holy confidence in God! The enemy had both spoiled Ziklag, and destroyed it utterly with fire; had carried away the women, with all that appertained to them, for booty; and had left the great captain of Israel as destitute as he was, when, armed with scrip and staff, he kept watch over his father's sheep. But what was the demeanour of this most holy man in his emergencies? Why, *David encouraged himself in the Lord his God;* 1 Sam. xxx. 6. It is exactly what the Apostle recommends, that we *cast all our care upon God, who careth for us;* 1 Peter v. 7. And vain, indeed, is his pretence of walking with God, who refuses to commit his all to God, and so to live a life of faith. Away, then, with all our distrust of God, with that torment of our own infliction, while we unmercifully goad ourselves with the stings of those cares, from which the God of all Mercies would have us free. Far better, that we repose with cheerfulness on the good will and pleasure of our God; truly contented with every event; and thoroughly prepared to receive from him both good and evil, with the same serenity of countenance, and the same tranquillity of mind. *It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth him good;* 1 Sam. iii. 18. was a speech worthy of good old Eli. How willingly and cheerfully, at the command of God, went Moses up, the meekest and holiest of men, into the mountain, though he knew that he should die there! Deut. xxxii. 49, 50; xxxiv. 1; 5. Not more willingly or more cheerfully had he ascended the sacred hill aforetime, to receive the gift of the law, than now to receive the penalty of death, at the hand of God. In his sight, the occasions were alike; when the Lord, with whom he walked, was calling him.

[6.] Fidelis verò in Deum repositionis certæque fiduciæ successum nemo Christianus senserit, quin illico *gratam beneficiorum Dei recognitionem* vovendam ipsi retribuendamque censuerit. Ex altari, igitur, puri cordis, meritò quidem offert Deo sanctus quisque juge sacrificium laudis. Recens quisque beneficentiæ sensus renovare nobis debet animi gratitudinem; elicereque novas gratiarum ejaculationes, secretasque læti cordis ad munificum in cœlis benefactorem elevationes. A somno, mane primo, expergiscimur? quin sublatis in cœlum animo, oculis, manibus, benedicimus Deo nostro; qui nobis et quietem indulsit, et reddidit lucem? Discumbimus mensæ, saturive assurgimus? quin laudamus magnum Mundi Patremfamilias; qui nobis et cibum et stomachum concesserit? Ubi jam advesperascit, lectulo decumbimus? quin celebramus summam Dei benignitatem; qui præteritum nobis diem faustum præstiterit? Eximus tantillum, prospicimusque vastum cœli fornicem nos à longè ambientem, immensumque pavimentum terræ pedibus nostris protensum? quin potentiam sapientiamque illius, qui molem tam stupendam fabricaverit, veneramur? Peregrinus profectò est, cùm Deo, tum ipsi sibi, qui non omnem arripit ansam laudandi Creatoris sui Redemptorisque; parùmque senserit sibi animum novæ cujusque beneficentiæ radiis incalescere.

[7.] Denique: ubi omnia quæ perceperimus beneficia divinæ munificentiæ accepta lubenter retulerimus, illud unum restat ad sacram hanc familiaritatis stationem plenè perficiendam; ut *bonis quibusque receptis in Deo fruamur, Deoque in bonis, vice versâ;* non autem bonis in se: quæ, dum in ipsis mens tota acquiescit, naturam suam mutant illico, bonitatemque priorem prorsùs abdicant. Ecce modò, quantum renatus homo Epicureum[b], quodque sensuum mancipium, præcellit: hic nempe, non ultra meram respiciens creaturam, uti totus est caro, rebus in se solis, non sine angustâ quâdamque incertâque voluptate, perfruitur; ideoque, ubi prosperè succedunt omnia, falsâ delectatione delinitur, fortè nimis: verso demum fortunæ pollice,

[b] The Epicureans, a sect of philosophers so called from Epicurus their founder, maintained that God was an indolent and inactive being, who concerned not himself either in the making or governing of the world; that he was happy in the enjoyment of himself alone, and that his happiness arose from his indolence and inactivity; that the world was made, and that all things

[6.] But never was a Christian made sensible of the benefit resulting from a faithful reliance and sure confidence in God, but he immediately determined to devote and render unto God a *grateful recognition of benefits received.* From the altar of a pure heart, therefore, every good man offers, as he ought, unto God the constant sacrifice of praise. Every fresh experience of his bounty should renew the gratitude of our minds; should elicit new ejaculations of praise, and the secret elevations of a joyful heart to our munificent benefactor in heaven. Do we awake early in the morning from sleep? and shall we not lift up our hearts, and eyes, and hands to heaven, and bless our God; who has not only allowed us a season of rest, but restored our light again? Do we sit down to table; or do we rise, satisfied with our meal? and shall we not praise the great Householder of the Universe, who has granted us both food to eat, and an appetite for its enjoyment? As the evening now draws in, do we lie down upon our beds? and shall we not extol the marvellous goodness of God, who has made the past day happy to us? Do we but take a step abroad, and contemplate the spacious vault of heaven, encircling us afar, and the immense plain of the earth stretched out before our feet? and shall we not adore his power and wisdom, who formed a fabric so stupendous? He must needs be an utter stranger both to God and to himself, who lays not hold of every opportunity of praising his Creator and Redeemer; who feels not his mind grow warm under the rays of every fresh act of his beneficence.

[7.] Lastly: when we have gratefully acknowledged all our benefits received, as tokens of the goodness of God, there still remains one thing, fully to complete this holy state of intercourse with God; and that is, *to enjoy all good things in God, and God in all good things;* not to enjoy good things as good things in themselves; for so long as the mind acquiesces exclusively in them, they forthwith change their nature, and lose their former goodness altogether. Observe, then, how much the regenerate man outvies the Epicurean[b], and every slave to sense: who, not looking beyond the mere creature, forasmuch as he is all carnal, enjoys things only as they are in themselves, though not without a narrow and uncertain sense of pleasure; and so, while all things go on well, he is charmed, perhaps too much, with a false delight: but no sooner is the current of events turned against him, than, poor unhappy creature! he is buried under the load of his misfortunes. And

therein happen, by chance; that man is not designed for a future state, but will after this life be as though he had never been; that pleasure is his greatest good, and only happiness; and that he therefore acts the most wisely and prudently, who lives as gaily and as pleasantly as he can, either by gratifying his lusts and passions, or by any other means whatsoever.—Brown.

malis obruitur miser. Nimirum, quî potest ullam sibi certitudinem polliceri, qui rebus innititur incertis caducisque? Ille verò, qui mundo utitur fruiturque Deo, nec prosperis efferri, nec dejici adversis, unquam potest: siquidem Deus suus sibi semper similis sit, supraque modum transcendat illud, quicquid fuerit, quod creatura vel infligere potest vel impertire. Magnus proculdubio vir erat, suo ævo, Henochus; et, prout tunc ferebant tempora, nobilis, dives, potens: sed et ille edebat, bibebat, dormiebat, relaxabat animum vicissim, conjugalique societate modestè usus erat, prout solebant alii. Neque tamen efficere potuerunt hæc omnia, quò minùs ambularet Henochus cum Deo: nimirum, ita se ille rebus hujusce seculi commodavit, ut in illis interea Deo suo frueretur.

Ut paucis ergo rem contraham: si jus nostrum ad Deum, in Deo, stabilierimus; si mutuis illum exceperimus alloquiis; si in dubiis omnibus consuluerimus; si solicitaverimus precibus assiduis; si in illum fidenter recubuerimus; si beneficia ipsius universa grato animo recoluerimus; si, denique, ipso in bonis quibuscunque fructi fuerimus; sanctâ quâdam Familiaritate Deo nostro conversabimur, atque ita cum ipso ambulabimus.

(3.) Ultima sequitur statio, quæ MOTU absolvitur. Ambulare enim, quid, nisi moveri est? Neque verò dicitur Henochum Deo adstitisse, assedisseve; sed cum Deo ambulâsse. Certè igitur, motu quodam continuo exercebatur Henochus. Sanè, verò, Peripatetici[c] sunt fideles quique. Quæ ipsis via est? non alia quàm mandatorum Dei. Qui gressus? non alii quàm actus obedientiæ.

[1.] *Ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, *Externa* omnis cœlicæ hujus ambulationis *Motio* in actione consistit. Quæ verò illa, nisi boni cujusque à Deo præcepti observatio sedula; malique omnis prohibiti solicita declinatio? *(a.)* Sed et Bonum hoc à Deo nobis injunctum, et pietatis officia, et justitiæ insuper charitatisque, ac in vocationibus nostris diligentiæ, exercitia complectitur.

Scilicet agendum nobis Christianis est, non speculandum. Quæ hactenus percurrimus sancti hujusce ambulacri stadia, cognitio Deitatis, præsentiæ agnitio, offensæ metus, studium approbationis, appropriatio quædam Dei, colloquium, consultatio, petitio, fiducia, beneficiorum recognitio, ac Dei denique

[c] Peripatetics; a Greek word, which signifies Walkers: the disciples of

truly, how can that man promise himself any abiding satisfaction, who rests on things transitory and uncertain? But he who uses the world, and enjoys God, can neither be elated with prosperity, nor dejected by adversity; because he has a God who changes not, and who infinitely surpasses any thing, whatever it be, which the creature can either inflict or bestow. Enoch was without doubt a great man in his day, and, as times then were, noble, rich, and powerful: but even he, like others, eat, and drank, and slept; refreshed his mind with occasional relaxation, and enjoyed, in moderation, the pleasures of domestic society. Yet all these things availed not to prevent Enoch from walking with God: for he so accommodated himself to the affairs of this life, that he continued to enjoy his God in them.

To put the whole into few words: if we have established, in God, our right to God; if we have entertained him in mutual conferences; if we have consulted him in all our difficulties; if we have besought him with earnest supplications; if we have confidently reposed on him; if we have gratefully reflected on the multitude of his mercies; if, lastly, we have enjoyed him in all our good things; we shall then converse with our God in a way of holy Familiarity, and so walk with him.

(3.) I come now to the last particular, which consists of MOTION. For to walk,—what is it, again, but to move forward? Nor is it said that Enoch stood still, or sat still, with God; but that he walked with God. Certainly, therefore, Enoch advanced in a continuous motion. All the faithful, indeed, are Peripatetics[c]. And which is the way they go? None other, than that of God's commandments. And what are their footsteps in the way? None other, than acts of obedience.

[1.] In a word; all the External Motion of this heavenly walk consists in action. And what is this action, but a diligent observance of every good thing which God enjoins, and a solicitous avoidance of every evil thing which God forbids? (*a.*) But the good enjoined by God embraces both the duties of piety, and likewise those of justice, and charity, and diligence in our respective vocations.

The life of a Christian, then, is a life of action, not of speculation. The stages of this holy course which we have already traversed; the knowledge of God, the recognition of his presence, the fear of his displeasure, the desire of his approval, the appropriation of God to ourselves, conference, consultation, prayer, confidence, acknowledgment of favours, and, lastly, the fruition of God; all are of that kind, which,

Aristotle were so called, because they used to be continually walking, when they discoursed or disputed on philosophical subjects.—BROWN.

fruitio, ejusmodi sunt, quæ, quoniam et intimo profitentis sensu solò judicentur, et voce externâ facillimè exprimi ac venditari possint, non rarò nec verò difficulter simulari solent. Arrogant sibi vulgò pias hasce dispositiones hypocritæ illi, qui actionibus interea suis haud ægrè discerni sese patiuntur. *Ex fructibus cognoscetis eos*, Matt. vii. 16. inquit Christus: non ex cortice quidem professionis externæ; non ex verborum foliis; sed ex fructibus solis ferendum de arboribus hisce judicium; non nostrum modò, sed et Supremi illius Rerum Arbitri, pro tribunali novissimo. Coram hominibus et Deo silent verba, facta loquuntur, imò clamant. Justus ille Paterfamilias neminem ferre potest desidiosum et inertem. Iracunda erat illa olim expostulatio, *Quid statis toto die otiosi?* Matt. xx. 6. Movendæ sunt manus, pedes movendi; nisi cum Deo nolumus ambulare.

Praxis verò hæc ambulatoria, non modò immediata, quibus Deum colimus, officia; sed et opera vocationum nostrarum complectitur. Etenim, ut bonarum illarum dispositionum, quas modo transegimus, ratione, semper conversamur Deo, neque unquam ab ipso nos abesse sinimus; ita, aliquando, quodam intimiore, ut ita loqui fas sit, modo, illi sistimur et cum ipso agimus: ubi propriis cultûs divini exercitiis toti occupamur; precatione nempe solenni, verbi sacrosancti auditione lectioneque, sacramentorum communicatione, ac jugi meditatione, denique; in quorum quidem singulis, quilibet verè Christianus et frequentissimè et devotissimè versari et solet et debet. Alibi semper, cœlum in nobis est; atqui, ista dum fiunt, nos in cœlo sumus. Nemo verò interea cogitet, dum necessaria quæque vocationis nostræ munia soliciti obimus, abesse nos tantillum à Deo, parùmque cum ipso, tunc temporis, ambulare: vana sunt hæc cerebrosorum hominum deliria. Apage imaginarias hasce inter nos et Deum inimicitias: non ita nobis profectò inter nos disconvenit, quin ut, eâdem operâ, utrisque vacare liceat. Si negotiis quibusque secularibus necessariò renunciandum illi fuerit, qui Deo servire voluerit; quin totus orbis unum fit monasterium? quin in Euchitarum[d] hæresin ruimus omnes boni? Dic mihi, sancte Paule, quid tibi cum consuendis tentoriis, si

[d] Those ancient Heretics, the Euchites, were so called from a Greek word, which signifies *to pray;* for they did nothing but pray; insomuch that the accounts of their close application to that duty seem to us incredible. They are said to have taught, that it is not lawful to do any work, even to pro-

because they can only be apprehended by the inward sense of one who professes to have them, and may very easily be counterfeited by outward shew for the purposes of gain and honour, may be, and often are, assumed, and that without much difficulty. And oftentimes those very hypocrites, who betray their characters meanwhile most openly by their conduct, lay claim to these pious dispositions. Christ says, *By their fruits ye shall know them:* Matt. vii. 16. not by the rind of an outward profession; not by the foliage of fair words; but by their fruits alone, is judgment to be passed upon those trees; and not our judgment only, but that of the Supreme Judge of all, at the last tribunal. In the sight of God and men, words are silent, while actions speak, yea, cry aloud. That righteous Householder cannot endure a slothful or unprofitable servant. It was an angry question asked in days of old, *Why stand ye here all the day idle?* Matt. xx. 6. Both our hands and our feet must be set in motion, if we wish to walk with God.

But this exercise of walking includes not only those direct offices, in which we worship God; but also the labours appropriate to our vocations. For as, in the cultivation of those pious dispositions, which we have just considered, we are always conversant with God, and never suffer ourselves to be absent from him; so sometimes we stand before him, and treat with him, in a more familiar manner, if I may so express myself: as when we are wholly occupied in the exercises peculiar to divine worship: such as are, appointed prayer, the hearing and reading of the sacred scriptures, the communication of the Sacraments, and, lastly, secret and earnest meditation; in each of which every true Christian both is, and ought to be, very frequently and very devoutly engaged. At all other times, heaven is in us; but, while thus busied, we are in heaven. Nevertheless, let none meanwhile imagine, that, while we are attending carefully on the necessary duties of our calling, we are at a distance, however little, from God, or ceasing, even for the time, to walk with him: these are the fanatical fancies of brainsick men. Away with these imaginary enmities between ourselves and God: there is no such lack of concord in our circumstances and arrangements, but that we may apply ourselves, with equal diligence, to both departments of our duty. If he who wishes to serve God, must necessarily renounce all secular employments, why is not the whole world turned into one great monastery? Why are not all good men driven into the heresy of the Euchites[d]? Tell me, holy Paul, what hadst thou to do

cure the necessary supports of life; and to have called themselves Monks, that they might live in idleness, without work or labour. Vide St. Augustinum De Hæresibus: ed. Louvain, Par. 1586; tom. vi. pp. 11, 12. Et Suicerum, *in verbum* Εὐχῖται.—Brown.

pellibus, unà, operam dare non potueris et Deo? Ubi estis, Monachi sanctiores prisci ævi, qui, labore manuum vultûsque sudore, victum comparâstis; cumque votis opera, suis vicibus, commutanda censuistis? Certè non est quòd pietas nos faciat negligentes; aut verò frugalis diligentia, impios: debitus Deo cultus, vocationisque nostræ cura, ita non possunt non consistere, ut nisi horum utrique incubuerimus, cum Deo ambulare nequierimus. Vix finita est illa farrago officiorum, quæ charitas et justitia à nobis exposcunt: nolo Decalogi analysin ullam instituere: à suis ista classibus petenda sunt: illud modò monuerim, omnia quæ in illâ Lege uspiam occurrunt virtutum exercitamenta, totidem esse in sacro hoc stadio, seu passus, seu vestigia; quæ, suo quidem tempore ac loco, metiri tenetur quisquis ambulat cum Deo.

(*b.*) Universalem hanc sanctæ obedientiæ praxin assiduam, necessariò comitabitur solicita quædam, Mali omnis, quod tanto Numini displicere possit, Declinatio. Quisquis, ergo, cum Deo velit ambulare, fœdus secum facultatibusque suis omnibus et ineat oportet, et renovet jugiter, se nihil admissurum unquam, quod Deo suo offensam præbeat: cum mente quidem, nihil quicquam se cogitaturum mali; cum voluntate, se malo nulli assensurum unquam; cum sensibus, se nihil uspiam mali animo intromissuros: breviter, omnes et animæ potentiæ et partes corporis, districtissimæ obedientiæ legibus unà coercendæ sunt. Quòd si demum, post vigilantissimam cordis viarumque nostrarum custodiam, obtigerit aliquando, nos, sive tentationis impetu, sive impotenti quâdam naturæ nostræ perfidiâ, in peccatum abreptum iri; sequetur illico irrequietum studium conatusque, redintegrandæ sanctitatis, Deique redipiscendi: neque unquam acquiescet animus, donec, verâ festinâque pœnitentiâ, suavissimum divini favoris sensum recuperaverit. Frustrà quidem sperabimus, sic ambulare cum Deo ut parùm peccemus. Resipiscentiæ nostræ fuerit, infecta quasi reddere quæ fecimus malè; offensasque nostras ita penitùs abolere, ut non omnino fuisse videantur.

[*2.*] Atque hæc sancti hujusce motûs pars quasi exterior est. Est illi quiddam adhuc magis *Intrinsecum*, quodque, animæ loco, praxin hanc totam quasi actuat movetque.

(*a.*) Illud verò est divina quædam animæ dispositio, quæ efficit, ut, primo in loco, Nos Nostrasque Actiones quaslibet ad

with making tents, if thou couldst not, at the same time, attend to thy trade and to God? Where are ye, O holy Monks of the primitive age, who earned your livelihood by the labour of your hands and the sweat of your brow; and who thought that prayer and labour were to succeed each other at proper intervals? Certainly there is no reason why piety should make us negligent, or prudent diligence should make us wicked: the worship due to God, and a regard to our profession in the world, are so far from being inconsistent with each other, that unless we attend diligently to both, we cannot walk with God. There is an endless multitude of duties, which charity and justice require of us: but as I have no intention of instituting an examination into the contents of the Decalogue, those who wish to have a more minute description of them, may be referred to writers who have noticed each of them particularly. I would here only observe, that all the topics for the exercise of grace which occur throughout that code of Laws, are but so many steps in this sacred course; which every one who walks with God is bound, conformably with place and opportunity, to tread.

(*b.*) An avoidance of every sin, which might displease so great a Being, will necessarily accompany this constant and universal practice of holy obedience. Whoever, therefore, would walk with God, must make a covenant with himself and all his faculties, and renew the same continually, that he will never allow any thing, which may give offence to his God: with his understanding, for instance, that he will think no evil; with his will, that he will assent to none; with his senses, that they shall admit none to his mind; in short, all the powers of his soul, and all the members of his body, must be uniformly constrained to the laws of most rigid obedience. But if, at length, after the most vigilant care of our heart and ways, it should sometimes happen, that, either through the violence of temptation, or the treachery of our frail nature, we should be hurried into sin; a restless desire and effort to renew this holiness, and to regain the favour of God, will immediately ensue: nor will the mind ever be at rest, until, by true and speedy repentance, it has recovered that most delightful sense of divine approbation. In vain shall we hope, so to walk with God as to sin no more. But it will be the effect of our repentance, to make the evil we have done as though it had not been done at all; and so thoroughly to put away our offences, that they should seem as though they had never had existence.

[2.] But this is, as it were, only the external part of this holy motion. There is, besides this, something *Internal*, and which, like a soul, actuates and moves the whole practice.

(*a.*) And this is that divine disposition of mind, which causes us, in the first place, to Refer Ourselves and all our Actions,

Deum sincerè Referamus; ad solam ipsius gloriam, simplici semper oculo, collimantes: quòd si nostra seu dignitas, seu utilitas, voluptasve sese aliquando interposuerit, operamque nostram flagitaverit; per hæc tamen omnia citràque, prospiciamus finem illum supremum, cui ista meritò subordinari gestiunt.

(*b.*) Secundò, ut Dedamus Nos totos Deo, nostraque universa; ad ipsius solius arbitrium, seu stare seu cadere paratissimi; susque deque habentes humanum diem*; donec præstitutum mutationi nostræ tempus advenerit, patienter fideliterque expectantes.

(*c.*) Tertiò, ut Pleniorem Dei Fruitionem, perfectioremque cum ipso conjunctionem, vehementer usque sitiamus: neque verò possibile est, ut quis semel gustaverit quàm suavis sit Dominus, quin et flagrantissimo insuper proprioris cum ipso unitionis desiderio teneatur.

Atque hæc quidem summa sit eorum, in quibus consistit omnis nostra cum Deo ambulatio; Præsentiæ, nimirum, Familiaritatis, Motûs.

2. Restat adhuc MODUS RATIOQUE sancti hujus itineris peragendi. Requiritur nempe, nisi frustrà pedes movere velle videamur, ut cum Deo nostro, *unicè, rectà, alacriter, constanterque* ambulemus.

(1.) UNICE, imprimis; socium admittentes præterea neminem. Ingerit se quidem mundus satis importunè, comitatûsque istius honorem ambitiosè efflagitat: nequit verò tolerare hoc Deus. Licet quidem illi, bonâ cum Dei veniâ, nos uti à tergo sequatur, pro more servi: nobiscum ut sodalis instar obambulet, parùm licebit unquam. Fatuitas nostra fortasse non inutile judicaverit, utrunque sibi comitem adjungere, et Deum et seculum: dedignatur verò hoc meritò Deus; cui odio est mundi hujusce malignitas universa. Boni autem siquid mundo forsan inest, licebit nobis illo sic uti, ut non fruamur; imò, sic uti, quasi non utamur interim. Audite, igitur, quicunque seculi hujus sive clientes sive comites indivulsi et esse et vocari mavultis; reclamâstis interea Deo; qui mammonis societatem æquè fastidiosè respuit ac vestram.

* No doubt the Author had in his mind the expression of St. Paul, *of man's judgment;* 1 Cor. iv. 3. Though he has not referred to it in the margin, yet from the Greek, which is ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας; from the Vulgate, which reads, *aut ab humano die;* and from the margin of our Bibles, both of the old and new translation, each of which in the text reads, *of man's judgment*, while the reference in the margin is, "Gr. *man's day;*" I conclude that this suggestion is correct.

But as there is some difficulty in the passage, even as it stands in St. Paul, (as appears from the many different renderings of it,) as well as in our Author, I have consulted the commentators also; who, I find, generally agree,

without equivocation, to God; always aiming, with a single eye, at his glory: and if any honour, or advantage, or pleasure of our own should at any time interpose, and demand our attention, still, through all, and before all, keeping that highest end in view, to which these things deservedly claim to be made subordinate.

(*b.*) Secondly, to Surrender ourselves, and all we have, to God; quite prepared either to stand or fall by his determination only; accounting little of man's judgment* either for praise or blame; but waiting in faith and patience, till the time appointed for our change arrive.

(*c.*) Thirdly, to thirst eagerly and constantly after a more Full Fruition of God, and a more complete conjunction with him: for it is impossible, that any one who has once tasted how sweet the Lord is, should not be inflamed with the most ardent desire of a still nearer union with him.

And this is the sum of those things, in which the whole of our walk with God consists; that is to say, of the things proposed under the respective heads of Presence, Intercourse, and Motion.

2. There still remains the MODE and METHOD of performing this holy journey. And here it is required (unless we mean to be content with a mere shew of action) that we walk with God *exclusively, straight-forwardly, cheerfully*, and *constantly*.

(1.) First, we must walk with God EXCLUSIVELY; admitting no other companion besides him. The world indeed attacks us importunately enough, and ambitiously claims the honour of association: but God cannot endure this. The world, with God's permission, may follow us, like a servant, at a distance; but never must it be allowed to walk by our side, like a friend. Our foolishness, perhaps, may judge it not inexpedient to make both God and the world our companions; but this is a proposal which God justly disdains; for God hates the wickedness of this world altogether. If there be any good in the world, we may use it, but not so as to enjoy it; in fact, we must only use it, as if we used it not. Hear, therefore, all ye who choose both to be and to be called the dependents or companions of this world; ye have hereby renounced God; who disdains, with equal abhorrence, to hold intercourse with mammon, or with you.

that by *man's day*, is meant *man's judgment*. Others, however, have followed Theodoret in proposing the sense to be, *the term of human life*. See St. Jerome, Grotius, Cornelius à Lapide, Aretius, Calvin, Marlorate, Pareus, Crellius, Schlichtingius, Pritzcovius, Brenius, and Poole's Synopsis; but more particularly Estius, on the place.—BROWN.

In Decade vi. Epistle v. (vol. vi. p. 282. line 29, 30. of the present Edition,) the reader will find the same use of the phrase, which the Bishop has here employed: "we pass very little to be judged of them, or of man's day;" meaning, doubtless, of man's judgment.—PRATT.

(2.) Recta; non pede claudicantes; non errantes de viâ: etenim, si æquos cum Deo passus metiri possemus, miserè interea claudicantes, (quod tamen prorsùs impossibile est,) ejusmodi certè comitatûs ignominiam Deus jure bono abominatur. Indignabunda erat illa olim Eliæ cum Israelitis expostulatio; *Usquequò claudicatis vos in cogitationes duas?* 1 Reg. xviii. 21. Absque honestâ probi cordis sinceritate, frustrà quis cum Deo ambulare speraverit. Neque verò cum ipso ambulare possumus, nisi et semitæ nostræ non minùs rectæ sint, quàm pedes: nullam sanè, nisi rectam viam, incedere potest Deus; nos si devia sectari malumus, ambulamus soli. Omnes quidem justitiæ calles, rectâ quâdam lineâ, tendunt ad cœlum; ubi peccatorum semitæ curvæ sunt et anfractuosæ, perque mille cæcos viarum meandros ad mortis usque cubicula tandem deducunt: utriusque profectò viæ, ita sibi prorsùs adversæ, nunquam convenire, nedum intersecare, poterunt. Non potest non fieri, quin ut optimi cujusque pedes dilabantur aliquando, declinentque tantillum à sacro hoc tramite; qui tamen illico recolligit sese, prioremque stationem recuperat, et, sanctâ quâdam indignatione percitus, ex hoc lapsu melioresciit: quòd si quis sit, cujus vestigia continuo incessu callem sibi in noto quovis peccato triverint, perduraverintque; is se cum Diabolo, humani generis hoste, ambulare noverit.

(3.) Alacriter. Neque verò expedit, ut tristi quis corde ac vultu ambulet cum omnis Consolationis Deo, quasi ægrâ quâdam angariatione impulsus: neque potest fieri, ut ejusmodi comitis præsentia non animos nobis indat, addat, excitet. Illud est, quod sæpe jubet Apostolus, πάντοτε χαίρειν, *In Domino lætari semper*, Phil. iv. 4. Et certè, si quis rem æquè perpenderit, ecquis mortalium est, cui par lætitiæ causa possit oboriri, ac verè Christiano? qui Deum sibi cernit comitem, viam salutarem, finem gloriosum? cui Pater Deus, Redemptor Christus, Consolator Spiritus, ministri angeli, mundus mancipium, cœlum patrimonium? cui hostes benefici sunt, mala medicinæ, mors denique lucrum? Sunt quædam animi dispositiones, pro variâ etiam humorum temperie, aliis hebetiores, naturalique cuidam mœstitiæ magis obnoxiæ: sed et istæ, ubi valere cœperit gratia, Deo leniter saltem arrideant oportet, quantumlibet se tristes torvasque habuerint seculo. *Eleva super nos*, inquit Psaltes, *O Domine, lucem vultûs tui. Dedisti mihi inde plus gaudii, quàm illis à tempore frumenti vinique multiplicati obtigerit.* Ps. iv. 6, 7. En messis, en vindemia cujusque fidelis; sola-

(2.) We must walk with God STRAIGHT-FORWARDLY; not halting; not wandering out of the way; for even though we were able to keep pace with God, while loitering idly on the road, (which, however, is quite impossible,) God rightly abominates the scandal of such companionship. That expostulation of Elijah with the Israelites of old, savoured somewhat of indignation; *How long halt ye between two opinions?*" 1 Kings xviii. 21. In vain shall any one hope to walk with God, without the honest sincerity of an upright heart. Neither, however, can we walk with him, unless our paths, as well as our footsteps, be straight also: God cannot walk any way but the right; if we choose to follow crooked paths, we must walk by ourselves. All the paths of righteousness tend, in a direct line, towards heaven; whereas the ways of sinners are full of turnings and windings, and lead, through a thousand dark and intricate labyrinths, downward to the chambers of death: the two are throughout so contrary the one to the other, they can never meet, nor even cross each other. It cannot but happen, that the feet even of the best of men may sometimes slip, and decline a little from this sacred track; but he immediately recollects himself, recovers his former attitude, and, struck with righteous shame, obtains advantage from the very fall: but if there be any one whose steps have worn for him a path by constant treading in any known sin, and have persevered therein; let that man know that he walks with the enemy of mankind, the devil.

(3.) We must walk with God CHEERFULLY. Surely it is inconsistent, that any one, who walks with a God of all Comfort, should carry with him a heavy heart, and a sad countenance, as if pressed against his will into the service: nor is it possible, but that the presence of such a companion should inspire, increase, and excite our courage. This is what the Apostle frequently commands, *Rejoice in the Lord always:* Phil. iv. 4. And indeed, if we view the case aright, what mortal is there, who can have so good reason to rejoice, as a true Christian? who perceives that God is his companion, his way of salvation, his hope of glory? who has God for his Father, Christ for his Redeemer, the Holy Spirit for his Comforter, angels for his servants, the world for his slave, and heaven for his inheritance? whose enemies are his benefactors; whose afflictions, his medicines; whose death, his gain? There are certain dispositions of mind, varying with the temperature of the humours, more dull than others, and more prone to natural melancholy: but even these, when grace has once begun to prevail, ought to rejoice, comfortably at all events, in God, however sad and sorrowful they may feel before the world. *Lord*, exclaims the Psalmist, *lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us. Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased.* Ps. iv. 6, 7. Behold the

tium illud certissimum, quod à divini favoris lumine exoriri solet.

(4.) CONSTANTER, denique. Neque enim intermitti debet ambulatio hæc; sed ita indesinenter continuari, ut à virtute in virtutem usque procedamus, donec tandem coram Deo in cœlesti Sione fœliciter comparuerimus. Odit nempe Deus matutinos quosque rores pietatis; illaque nimis violenta devotionis initia, quæ, furiosi cujusdam zeli œstro perciti, fecerunt quidam, statim postmodo desituri. Non est aut Saulus, aut Herodes, aut Judas quispiam, quin cum Deo, aliquot saltem passibus, ambulaverit, perdideritque operam. Perpetuus quidam sanctorum affectuum ardor ille est, qui aut Deo gratus, aut nobis esse potest salutaris: *Oculi mei ad Dominum semper*, inquit Propheta Regius; Ps. xxv. 15: *semper*, absque diversione, absque intermissione ullâ. Quòd si intervenerit fortè tentatio aliqua, beatificique hujus objecti adspectum pro tempore interceperit: eclipsis tamen illa non ita vel universalis est, ut totam Dei faciem à nobis prorsùs abscondat; vel ita obscura, ut toto nos privet ipsius lumine; vel ita, demum, diuturna, ut causam nobis ullam præbeat, de præsentaneo luminis pristini reditu quicquam dubitandi. Etiam dum nictare solemus, cernimus tamen; neque, dum vel somno distringimur, vel phantasmate aliquo illudimur, virtutis ullius titulum deposuimus. Vidimus zelotas quosdam præcociores, qui adeò animosè strenuèque quadamtenus ambulaverint, ac cæteros omnes in hoc stadio facilè præcursuri; quorum affectus ubi tempore ac tentatione paululum deferbuerint, remiserunt illi statim hunc impetum; et, languida post se crura ægerrimè trahentes, sociis longè à tergo fuerunt derelicti. Paulinâ quidem virgulâ excitandi sunt hi scilicet: *Cucurristis benè; quis impediit?* Gal. v. 7. Rarò admodum constans ac durabilis est nimia studii cujusvis vehementia; quinimmò, in pigrâ quâdam tarditate ac ignominiosâ lassitudine vulgò desinit. Ut indefessa nobis semper est Dei benignitas; ita nostra qualiscunque bonitas fallit planè, nisi fatigari nesciat.

II. Sic nunc se habet nostra cum Deo ambulatio, cùm quoad Rem, tum quoad Modum. Quippini modò putem, solam divinæ hujusce conversationis mentionem lectoris cujusque pectus accendisse fervido quodam desiderio, et tam sacræ provinciæ obeundæ, et acquirendæ tam certæ fœlicitatis? Certè, formæ hujus sive pretium sive elegantia nemine indiget parario aut

harvest and the vintage of the believer; even that most true and solid consolation, which proceeds from the light of the countenance of God.

(4.) Lastly, we must walk with God CONSTANTLY. For this is a walk, in which there must be no intermission; but such a ceaseless advancement, that we may go on from strength to strength, until at last we appear with joy before God in the heavenly Sion. God hates the morning dews of piety, and those violent starts of devotion, which some people have made, when goaded by the sting of an outrageous zeal, and abandoned but a moment afterwards. There is not a Saul, or a Herod, or a Judas among men, but he has walked some few paces with God, though he has but lost his labour after all. It is the perpetual fervency of holy affections, which alone can be either acceptable to God, or advantageous to ourselves: *Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord*, says the Royal Prophet; Ps. xxv. 15: *ever*, without abstraction or intermission. But should temptation chance to intervene, and intercept the sight of this blissful object for a season; yet this eclipse will not be either so total, as entirely to hide the whole face of God from us; nor so dark, as to deprive us of all his brilliancy; nor, finally, of so long continuance, as to afford us any cause to doubt of the speedy return of our former light. Even while we wink for the weakness of our eyes, we still see; nor, whilst we are held fast in sleep, or deluded by some phantasm of imagination, do we resign our right and title to the use of our faculties. We have seen some forward zealots, who have walked on to a certain point with such resolution and vigour, you would imagine they intended far to outstrip all competitors in this race; but no sooner have their affections cooled a little, through time or temptation, than they have suddenly slackened their pace; and so, scarce dragging after them their weak and weary limbs, have been left far behind by their companions. Such as these require to be roused by the reproof of Paul: *Ye did run well; who did hinder you?* Gal. v. 7. Too great impetuosity in the pursuit of any object is very seldom constant and durable; rather, it usually ends in stupid inactivity and ignominious sloth. As the benignity of God towards us is ever unwearied; so our goodness, whatever it may be, assuredly deceives us, unless it persevere beyond the reach of diminution or fatigue.

II. Such, then, is our walk with God, both with respect to the Thing itself, and the Manner of it. And why may I not reasonably suppose, that the bare mention of this divine profession has influenced the heart of every reader with an earnest desire, both of performing so sacred a duty, and of obtaining so certain a felicity? Surely the value and beauty of the object are too apparent, to require that any one should either

licitatore: ipsa una sufficit attrahendis omnium oculis, omnium pectoribus inflammandis. Quoniam tamen, quod suis olim discipulis Christus, πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, σὰρξ ἀσθενής, Matt. xxvi. 41; non abs re quidem fuerit, paucula quædam, ILLICII loco, adtexere, quibus ad cœlestem hanc vitæ instituendæ rationem excitemur.

1. Illud verò, imprimis, seriò pensitemus, ambulationem hanc cum Deo, præter intrinsecam ipsi virtutem bonitatemque, quæ exacuendis quibusque affectibus abundè sufficit, MAXIMO NOBIS HONORI ESSE.

Etiam inter principum famulos asseclasve numerari non mediocris esse dignitatis arbitramur; familiari, autem, modo cum magnatum quopiam incedere, eximium quiddam videtur, dignumque elatiore supercilio: quantum igitur, quàmque supra modum honorificum fuerit, cum magno Terræ ac Cœli Rege ac Domino, sociali quodam consortio, jugiter ambulare! Privilegio quidem illud non vulgari erat duodecim Apostolis, selectos fuisse è reliquo orbe, Christi domesticos, qui ipsum, in humili hâc servilique conditione, quâquâ in terris iret, usque sectarentur: majus tamen quiddam illud erat, Petro, Jacobo, Joanni, è consociorum reliquis evocari, qui cum Domino suo montem Taborem conscenderent, divinæ ipsius transfigurationis testes: sed et hortum Gethsemani cum ipso demum ingrederentur, tristissimæ etiam agoniæ testes insuper futuri; non hoc quidem indultum cæteris. Oh, quàm sortem omnem humanam longè exuperans, prærogativa nobis obtingit, qui, è mundo, potentissimâ Dei gratiâ, eximimur, ut Omnipotentem et Gloriosissimum Cœli Creatorem ac Dominum semper comitemur! Quod illis centum quadraginta quatuor millibus sanctorum, redemptorum à terrâ, Deique nomine inscriptorum, summæ præeminentiæ loco, concessum est, *Sequi Agnum quacunque demum proficisceretur*, Rev. xiv. 1, 3, 4. nostrum planè est, ni nobis ipsi defuerimus: nempe nos cum Agno Dei Jesu Christo, cum Patre ipsius Coæterno, cum Spiritu ejus Sanctissimo indesinenter ambulamus. Quid nos nunc cum bestiis versari malumus, homines miselli, quibus optio liberrimè facta est ambulandi cum Deo?

2. Neque verò plus est in ambulatione ista honoris, quàm SOLATII.

Tristis res est solitudo. *Væ soli*, inquit concionator maximus; Eccles. iv. 10. Est tamen, ubi et societas (qui nobis obvenire possunt comites) displiceat magis. In sodalem in-

urge the bargain, or enhance the price: of itself alone it may suffice to attract the eyes, and inflame the hearts, of all. But because, as Christ said formerly to his disciples, *The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak*, Matt. xxvi. 41; it may not be amiss, by way of INCITEMENT, to subjoin a few motives, calculated to stir us up to the pursuit of this heavenly way of life.

1. Let us, therefore, in the first place, seriously reflect, that this walk with God, besides its own intrinsic virtue and excellence, which were alone abundantly sufficient to stimulate our affections, is the GREATEST HONOUR WE CAN ATTAIN.

We esteem it a matter of no common dignity to be ranked even among the servants and attendants of princes; but to communicate, freely and familiarly, with the noble, seems to be something that exalts a man above the common rank, and invests him with a higher character and demeanour: how much more honourable must it be, beyond all bounds of comparison indeed, to walk continually, in a way of friendly converse, with the great King and Lord of Heaven and Earth! That was no common privilege bestowed on the twelve Apostles, to have been chosen out of the whole race of man, as the servants of Christ, to attend him always whithersoever he went, while he continued in the state of humiliation and servitude: yet that was a far greater distinction, which was conferred on Peter, James, and John, to be singled out from the rest of their companions, to go up with their Lord into Mount Tabor, the witnesses of his mysterious transfiguration: and not only that, but to retire with him, in his last hours, to the Garden of Gethsemane, the witnesses, again, of his most bitter agony; a favour not extended to the rest. But oh, how far exceeding the highest emulation of man, is the prerogative vouchsafed to us, who, by the most powerful grace of God, are delivered out of the world, to accompany for ever the Almighty and most Glorious Creator and Lord of the Heavens! That which was granted to the hundred and forty-four thousand saints, which were redeemed from the earth, and had the name of God written on their foreheads, in token of the highest pre-eminence, *To follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*, Rev. xiv. 1, 3, 4. is assuredly our lot, if we be not wanting to ourselves: for we shall walk incessantly with the Lamb of God, Christ Jesus, with his Co-eternal Father, with his Most Holy Spirit. What, then,—shall we now prefer to have our conversation with the beasts that perish? we, miserable sinners, who have the choice most freely offered us of walking with our God?

2. But there is not more honour, than COMFORT, in this walk.

Solitude is a cheerless thing. *Woe to him that is alone*, says the great preacher; Eccles. iv. 10. Yet times there may be, when society (if we should meet with bad companions)

cidisse honestum, alacrem, disertum, non minimi beneficii loco haberi solet: contrahit hic talis nobis viam, laboremque minuit. Quàm ergo jucundum nobis fuerit, cum illo semper versari, cui titulus est Consolator! Certè, nisi foret ipsi inexhausta consolationis certissimæ copia; nisi nulla, præterquam ab ipso, dimanare posset vera consolatio; parùm illi competere posset is, quem sibi soli meritissimò vindicat, stylus Paracleti. Etiam illa qualiacunque solamina, quæ vel à naturali ratiocinatione, vel à resolutione quâdam morali oriuntur, non alia sunt, quàm communes quædam Consolatorii hujusce Spiritûs influxus; sine cujus inoperatione, pectus nullum solido quidem gaudio ullo incalescere potest. Qui cum seculo ambulat, quàm miseras sibi affingit vanæ consolationis rationes! Plaudit hic sibi domi, dicitque apud se; "Attamen robustum mihi corpus est, firma valetudo:" alter; "Illæsa mihi fama est, et non vulgaris inter meos existimatio:" alius; "Est mihi magnus quidam in aulâ amicus ac patronus:" alius, denique; "Sat mihi domi nummorum est." At, at, ubi atra calamitatis dies advenerit, quid tandem fit hisce omnibus? *Miserrimi consolatores estis vos omnes*, Job. xvi. 2. inquiet prægravata dolore anima; cogeturque demum, serò fortè nimis, fateri, nullum verum quidem solatium, nisi à Miserationum omnium Patre Consolationisque omnis Deo, posse unquam sperari: quîcum ubi ambulare didicerimus, hilares canemus, cum regio pastore Israelis; *Dominus mihi Pastor: nullius rei indigebo. In florentibus pascuis accubare me faciet, perque aquas quietas ducet;* Ps. xxiii. 1, 2.

3. Neque plus honoris solatiique ambulationi huic inest, quàm CERTI etiam TUTAMINIS.

Quanta quàmque secura est ejusmodi comitis protectio! *Quisque in secreto Altissimi habitaverit, sub umbrâ Omnipotentis commorabitur;* Ps. xci. 1. Quicunque es, qui cum Deo ambulas, dicisque Domino, *Spes mea, mea munitio; liberabit ille te à laqueo venatoris, à peste contritionum. Alis suis obumbrabit te, et sub pennis ejus sperabis: veritas ejus scutum tibi erit et clypeus;* vers. 2, 3, 4. Haud immunis est à periculo, quisquis solus proficiscitur: ubi in foveam ceciderit, jacet impotens; ubi inciderit in latronem, vulneratus spoliatur: comitem nactus, è puteo eripitur, à prædone liberatur. Non possumus certè non cadere, sicubi non ambulamus cum Deo; neque quisquam est qui jacentes erigere possit: non possumus ab inferno illo grassatore non spoliari sauciarique, sicubi cum

would vex us even more than solitude. To have lit upon an honest, cheerful, eloquent companion, is generally deemed no small advantage: such an one shortens our journey, and lessens our fatigue. Well, then, how pleasant must it be to us, always to be engaged with him, whose title is the Comforter! Certainly, were it not that he possesses an inexhaustible fountain of most sure comfort; were it not that no true comfort can proceed from any but from him; that title of Paraclete, or Comforter, which he so justly challenges for himself alone, would but very ill suit him. Even those consolations, such as they are, which proceed either from natural reason, or moral resolution, are none other than the common influences of this Spirit of Comfort; without whose inward operation no breast can glow with any substantial joy. How wretched are the methods of vain consolation, which he who walks with the world, devises for himself! One man congratulates himself in secret, and says, "Come, I have a strong body, and good health;" another, "I have an unblemished reputation, and an excellent character among my neighbours;" another, "I have a great friend and patron at court;" another, "I have hoards of money at home." But alas! alas! when the dreadful day of calamity approaches, what will become of all these things? *Miserable comforters are ye all,* Job xvi. 2. shall the soul, weighed down with anguish, exclaim; and shall be forced, at length, though perhaps too late, to confess that no true satisfaction can ever be expected, but from the Father of all mercies, and the God of all comfort: with whom, when we have learnt to walk, we shall cheerfully sing, with the royal shepherd of Israel; *The Lord is my shepherd: therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in green pastures, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.* Ps. xxiii. 1, 2.

3. Neither is there more honour and comfort, than there is SECURITY, in this walk.

How great and how secure must be the safeguard of such a companion! *Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty;* Ps. xci. 1. Whosoever thou art, that walkest with God, and sayest unto the Lord, *Thou art my hope, and my strong hold;* know this; *He shall deliver thee from the snare of the hunter, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall defend thee under his wings, and thou shalt be safe under his feathers: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler;* vers. 2, 3, 4. He is not safe from danger, who travels on alone: if he fall into a pit, he lies helpless; if he fall among thieves, he is stript and wounded: but if he have a companion, he is drawn out of the pit, he is rescued from the robbers. We cannot be secure from falling, if we walk anywhere without God; and when we fall, there is no one able to raise us up again: we cannot escape being stript

Deo parùm ambulamus; nec quis est qui nos possit tutos conservare. Quòd si cum Deo ambulaverimus, aut non cademus quidem, aut non jacebimus: eriget ille nos è peccati foveâ, è pulvere mortis. *Si* verò *Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* Rom. viii. 3. Ringantur tyranni, fremat mundus, frendat Orcus, rugiat Diabolus; nos, sub tali comite, in tuto sumus: cumque illo, qui ursum, leonem, Goliam straverat, cantabimus, *Non timebo à decem millibus, qui circumquaque ambierunt me;* Ps. iii. 6.

4. Neque plus denique tutelæ istinc oboritur, quàm UTILITATIS. Ecquod enim boni poterit benignissimus ille Deus, quìcum ambulamus, nobis denegare? Nunquid cupis divitias? *Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus;* Ps. xxxiv. 1. *Repones aurum ut pulverem, aurum Ophir instar petræ torrentium;* Job. xxii. 24. Honorem mavis? *Honorantes me honorabo,* inquit Deus; 1 Sam. ii. 30. Vis utrunque? *Divitiis et honore saturabo te;* 2 Chron. i. 12. Quicquid lubet vis, denique? *Voluntatem timentium se faciet;* Ps. cxlv. 19. Quid verò deesse potest illi, cui suppetit possessor omnium Deus? *Ego sum merces tua magna valdè,* inquit Deus Abrahæ; Gen. xv. 1. Ecce, qui *αὐταρκης* est, ipse suis merces; aliam tamen à se mercedem adhuc pollicetur: *Longitudine dierum saturabo eum, et ostendam ei salutem meam;* Ps. xci. 16. En modò fœlicissima desideriorum omnium periodus. Quanti foret longitudo dierum in hâc valle lachrymarum, absque salute deinceps secuturâ? Scilicet, ambulemus cum Deo in terris, non possumus ab ipso in cœlis separari: ambulemus cum illo istìc per justitiæ innocentiæque semitas, ambulabimus cum ipso olim *ἐν λευκοῖς* supercœlestis gloriæ. Cogita jam seriò, quisquis ista legis, quàm et tutum, et jucundum, et utile demum animæ tuæ fuerit, ubi decubueris jam modò moriturus, nescius an proximum quemque spiritum ultimò exhalaturus sis, vitam respicere præteritam, idque tibi conscire, ambulâsse te pridem cum Deo illo, qui te nunc proximiore quodam modo secum versaturum ad se vocat. Non mirum profectò est, si alieni quique ac peregrini de receptione suâ haud parùm dubitent: tua verò familiaritas prior confidere te nunc jubet; nihilque expectare aliud, nisi gratiæ perfectionem, æternitatem gloriæ.

Recolligamus ista modò summatim. Sanè, illectamenta hæc, etiam singula, valere apud nos plurimùm solent. Certè ea,

and wounded by that infernal robber, if we walk anywhere without God; and there is no one able to keep us safe from danger. But if we walk with God, either we shall not fall at all, or we shall not lie without assistance: he will raise us up from the pit of sin, from the dust of death. But, *If God be with us, who can be against us?* Rom. viii. 3. Let tyrants rage, let the world roar, let Hell groan, let the Devil bellow; we, under the protection of such a companion, are secure: and we shall live to sing with him, who slew the bear, the lion, and Goliath; *I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about;* Ps. iii. 6.

4. Nor hence arises more security than ADVANTAGE.

For what good things can our most gracious God, with whom we walk, deny us? Dost thou covet riches? *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;* Ps. xxxiv. 1. *Thou shalt lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks;* Job xxii. 24. Dost thou desire honour? *Them that honour me, I will honour,* says God; 1 Sam. ii. 30. Wouldst thou have both? *I will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour;* 2 Chron. i. 12. Wouldst thou have, in short, whatsoever pleaseth thee? *He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him;* Ps. cxlv. 19. What, however, can he lack, whom God, the possessor of every thing, supplies? *I am thy exceeding great reward,* God says to Abraham; Gen. xv. 1. Lo, he who is all-sufficient, is himself the reward unto his servants; and yet he promises that another reward shall still proceed from him: *With long life will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation;* Psalm xci. 16. Behold, now, the happiest accomplishment of all our desires. Of what value would length of days be in this vale of tears, if eternal salvation were not to follow after? Nay, then, let us but walk with God on earth, we cannot be separated from him in heaven: let us walk with him here in the paths of righteousness and innocence, and we shall be sure to walk with him in the white robes of celestial glory hereafter. Reflect now seriously, whosoever thou art, who readest these lines, how safe, how pleasant, and how profitable, it will be at last unto thy soul, when thou shalt lie at the very point of death, uncertain whether the next breath thou fetchest may not be thy last, to review thy past life, and find a consciousness within, that thou hast long walked with that God, who now calls thee to himself, to converse with him in a more familiar manner. No wonder indeed, if strangers and foreigners feel no little doubt about their reception: thy former familiarity of intercourse bids thee now be confident, expecting nothing less than the perfection of grace, and an eternity of glory.

Let us only put together, in conclusion, the considerations severally advanced. Each of these inducements, even singly,

quibus aliquid honoris indipisci speramus, quanquam nihil, quicquam solatii, tutaminis, beneficii polliceantur interim, audaciore animo aggredimur. Quot se indies bello parùm justo, illicitisque prorsùs monomachiis, falso honoris pretextu, ingerunt periculosissimè; vixque, cum sanguinis membrorumque dispendio, abscedunt denique! Rursus, quæ voluptatem nobis delectationemque afferre posse putamus, quantovis interim cum dedecore, periculo, damno conjuncta, quàm avidè audacterque suscipimus! Quot ubique sunt, qui libidinis suæ pœnas miserrimè luerunt! Sunt et alii, qui tutas incedere vias mavelint; etiam ubi nihil honoris, jucunditatis, beneficii senserint speraverintve. Plures, tamen, utilia quæque prosequuntur, quantumlibet dedecorosa, injucunda, intuta. Jam verò, ubi omnia hæc unanimiter conspirârint, ambulantem cum Deo summè æternùmque beatura; qualem nobis vim inferre debent universa, ut, à bestiis hominibusque tandem abrepti, cum Deo vivo ambulare incipiamus! Ita nobis ergo maximus, qui in hominem cadere potest, obtingat honor: ita, summa, cujus anima capax est, delectatio. Ut ita à malis omnibus immunes, bonorum omnium præsentium futurorumque participes, esse velimus, demus operam sedulò, ut cum Deo ambulemus: sicque instituamus animum, ut et ritè ipsum apprehendamus, et perpetuò agnoscamus præsentem; non sine sancto tremore, solicitoque divinæ approbationis studio. Ipsum nobis verâ fide appropriemus: cum ipso colloquamur assiduè: ipsum in dubiis quibusque consulamus; in necessariis, exoremus: in ipsius providentiam securi recumbamus: beneficia ipsius, grato recolamus animo: in bonis omnibus, ipso fruamur uno. Exerceamus piam quandam sanctæ obedientiæ praxin: cùm in sacris quibusque, cultum ejus immediatè spectantibus, officiis; tum in vocationis nostræ muniis, obeundis: quicquid ei displicere quovismodo possit, studiosè declinantes; festinâque resipiscentiâ, subinde recuperantes, quem peccando merueramus perdidisse. Ad ipsius gloriam, nos nostrasque actiones sincerè referamus. Dedamus nos ipsi nostraque omnia; sive censuræ ergo, sive dis-

would be found, under common circumstances, to have great influence on us. The means by which we hope to acquire honour, we prosecute with more than ordinary resolution, though they promise nothing in the mean time, for comfort, security, or advantage. How many are they, who, on a false pretext of honour, thrust themselves every day into the greatest dangers, whether in an unjust war, or in duels altogether unlawful, from which they hardly escape, even with the loss of blood and limbs! Again, how eagerly and boldly we pursue those objects, which we fancy can afford us pleasure and delight, though with the certainty meanwhile of infamy, and danger, and ruin! How many everywhere exist, who are miserably enduring the punishment of their lusts and passions! There are some, undoubtedly, who choose rather to walk in safe paths, even though they have neither experienced nor expected the reward of honour, pleasure, or advantage. But by far the greater number of mankind pursue the things they judge most profitable, however scandalous in their character, unsatisfactory in their enjoyment, or ruinous in their consequences. But now, since all these things, as we have seen, unanimously conspire, to render him that walks with God completely and eternally happy; what power of persuasion should they exert over us, when taken all together, to tear ourselves away from the life of beasts, and of men who live like beasts, and to begin betimes to walk with the living God! Thus will accrue to us the greatest honour, which can befal a man; thus, the highest enjoyment, of which the soul is capable. As we would desire to be delivered from all things evil, and possessed of all things good, both present and to come; let us diligently strive to walk with God: and let us so inform our minds, that we may both apprehend him, as we ought, and acknowledge him, when present, without ceasing; not without holy fear, and an earnest desire of the divine approbation. Let us appropriate him to ourselves by lively faith; let us hold converse with him daily: let us consult him in all our difficulties; let us pray to him, under all our wants: let us rely, without distrust, on his providence: let us gratefully remember all his mercies: let us enjoy him, and him alone, in all good things. Let us cultivate a dutiful habit of holy obedience: not only in the performance of those sacred offices, which relate more immediately to his worship; but in the discharge of every duty connected with our calling in the world: carefully avoiding whatsoever may in any way displease him; and by speedy repentance recovering his favour instantly, when by transgression we have deserved to forfeit it. Let us sincerely refer ourselves, and all our actions, to his glory. Let us surrender ourselves, and all we have, to him; whether to be reproved for our sins, or to be disposed of according to his will and pleasure. Let us never cease from

positionis liberrimæ. Pleniorem ipsius fruitionem expetissere nunquam desinamus: sed, et cum ipso ambulemus solo; mundi consortium rejicientes fastidiosùs. Progrediamur cum ipso, pede recto, rectâ viâ: alacriter denique, constanter, perseveranterque cum Salutis nostræ Deo ambulemus. Ita motus iste Henochi fœliciter nos aliquando perducet ad Henochi requiem, gloriam nempè sempiternam. Amen.

seeking a fuller enjoyment of him: yea, and let us walk with him alone, rejecting with disdain the fellowship of the world. With him let us move forward, neither loitering behind, nor wandering from the way: with the God of our salvation let us walk, cheerfully, constantly, with perseverance to the end. Thus shall the career of Enoch conduct us happily at last to the repose of Enoch, even to glory everlasting. Amen.

PAX TERRIS:

SUASORE ET NUNTIO

JOSEPHO HALLO,

ECCLESIÆ NORVICENSIS SERVO.

1648.

PEACE ON EARTH:

ACCORDING TO THE RECOMMENDATION AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF

JOSEPH HALL,

A SERVANT OF THE CHURCH AT NORWICH.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE

REV. PETER HALL, M. A.

1838.

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC DO. DOMINO

THOMÆ MORTONO,

ECCLESIÆ DUNELMENSIS PASTORI VIGILANTISSIMO.

Quot quantosque labores exantlaveris Ecclesiæ Christi, Antistes meritò honorande, norunt, quaquà patet orbis noster Europæus, studiosi ferè omnes; quorum manibus teruntur egregia illa, à te olim edita, Controversiarum volumina, quibus etiam ætas nepotum se plurimum debere fatebitur.

Nempe ea fuit semper Divinæ Providentiæ felix dispensatio, ut nullo ævi vel lustro quidem (ex quo reducis Evangelii lunem orbem beaverit,) ne hoc quidem omnium perditissimo, permiserit defore ex hoc sacro Præsulum Anglicanorum ordine veritatis suæ vindices, causæ patronos, Ecclesiæ columnas et *ἀντερίδας*. Testor omnium gentium bibliopolia, testor ipsos rei Evangelicæ hostes acerrimos. Sensit hoc urbs illa Septicollis, orbis olim domina, et ingemuit.

Sed, dum nos in illam pontificiam *ἰθελοπεριοσσοθρησκείαν* calamos stringimus, ecce palam exurgentia, alia quædam Lernæi monstri capita, prioribus illis diritate suâ longè magis horrenda: Nearianorum, Socinianorum, Anomæorum, Hæreses redivivas: sed et innumerarum ferè sectarum cujusque generis, Schismata longè atrocissima: quæ utraque Ecclesiæ Dei, nihil profectò minus quàm ipsam perniciem minitantur.

Quid nunc nostrâ magis interest, si ullam posteris Ecclesiam relinquere desideramus, quàm curâ quantâvis *διακρίνειν τα διαφέροντα*; hoc est, si mihi liceat interpretari, à vilibus preciosa, à malis pessima, à levibus quibusdam opinionum erroribus sectas, à sectis hæreses, accuratè discriminare; hæreses, verò, quæ ipsa fidei fundamenta penitùs convellunt, ad inferos, unde scilicet hæ furiæ prodierunt, plenè convictas relegare; errores, autem, reliquos blandâ aliquâ, si fieri potest, suasione ad veritatis semitam reducere; juratos quosque ac implacabiles fidei hostes arcere prorsùs, et spiritu oris debellare; leviùs dissidentes piæ cujusdam misericordiæ visceribus excipere, inque sinum admittere; curare, denique, quantum possumus, ut hiantia vulnerum fraternorum ora tandem coalescant.

Illud nempe est, quod ego istic molior, neque pigebit rugosâ hâc præque senio tremulâ manu, hoc quicquid est symboli paci publicæ contulisse. Angor equidem animi, et præ mœrore penè contabesco, (ecquis, verò, priorum aliter se habere potest?) ubi video non inconsutilem modò tunicam, sed et ipsa Christi membra, etiam suis ipsorum manibus, ita miserè à se discerpta, ut quò tandem pertineant, vix quidem à cordato quopiam arbitro dignosci queat.

Ilicet hæc est ultimi hujusce temporis calamitas, sub quâ nos miselli usque ad vitæ tædium suspiramus. Et quiritare, quidem, Deo ac hominibus, facilè

TO THE REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST, AND BELOVED MASTER,

THOMAS MORTON,

THE MOST VIGILANT BISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF DURHAM.

How many and how great are the labours which you have devoted, right honourable Prelate, to the church of Christ, there are few men of studious habits throughout Europe who know not; whose hands have so diligently handled those famous volumes of Controversies, which you published some time ago, and to which the generations of our posterity will acknowledge themselves very much indebted.

For such has ever been the merciful arrangement of Divine Providence, that seldom has he permitted any considerable term of years, (from the time when the light of the returning Gospel blessed our country,) no not even the present, the most deplorable of all ages, to elapse, without maintainers of his truth, pillars and bulwarks of the Church, forthcoming from the ranks of English Episcopacy. I cite the book-shops of all nations, I cite the bitterest enemies of the gospel of God, to bear witness to the fact: it is one which the seven-hilled city, once the mistress of the world, has felt, and felt to her pain and sorrow.

But while thus we direct our pens against that priestly system of will-worship, behold a number of new heads openly springing up out of the Lernæan monster, far more formidable in fierceness than any that have appeared before; the heresies of the Nearians, the Socinians, and the Anomæans, brought to life again: and, in addition to these, schisms, more detestable than ever, propagated by sects of every kind beyond all number; threatening the Church of God, on every side, with nothing less than actual ruin.

What is there now, which more concerns us, if we desire to leave any Church to our descendants, than to distinguish, as carefully as possible, things which differ? that is, if I may add my own interpretation, to separate the precious from the vile, the worst from the bad, sects from trifling errors of opinion, heresies from sects: as for heresies, which rend the very foundations of the faith, first to convict them fully, and then to consign them to that place of darkness, whence we may be sure such furies issue; but as for other errors, to try whether we cannot bring them back by mild persuasion into the path of truth: the confederate and implacable enemies of the faith, utterly to drive away, and overthrow with the breath of our mouth; the dissentients of a milder sort, to treat with the bowels of compassion, and admit within our bosom: and to do our best, meanwhile, that the gaping wounds of our brethren may be closed and healed.

This is the task I here attempt; nor need I feel ashamed, if, with a wrinkled and tremulous hand, (the usual indications of old age!) I have offered my contribution, such as it is, to the cause of public peace. Indeed I am troubled in mind, and almost worn away for grief, (what man of piety, forsooth, can be otherwise affected?) when I behold not merely the seamless cloak, but the very members of Christ, so miserably rent and torn even by their own hands, that it is difficult for the most sagacious judge to prognosticate, to what result affairs are at length tending.

This, in short, is the calamity of these latter days, under which we grieve and groan, till our life becomes a burden. We can all moan and whimper,

solemus omnes : vix quis, tamen, malo huic averruncando manum admovet : sed et pauci illi, qui istud benevolo in Ecclesiam animo tentarunt εἰρηνοποιοί, satis iniquam operis boni mercedem utrinque reportârunt.

Neque, tamen, ita me movent ista, ut à tam salutari instituto, quovis periculo absterreri possim. Deus ille Pacis, cui soli in hâc re totus inservio, opellam hanc qualemcunque suo patrocinio, utinam et æquè felici successu, beare non detrectabit.

Tu, interim, Præsul verè reverende, quem sanctè administrata προστασία, veneranda canities, singularis pietas, acre judicium, labor indefessus, eximia denique rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia, toti Ecclesiæ Christi charum unà et percelebrem præstiterunt, negotium hoc sacrum tuo, si placet, suffragio promovere velis ; ac insuper, ubi βιβλαρίδιον hoc oculis lustrare libuerit, paginam quamque, aut obelo aut asterisco, pro judicio tuo, more Origenico, notare non dedigneris, rogat

Conservorum tuorum infimus ac humillimus,

J. H. N.

Norwici : Prid. Cal.
Decem. 1647.

easily enough, both to God and man: yet scarcely any one applies his hand to diminish the evil: while the few who have attempted, as peace-makers, to perform that act of kindness to the Church, have received, from either side, but poor returns for their good work.

Still these things move me not so far, as to deter me, by any apprehension of danger, from a purpose so serviceable and useful. The God of Peace, to whose service I wholly devote myself in the matter, will not disdain to bless this humble effort with his patronage, and, I would even venture to hope, with a proportionate measure of success.

May you, meanwhile, most reverend Prelate, endeared at once and commended as you are to the whole Church of Christ, by uprightness in the functions of your office, by venerable age, by eminent piety, by penetrating judgment, by unwearied labour, and lastly, by wonderful erudition whether in things human or divine; may you be willing, should it meet your approbation, to promote this holy business by your furtherance; and, whenever you find time to cast your eye over this little book, may you condescend, after the custom of Origen, just to note each page either with a good or bad mark, according to the judgment you conceive of its contents.

So begs the lowest and humblest of your fellow-servants,

J. H. N.

Norwich, Nov. 30th, 1647.

PAX TERRIS.

AUDITE, omnes, quotquot, ubilibet gentium estis, Christiani; et ad ea, quæ in rem conducunt vestram, sedulò attendite.

Satis, jam diu, superque, per totum orbem Christianum depugnatum est: neque desunt, qui classicum ubique canant insuper, sævi præcones; crudelíque ac temerario zelo, et gladios exacuant et animos.

Ecce me, nuncium pacis Evangelicæ; quæ, nisi vos non vultis, fessam ac mutuis vulneribus fœdè cruentatam, penéque exanimem, Christi Ecclesiam jam serò invisere ac beare gestit. Nec cui bono ingratum esse potest, quod angelis cœlestibus accinimus, Luc. ii. 14: neque turpes videri queunt illi pedes, quos olim sanctus Propheta speciosos pronunciavit; Isai. lii. 7.

Vos, interim, deponite arma, Christiani; lauróque olivam, quam supplex fero, anteponite. Æternis laudibus meritò effertur miles ille Romanus, qui, hostem jam stricto ense transfixurus, auditâ subitò ad recessum conclamante tubâ, retraxit illico manum, gladiumque recondidit; satius ratus ducis imperio, quàm propriæ vindictæ, obtemperare. Quin et vos pariter facitis. Revocat vos, me buccinatore, Deus ab hoc ferali certamine: referte modò pedes manusque: desistite jam nunc; et, post inducias subinde factas, duraturæ pacis consilia inite.

Nolo pluribus præfari: hoc agamus: *Σὺν δὲ θεὸς*, etc., ut olim cantores Attici[a].

SECT. 1.

PAUCA fuerunt illa fidei capita[b], quæ primævis Christianis necessariò credenda proponebantur.

[a] *Σὺν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες.* Suid.

[b] *Pauca credenda.* Reg. S. Columb.

PEACE ON EARTH.

HEAR, one and all, however many ye be, and wheresoever ye dwell, ye disciples of Christ: and diligently note the things which pertain unto your welfare.

Enough, long since, and more than enough, has war prevailed throughout the whole territory of Christendom: and yet there are heralds of bloodshed, who would still blow the trumpet of battle on every side; and, with fierce and reckless impetuosity, would sharpen anew both the swords and the passions of mankind.

Behold me here, a messenger of Gospel-Peace; who longs, though late, if ye reject her not, to visit and to bless the Church of Christ, worn with fatigue, covered with blood from the wounds of her own children, and almost ready to breathe her last. Surely no good man will be displeased, that we sing the song of the angels which are in heaven, Luke ii. 14: nor can those feet appear unseemly, which the holy Prophet of old pronounced beautiful; Isaiah lii. 7.

You, then, who are called after the name of Christ, lay down your arms forthwith: and prefer the olive of peace, which I urge you to accept, rather than the laurel of victory. Justly is that Roman soldier lauded through successive ages, who, at the very moment he was about to plunge his drawn sword into his enemy, hearing on a sudden the trumpet sounding a retreat, withdrew his arm, and sheathed his weapon; deeming it better to obey the will of his commander, than to gratify the desire of personal revenge. Nay, then, do ye likewise. God calls you from this deadly conflict; in his name, I blow the trumpet: withhold immediately both your hands and feet: stop, stop, this instant; and let a momentary truce serve but to conduct your determinations towards an endless peace.

I am unwilling to say more by way of preface. Let us proceed at once to our subject; praying, with holier devotion than the psalmists of Greece, that the God of heaven may help us.

SECT. 1.

FEW were the articles of faith, proposed to the primitive Christians, as indispensably to be acknowledged and professed.

Neque verò plura sunt, quæ à Christianis quibuscunque, ut scitu creditúque ad salutem necessaria, requiruntur. Eadem nempe est, et semper erit, communis illa *fides, tradita olim sanctis*, Jude 3, cujus professione Christiani indigitamur; nec alia ex eo creari aut debet, aut verò potest[c].

Præcipua tot tantarumque inter Christianos litium causa fuit, et adhuc est, curiosa illa credendorum multiplicatio, et subdivisio in semper divisibilia, in quibus mens humana requiescere nesciit; et acris quædam conclusionum, inde probabili fortasse consecutione deductarum, assertio et propugnatio.

SECT. 2.

Isdem vestigiis insistere debet remedium, quibus et morbus. Ad sua nimirum principia, ut serò sapere discamus, reducendus est Christianismus; et modus statuendus illis articulis, in quibus, velut de fide credendis, acquiescere debet plebs Christiana: de reliquis, in hâc parte, silentium.

Optandum idcirco foret, ut hoc demum, œcumenico Christiani orbis conventu, communi consensu transigi posset.

Quòd si istud, quæ pervicax esse solet indoles osorum pacis, sperari nequeat, nihil obstat, quin Ecclesiæ quæque, ab hâc tetrâ animicidarum tyrannide immunes, in hâc certâ pacis ineundæ ratione unanimiter conspirent.

Quòd si neque istud obtineri, præ temporum injuriâ, poterit, privatus quisque Christianorum (quid enim impedit quò minùs unusquisque sui potestatem habeat?) hos sibimet credendi fines firmiter statuat; quos semel positos, quocunque mortalium suadente aut protrahente, transgredi nolit.

SECT. 3.

Liberum interea esse et potest et debet scholis Theologicis, ac Theologiæ candidatis quibuscunque, de rebus quibusque in suâ facultate controversis hàc illàc disputare; veritatemque abstrusam latentemque subtili, quâ possunt, disquisitione indagare: quod idem, in unâquâque arte, professoribus ejusdem semper licuit: at, verò, populo Christiano hoc adeo non in-

[c] *Quod semel verum fuit, semper verum erit.* Salmer. Tom. ix. Tract. 43.

Neither, in fact, are there many things, which are required of any Christians, as necessary to be known and believed for salvation. That common *faith, which was once delivered unto the saints*, Jude 3, is, and always will be, the same: it is by the profession of that faith, that we obtain our name of Christians; and from that time to this no other faith either should or can be devised.

The principal cause of so many and so great contentions among Christians has been, and still is, that minute multiplication of points to be believed; that subdivision into heads which may always be divided again, and in which the mind of man accordingly cannot rest; together with a sharpness in asserting and defending conclusions, thence not improbably deduced by a plausible train of argument.

SECT. 2.

THE remedy ought to advance by the same steps as the disease. If we would learn wisdom at last, Christianity must be reduced to its first principles; and a limit assigned to those articles, in which, as worthy of belief on matters of faith, the Christian community ought to acquiesce: of the rest, I have nothing to say at present.

It were much to be wished, therefore, that, by a general assembly of the Christian world, the question might at length be settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

But if that be too much for us to expect, (for the temper of those who hate peace is always refractory,) there can be no reason why the churches, which are yet exempt from this malignant tyranny of soul-destroyers, should not unanimously agree together on a plan of peace, which could not fail of success.

Should even this, however, be an object placed, by the unhappiness of the times, beyond our reach, let every Christian for himself (for what is there to hinder any man in the exercise of that power?) let every individual lay down distinctly for himself the limits of faith; and, once laid down, determine not to move, whoever in the world may either persuade or provoke him to transgress them.

SECT. 3.

MEANWHILE permission may and should be given to candidates studying in the schools of Theology, to hold disputations as they please on subjects controverted in their profession; and to elicit abstruse and latent truth by all the subtilty of disquisition they can command: a liberty always granted to professors in their respective arts: at the same time, the practice is so far from devolving as a duty on the generality of Christians, that to them it is neither expedient in itself, nor free

cumbit, ut neque expediat quidem, neque periculo careat, cùm suo, tum Ecclesiæ [d].

SECT. 4.

Illud ergo concionatoribus quibusque seriò ac sub severioris censuræ pœnâ injungendum, ut intra fines à Deo et Ecclesiâ præscriptos sese continere velint: non nova et exotica dogmata, cerebelli humani fœtus maleformes, populo Christiano venditantes; sed in illis tantùm sese fideliter exerceant, quæ ad pœnitentiam, fidem, bonos mores, quoquo modo, spectaverint: salubria quæque præcepta, ad vitæ emendationem, pietatis vigorem, et animarum denique salutem conducentia fidelium auribus usque inculcantes. Avocent, imprimis, plebeculæ Christianæ animos à nimis anxiâ rerum non necessariarum disquisitione; suadeantque non opus esse, ut se questionum inutilium equuleis discrucient: ad ea potiùs curam omnem unicè intendant, quibus animarum suarum salus promoveri possit [e].

SECT. 5.

Sed et illud Christianis auditoribus, modò salvi esse velint, necessum est, ut procul abs se amoveant impetiginosam illam aurium ac animorum pruriginem, quâ nimis multi laborantes hodie, spretis veteribus morum ac fidei institutis, novis quotidie inhiant; coacervantes sibi magistros, *τὴν ὑγιαινούσαν διδασκαλίαν* nauseabundi rejicientes, neque tam cordi studentes quàm palato.

SECT. 6.

Quod si quid fortè cuiquam occurrit à receptâ Ecclesiæ sententiâ alienum, hoc intra secretum pectoris sui scrinium tacitè servet; neque sinat, non sine summo publicæ pacis discrimine, in vulgus evolare. Consulat, interea, illos, quorum labia et conservandæ et promendæ scientiæ constituit Summus Rerum Arbiter, Author Fidei [f].

[d] *In Romanâ Ecclesiâ, ex parte disputantis redditur disputatio illicita, si disputans sit laicus: quippe id illi, sub pœnâ excommunicationis, interdicitur, etiamsi laicus sit doctus; ne, disputante docto, indocti ansam de fide disputandi arripiant.* Sanchez. de Decal. l. ii. c. 6.

[e] *In iis, quæ apertè in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi; spem, scilicet, atque charitatem.* Aug. de Doc-

from danger, both to its own welfare, and to that of the church at large.

SECT. 4.

It should be solemnly enjoined, therefore, on all preachers, and under pain of severe censure, that they confine themselves within the limits prescribed by God and the Church: not attempting to pass off new and strange doctrines, the misshapen conceptions of the human brain, on Christian people; but content to exercise themselves faithfully in those things, which relate, after whatever manner, to repentance, faith, and sound morality; and continuing to address the ears of the faithful with such wholesome precepts, as may conduce to the amendment of their lives, the increase of their piety, and, in the end, to the salvation of their souls. Chiefly, that they call aside the minds of the humbler class of Christians from an over-anxious discussion of things not absolutely necessary; endeavouring to persuade them, that there is no occasion for them to rack themselves on the tenters of unprofitable disputation; and so to direct their whole attention exclusively to those things, by which the salvation of their souls may be promoted.

SECT. 5.

Moreover it is indispensable to Christian hearers, if they would obtain salvation, to discard entirely that feverish titillation both of the ears and mind, with which so many are affected at the present day, to the contempt of ancient maxims, and an incessant greediness for new, both in faith and morals; while they heap up to themselves new teachers, and reject with disgust the more wholesome doctrine; studious rather to gratify the appetite, than to improve the heart.

SECT. 6.

Should any thing, however, occur to any one, discordant with the received opinion of the Church, let him retain it in silence within the secret closet of his own breast; and never suffer it to fly abroad, to the danger and detriment of the public peace. Meanwhile, let him consult those, whose lips the Chief Ruler of all things, the Author of our faith, has appointed, both to keep and to declare knowledge.

trinâ Christianâ l. ii. c. 9. *In Divinis Scripturis quæcunque necessaria sunt manifesta sunt.* Chrys. in 2 Thess. Hom. 3. Idem et Bellar. de Verbo Dei. l. iv. c. 11.

[t] *Alia sunt, in quibus etiam aliquando doctissimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defensores, salvâ fidei compage, non consentiunt; et alius alio de unâ re meliùs et veriùs dicit.* Aug. contr. Jul. l. i. c. 2.

Favete ergo vobis, hoc modo, Christiani; et paci vestræ consulite, sed et publicæ. Figite pedes, imò corda vestra, in illis religionis Christianæ capitibus, quæ cognitu creditúque ad salutem necessaria sunt; nec ab illis sinite vos, vel vi vel fraude ullâ, ne latum quidem pilum, dimoveri. De reliquis ne sitis adeò soliciti, ut earum causâ pacem, aut vestram aut Ecclesiæ, violandam censeatis.

SECT. 7.

Non quasi nullos in rerum divinarum cognitione progressus vos facere velim, aut ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φέρεσθαι vetem. Absit!

Congerite quantum potestis sanæ scientiæ. Excolite animos, quantum intra metas cujusque vocationis licuerit, omnifariâ sacrorum mysteriorum notitiâ: neque lacte, infantulorum more, semper contenti, contendite ut cibum quemque animæ solidiorem perfectè digerere valeatis.

Memineritis, tamen, interea accuratè distinguere, inter ea, quæ fidei sunt; et ea, quæ sunt opinionis: inter ea, quæ sunt de ipsâ Christianæ religionis essentiâ; et ea, quæ parùm necessariarum appendicularum loco superadjici solent: inter ea, quæ Christianismi sive corpus sive animam spectant; et ea, quæ vestes et ornamenta. Et quicquid aut scire juvat aut ratiocinari, fidem vestram intra suos cancellos semper continendam memineritis; ut frugi paterfamilias solet, qui vicinorum res fortassis intelliget, suas tantùm interea accurat.

Neque in his secundariis tantum vobis arrogetis, ut aliorum judiciis, satis pro magisterio, præscribere velitis; aliterque sentientes atro carbone notandos censeatis: sed eos, qui vobiscum in eâdem communi fide contesserârint, neque aliquâ praxi impiâ ab agendorum normâ recesserint, velut fratres germanos amplexamini [s].

SECT. 8.

Quisquis, ergo, crediderit in Deum unum; Spiritum æternum, incomprehensibilem, omnipotentem, conditorem, conservatoremque omnium: Patrem, Filium, Spiritum Sanctum; essentiâ unum, distinctum personis: unum Mediatorem inter Deum et hominem, Jesum Christum; ὁμοούσιον Dei Filium; in plenitudine temporis hominem pro nobis factum, ut hominem suo peccato morti obnoxium redimeret; inque hâc humanâ naturâ

[s] *Potest mihi aliquid videri, alteri aliud: sed neque ego, quod dixêre, præscribo alteri; nec ille mihi.* Aug. in Ps. xvi.

Grant us then your favour, Christians, in the manner thus suggested; and so consult your own peace, and the peace of the community also. Fix your feet, or rather fix your hearts, on those topics of Christian verity, the acknowledgment and reception of which are necessary to our salvation; nor suffer yourselves, either by force or fraud, to be removed one hair's breadth from them. On other points be not so careful, as to deem it worth your while, on their account, to violate either the peace of the Church, or your own.

SECT. 7.

Not that I would have you make no progress in the knowledge of divine things, or forbid you to go on unto perfection. God forbid!

Gather as much as you can of sound knowledge. Cultivate your minds, as far as the opportunities of your vocation in the world allow, by an extensive examination of the mysteries of religion; and instead of resting content, like babes, with nothing else but milk, endeavour thoroughly to digest the solid meat, provided for your souls.

Yet always recollect to distinguish accurately between matters of faith, and matters of opinion; between those things which are of the very essence of the Christian religion, and those things which are often added, over and above, as unnecessary appendages; between those things which belong to the body and soul of Christianity, and those which pertain only to its dress and decoration. And recollect again, that, whatever be the subject of argument or enquiry, your faith must ever be restrained within bounds; after the custom of a prudent householder, who listens, perhaps, to the affairs of his neighbours, but pays attention only to his own.

Neither, on secondary points like these, assume the right of prescribing, with magisterial authority, to the judgments of others, or affixing a mark of ignominy and reproach upon those who venture to think otherwise; but all, who agree with you in the same common faith, while they depart not, by any habit of sin, from the right rule of conduct, embrace as dear brethren.

SECT. 8.

Therefore, whosoever believes in one God; a Spirit eternal, incomprehensible, Almighty; the Maker and Preserver of all things: the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost: in essence one, in persons distinct: in one Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ; the co-equal Son of God; who in the fulness of time was made man for us, that he might redeem man, when under sentence of death for sin; who, in this human nature,

passum, crucifixum, mortuum, ac, suâ divinâ virtute, resuscitatum, ascendisse in cœlos, ibique sedere ad dextram Majestatis, perpetuum pro nobis Intercessorem; reversurum inde, suo tempore, vivorum mortuorumque Judicem: Deinde, verò, agnoverit communem quendam fidelium cœtum; partim in cœlis triumphantem, partim militantem in terris; cui soli competit indivisa sanctorum communio, et certa remissio peccatorum: Deinde, resurrectura olim, hæc quæ deponimus, animis socianda, corpora mortalia; malorum quidem ad æternos, cum diabolo ejusque angelis, cruciatus; bonorum, verò, ad beatæ vitæ gloriosam immortalitatem: Sed et qui Scripturam Sacram ut ipsissimum Dei verbum verè θεόπνευστον ita venerabundus exceperit, ut omnibus in sacro illo Canone contentis humiliter ac piè assentiri paratus fuerit: Baptismum, ut salutare initiationis sacramentum ex institutione Christi suscipiendum; Cœnamque Dominicam, ut cœleste viaticum animæ, summâ cum curâ apparatuque, ut Christi hospitem decet, adeundam censuerit: Denique, Deum in Christo, in cujus merita totus recumbit, sanctè invocet, vitamque suam ad Legis Divinæ normam transigere seriò profiteatur; pietatem erga Deum juxta ejus præscriptum, erga homines justitiam ac charitatem sedulò exercitaturus: Quisquis, inquam, ista arctè tenuerit, quicquid sit de reliquis, hic mihi Christianus erit: hunc ego, quodcunque ipsi in credibilium serie sive desit sive superfluat, Christiano amore usque prosequar. Nimirum, quemcunque Deus filium appellare dignatur, hunc ego, sub quâcunque cœli plagâ vitam duxerit, quodcunque non tenuerit, fratrem salutare non verebor.

SECT. 9.

Nec aliter, profectò, affici debet ullus uspiam Christianorum, quem non committat oportet, ut pro minimis opinionum (sit verbo venia) dissentiunculis pacem publicam fraternamque charitatem dirimi illico sinat. Dari, quidem, debet opera, ut discrepantes fidelium sententiæ, commodâ aliquâ ratione, reconcilientur; intendendique animorum nervi, ut, excogitatis quibusdam satis aptis distinctionibus, opiniones adversæ tandem coalescant. Sed, cùm spes nulla suppetat, aut posse hoc unquam fieri, aut (quæ pertinax hominum φιλαυτία) sine magno

suffered death upon the cross, and, being restored, by his own divine energy, to life, ascended into heaven, and there sits at the right hand of the Majesty on high, a constant Intercessor in our behalf; thence to return, in due season, the Judge of quick and dead: Whoever, besides this, acknowledges one common company of faithful men; part of them triumphing in heaven, part of them warring on earth; with whom alone consists the indivisible communion of Saints, and the sure remission of sins: Whosoever avows that these our mortal bodies, which we commit to the ground, will one day rise again, to be again united to our souls; those of the wicked, to eternal torments with the devil and his angels; those of the good, to a life of bliss, and glory, and immortality: Whosoever allows the Sacred Scripture to be the very word of God, truly given by inspiration of God, and so respects and honours it, that he is prepared humbly and devoutly to consent to every thing that is contained within that sacred Canon: Whosoever recognises Baptism, as a salutary sacrament of initiation, to be undertaken according to the institution of Christ; and the Supper of the Lord, as a heavenly provision for the soul, to be approached with the greatest care and circumspection, as becomes a guest of Christ: Lastly, whosoever solemnly invokes God in Christ, reposing entirely on the merits of the Redeemer, and seriously professing to conform his life to the standard of the Law of God; sedulously resolved, according to the commandment, to exercise piety towards God, and justice and charity towards man: Whosoever, I say, maintains these principles without dissimulation, be he what he may in other things, this man I shall esteem a Christian; this man, whatever there may be too much or too little in the details of his creed, I shall ever treat with the affection of a Christian. In short, whosoever he be, whom God vouchsafes to call his son, that man, under whatever part of the heavens he may pass his life, whatever he may hold or not hold, I shall never be ashamed to salute, on my part, as a brother.

SECT. 9.

Nor in truth ought any Christian in the world to feel otherwise disposed, or to allow occasion for public concord and brotherly love to be abruptly broken asunder, for what I must be allowed to call the most insignificant differences of opinion. Every effort should be made for the reconciliation of discordant sentiments among believers, by any accommodation that can be proposed; and every faculty of our minds exerted, that, when such distinctions as may appear suitable and adequate have been devised, all dissentions may at length terminate. But, forasmuch as there is little hope that this can ever be accomplished, or indeed (so long as self-love continues obstinate

pacis dispendio vel tentari quidem; quantò satius foret, ut, vinculo pacis constricti omnes, quotquot in eâdem fide unanimiter conspiramus, liberum cuique relinquamus, absque contestatâ lite de quibusdam non necessariæ veritatis minutiis aliter atque aliter opinari!

SECT. 10.

Istud nos edocuit, suo exemplo, unicus è cœlo Magister, Dominus noster Jesus Christus; qui, cùm, in mundum veniens, non paucas inter Judæos sectas acerrimè secum dimicantes comperisset, nulli omnium sese immiscuit, nec cujus meminit quidem; id unum solicitus, ut ad pœnitentiam, fidem, justitiam, charitatem, integramque Legis Divinæ observationem genus humanum vocaret excitaretque. Quot, verò, quantosque in suis domesticis errores ac defectus, misericordi silentio, præterierit, pleniorem quandam Spiritûs non ita multò post descensuri revelationem patienter usque præstolatus, nemo est qui nesciat.

Sed et magnus ille Apostolorum coryphæus, Doctor Gentium Paulus, quantâ cum gravitate, quantâ *ἀποδείξει πνεύματος* (1 Cor. ii. 4.) redarguit malos! sanctitatem verò, fidem, charitatem suadet premitque; summam veritatis Christianæ fideliter tradit; errores, huic contrarios, evincit debellatque: atque in his ita totus est, ut, parùm de aliis solicitus, in hoc demum acquiescendum censeat; *Quicunque perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus; et si quid aliter sapitis, et hoc vobis Deus revelabit;* Phil. iii. 15: et alibi; *Si quis velit φιλόνεικος esse, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesiæ Dei;* 1 Cor. xi. 16. Denique, Timotheo suo quàm vehementer illud urget, *O Timothee, serva depositum, devitans profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi-nominis-scientiæ!* 1 Tim. vi. 20.

Ilicet hoc si curæ fuisset succedentium seculorum pastoribus, patres nostri non ita miserè discerptam nobis Scholasticorum tricis Ecclesiam reliquissent.

SECT. 11.

Polycarpi et Aniceti, sequente seculo, amicæ lites sat orbi innotuerunt. Insigne, verò, erat illud sancti martyris Cypriani, qui Carthaginensi 70 Episcoporum Concilio, cui præsidebat,

among men) can even be attempted, but at the actual expense of peace; how much better would it be, should we all resolve, as many as agree together in the same faith, that, being bound by no other tie than that of peace, we would leave it free to each to think as he pleased, without strife or hindrance, on all the niceties of truth, not indispensably necessary to our profession.

SECT. 10.

THIS was a lesson taught us, in his own example, by our own and only Master from heaven, the Lord Jesus Christ; who, having found, when he came into the world, a variety of sects among the Jews, contending most fiercely with one another, attached not himself to any one of them, nor even noticed their distinctions; anxious but for one thing, that he might call and rouse the human race to penitence, to faith, to righteousness, to love, and to a comprehensive observance of the Law of God. How many and how great the errors and defects which he passed over in compassionate silence, even among his own attendants, awaiting patiently the fuller manifestation of the Holy Ghost, who was to descend not long afterward, there is no one but must well remember.

Then again, that great chief of the Apostles, Paul, the Instructor of the Gentiles, with how much solemnity, with how much demonstration of the Spirit, (1 Cor. ii. 4.) does he reprove the contumacious! but holiness, faith, love, these he commends and enforces; the substance of Christian truth he faithfully expounds; the mistakes opposed to it he refutes and overthrows: and so fully does he engage himself on these points, that, as if he cared but little for the rest, he bids us settle down to this conclusion; "Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you;" Phil. iii. 15: and elsewhere; "If any one seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God;" 1 Cor. xi. 16. Lastly, how vehemently does he urge the principle on his dear Timothy, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called!" 1 Tim. vi. 20.

Surely, had the like care been exhibited by ministers of succeeding ages, our fathers would not have left us a Church, so miserably mangled by the foolish squabbles of the Schools.

SECT. 11.

THE friendly disputes of Polycarp and Anicetus, in the following age, are sufficiently notorious. But that was a noble speech of the holy martyr Cyprian, when he presided over the Council of Carthage, consisting of seventy Bishops. The

verba faciens, ubi de quæstione non levi agebatur; De rebaptizandis, scilicet, iis qui ab hæreticorum manibus baptismum receperant; "Superest," inquit, "ut de hâc ipsâ re quid singuli sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes[h]."

Quid opus est exempla congerere? Instar omnium esto flos principum Theodosius, cujus illa vox pia ad Demophilum Episcopum vulgò circumfertur: "Si tu pacem fugis, ego te ab Ecclesiâ fugere jubeo[i]."

Pius ille Imperator, publicæ concordiæ zelo exardescens, convocat omnium sectarum Episcopos, ut, habitâ disceptatoriâ quâdam inter partes collatione, aliquis demum litigii finis statueretur[k]. De hâc tantâ re consulit Nectarium Episcopum; Nectarius Sisinnium lectorem, eximii ingenii virum, à quo hoc responsum tulisse fertur, ut scilicet concertationes dialecticas vitaret omnes, quoniam satis exploratum habuerit, disputationes non tam reconciliare schismata, quàm hæreticos eò magis ad contentionem accendere; formulas potiùs fidei consulat, ad has revocet dissidentes; rogetque an in probatissimorum authorum sententiis conquiescere velint. Quo facto, imperat ut quæque secta fidei suæ declarationem literis exhiberent. Dies ad hanc rem præstituta est. Sectarum duces, Episcopi conveniunt: scripta proferunt. Tum Imperator, omnibus perlectis, cætera, utpote Trinitatis Unitatem dirimentia, damnat et lacerat: solam Ὁμοουσίου fidem laudat, approbatque. Novatianis, interim, permittit, ut suis ipsorum ecclesiis securè potirentur; eademque illorum Ecclesiæ indulsit privilegia, quibus suæ ipsius fidei adhærentes fruebantur.

Quin et ipsi quidem Novatiani, quandoquidem eorum mentio inciderit, exemplo nos suo istic aut erudire possunt, aut rubore suffundere; è quibus viri, mulieres, pueri in templo ἀναστασίας extruendo unanimiter operam cum Catholicis conjunxerunt, unàque cum illis strenuè contra Arianos dimicârunt[l]: deque illo gravi inter Ecclesias Occidentis et Orientis litigio Paschali, postquam ita nimiùm sæviisset Victor Romanus, canonem ἀδιάφορον ediderunt[m].

Sed quid ego istis immoror? Omnium profectò temporum

[h] Concil. Carthag.
[i] Socr. l. v. c. 30.
[k] Socr. l. v. c. 10.
[l] Socr. l. v. c. 7.
[m] Socr. l. v. c. 20.

question in debate was one of no light moment; namely, whether those should be baptised again, who had received baptism only at the hands of heretics. "It remains," he said, "that we declare, each in his turn, what we think upon this subject; judging no man, and forbidding no man the right of fellowship, though he hold a different opinion from ourselves."

Why multiply examples? You have one, as good as a host, in that flower of princes, Theodosius; whose pious observation to Demophilus the Bishop is common enough: "If you quit peace, I shall order you to quit the Church."

That devout Emperor, burning with zeal for public concord, calls together the Bishops of all denominations, that, a conference being held for deliberation between the parties, a termination might at length be put to their disputes. On a subject of so great importance, he consults Nectarius the Bishop: Nectarius consults Sisinnius his chaplain, a man of great ability, at whose instigation he is said to have returned this answer; that he had better avoid all argumentative debates; for he had ascertained beyond doubt, that disputations have not so much the effect of reconciling schisms, as of inflaming heretics so much the more to contention; that he should rather consult the formularies of faith, refer the disaffected to these standards, and put the question whether they agree to abide by the decisions of the most approved divines. After these preliminaries, he commands that each sect should produce in writing a declaration of its own creed. A day is appointed for this purpose. The Bishops, as the leaders of their respective sects, assemble, and produce their statements. Then the Emperor, having read them all, condemns all the rest as repugnant to the Unity of the Trinity, and tears them in pieces: one only he approves and allows, which holds the Son to be of the same nature and substance with the Father. Meanwhile, he permits the Novatians to retain their places of worship in security; and grants their Church the same privileges which those enjoy, who adhere to the same tenets with himself.

In fact the Novatians themselves, since the name happens to have been introduced, may either instruct us in wisdom, or cover us with shame, by the conduct they pursued on that occasion; for not only their men, but their women and children, unanimously joined hands with the Catholics in building the Church of the Resurrection, and, in alliance with them, contended strenuously against the Arians: and again, in the memorable dispute between the Western and Eastern Churches, about the celebration of Easter, after Victor, Bishop of Rome, had raged so extravagantly, they issued a Canon, pronouncing the period of celebration to be indifferent.

But why dwell any longer on these things? It has always been the custom with Christians, in every age, both to assume

Christianis hic mos semper fuit, libertatem hanc de rebus parùm gravibus quidlibet opinandi, et sibi assumere et indulgere aliis; dissidentes æquo animo tolerare; juxta illud, non magis vulgi ore decantatum, quàm piorum usu receptum, carmen:

Non eadem sentire bonis, de rebus iisdem,
Incolumi licuit semper amicitiâ.

SECT. 12.

Ubi de summâ rei Christianæ agitur, "Maledictum silentium quod hîc connivet;" ut probè olim Lutherus. Pulchrè Nazianzenus[n]: "Philosophiæ ac Dei amori dediti, quique ante tempus in cœlis civium munere funguntur; tametsi alioqui pacati ac moderati sint, hâc tamen in re lenes et faciles esse non sustinent, cùm per silentium et quietem Dei causa proditur: verum hîc admodum bellaces sunt, atque in confligendo acres et feroces."

Sanè, quod de lege olim Judæi, idem nos de fidei confessione pariter usurpemus licet; "De unâquâque syllabâ magni montes pendent." Literulæ unius mutatio, aut vocalis unius interpolatio, quantas in Ecclesiâ vetere turbas meritissimò cierit, sensit orbis, loquuntur historiæ[o]. Scilicet, quæ sono vix omnino discrepant, re tamen ita toto cœlo distant, ut rectè olim Basilius, Qui divinis innutriti sunt eloquiis, millies mori mavelint, quàm ut literam unam in fidei suæ professione corumpi sinant. Scilicet, hoc non est, quod satrapas ille olim, in Ecclesiâ nugas agere, pro unâquâque fidei particulâ tanquam pro aris et focis dimicare: ni hoc facimus, Christiani non sumus.

Sed et fieri ex adverso potest, ut quæ verborum sono longè alienissima videntur, re tamen accuratiùs pensitata satis convenire comperiantur. Cyrillus et Johannes Antiochenus, pii Episcopi, anathematizarunt se mutuò, hæresin sibi invicem invidiosè impingentes. Postea idem planè sentire intelliguntur. Theodoretus ingerit se huic liti, publicè favet Antiocheno: sat animosè rejicitur: tandem, re penitiùs intellectâ, magnâ cum synodi acclamatione, ut Episcopus planè orthodoxus admittitur[p]. Miserè à se divisas de trium hypostaseων proprietate ac usu Ecclesias utrasque, Orientales et Occiden-

[n] Naz. Orat. 21. [o] Εν et εκι in ὁμοιούσιος. [p] Synod. Ephes.

themselves, and to allow others, this liberty, of thinking as they choose on matters of little moment; to suffer patiently those who differ from them; according to the distich, not more proverbial in the mouths of the many, than customary in the practice of the wise:

> "Good men to differ ofttimes must agree,
> Would they together dwell in unity."

SECT. 12.

When, however, it is nothing less than the soul and substance of Christianity, that is brought into discussion, then "Cursed be the silence that winks here," as Luther once honestly exclaimed. Nazianzen beautifully observes: "Those who are given up to the pursuit of wisdom and the love of God, and who are discharging, before the time, their offices as citizens of heaven; though in other respects they are men of peace and moderation, yet dare they not, in this case, be soft and supple, when, through their ease and silence, the cause of God might be betrayed: here they are eminently men of war, fierce and indefatigable in conflict."

In short, what the Jews once said of their law, we may as properly assert of the confession of our faith; "Mountains hang on every syllable." What disturbances ensued in the ancient church, and very properly, from the change of a single letter, the interpolation of a single vowel, the world has witnessed, and history has recorded. Things which scarcely differ to a perceptible degree in sound, yet sometimes lie so wide in sense, that Basil once correctly observed, that those who have been instructed in the scriptures of God, would rather die a thousand deaths, than allow one letter in the profession of their faith to be corrupted. Surely this is not an instance of that trifling in the Church, of which a potentate of old observed, that Christians fight for the smallest particle of their faith, as if they were fighting for their altars and their homes. If we do not this, we are not Christians at all.

But it may also happen, on the other hand, that things which seem, according to the sound of the words, as far remote as possible, will yet be found, when the question is more nicely weighed, to agree very well together. Cyril, and John of Antioch, two devout bishops, mutually anathematised one another, each unscrupulously impugning his brother on a charge of heresy. Afterwards it appears, that they both held the same opinions. Theodoret interferes in the quarrel, and publicly favours John of Antioch: he is stoutly resisted, and then, on further investigation, is admitted, amidst the acclamations of the assembly, as a Bishop of unquestionable orthodoxy. When the Eastern and Western Churches were sadly divided

tales, magnus Athanasius, candidus utriusque sententiæ interpres, ita facilè reconciliavit, ut, jam errore planè grammatico clariùs dilucidato, utræque in eâdem fide unanimes coïisse deprehenderentur. Quicquid obvenerit, fides integra sit oportet: sed ut de parùm necessariis nuperque adjectis doctrinæ Theologicæ apicibus litem moveamus, nescio an Christianæ charitati, an verò prudentiæ magis contravenire videatur.

SECT. 13.

Pessime, igitur, consuluerunt Ecclesiæ paci, illi, Dominico gregi satis imperiosè *κατακυριεύοντες*, superciliosi orbis magistri, qui suas quascunque determinationes, velut rem fidei, Christianis omnibus, sub necessitate salutis, recipiendas obtrudere non verentur; et propositiones quaslibet suas, ut cum Gersone loquar, hæreticare non dubitant. Sat erat saltem ipsi sancto Athanasio, Symbolo quondam suo (quanquam hoc ab illo fortassis, non tam per modum Symboli, quàm per modum doctrinæ cujusdam declaratoriæ, ut Aquinati visum est, editum fuerit) colophonem illum apposuisse: "Hæc est Fides Catholica, absque quâ salvari nemo potest:" nimio quàm audacter factum est nuper à Pio quarto, Episcopo Romano, hunc epilogum suis duodecim novis articulis adjecisse. Ilicet non ideo claves cælorum huic, ut præ se fert, Petri hæredi in manus datæ sunt, ut simplicissimæ fidei in Symbolo Apostolico contentæ plenè assentientes, inde ausu temerario excluderet. Viderit ipse an non, iniquo hoc judicio, cœli januam suæ ipsius animæ audax homo præcluserit; ejusdemque præsumptionis suo exemplo reos eâdem æternæ damnationis pœnâ infeliciter involverit [q].

SECT. 14.

Sed neque hoc adeò novum est: priscis etiam seculis, nimis severos sese *ἑτεροδοξίας* censores quidam præbuerunt, qui dissonæ cuique opinioni hæreseωs notam statim inurere parùm veriti sunt. Ita [r] Eustatiani, Parermenutæ, Procliani, Quarto-

[q] *In omnibus aliis, præterquam in materiis quæ sunt purè de fide, Ecclesia fallit, et fallitur, servatâ charitate.* Jo. Gerson. de Schismate. *Solius Ecclesiæ Pontificis est res fide tenendas definire: cæteri autem et fallere et falli possunt.* Sanchez. in Decal. l. ii. c. 7. nu. 15. Gerson de Propos. ab Epis. Hæreticanti. Aquin. 22. q. 1. art. 1. *Omnia, quæ ab Ecclesiâ definiuntur credenda, fundamentalia sunt.* Tenet Fisherus Jes. Relat. 3. Colloq. p. 6. Cajetan. ad mentem

on the propriety and use of the three substances, or persons, in the Godhead, Athanasius, that great theologian, contrived, by a candid interpretation of either proposition, so completely to reconcile the dispute, as to shew that the misunderstanding evidently turned on a point of grammar, and that both parties were agreed, without variation, in the same doctrine. Whatever happen, we must preserve the faith inviolate: but to gender strifes upon unnecessary and new-fangled points of Theological doctrine, I scarce know whether this be more repugnant to Christian charity, or to Christian prudence.

SECT. 13.

Wretchedly, then, have those supercilious masters of the world consulted for the peace of the Church, who lord it so imperiously over the fold of God; not fearing to obtrude their decisions, whatever they may be, as matters of faith, to be received for necessity of salvation by all Christians; and not hesitating publicly to enforce their tenets, however heretical and pernicious. It was quite enough for St. Athanasius to end his Creed (though published, perhaps, as Aquinas thought, not so much for a Creed, as for an expository statement of doctrine) with that denunciation, "This is the Catholic faith, without which no man can be saved:" it was something worse than an act of boldness in Pius the Fourth, bishop of Rome, who lately subjoined the same conclusion to his twelve new articles of religion. The keys of the kingdom of heaven were not so far abandoned to the hands of this heir (as he announces himself) of Peter, that he should thence exclude, with rash effrontery, those who fully assent to the very simple faith comprised in the Creed of the Apostles. By the iniquity of that decision, whether he saw it or not himself, this ruthless man may possibly have closed the door of heaven against his own soul; and miserably involved in the same punishment of eternal damnation those whom his example might afterwards incite to the guilt of similar presumption.

SECT. 14.

But neither is this a case of novelty. Even in the earliest ages there were some who set themselves up as rigid censors of heterodoxy, and were extremely forward to affix the brand of heresy upon every opinion that differed from their own. Thus it was that the Eustathians, Parermeneutans, Proclianites, Quartodecimans, Vigilantians, those who asserted the

Thomæ 22. q. 2. dicit, *Simplices, si seducti errant absque pertinaciâ in subtilitatibus fidei, non incurrere hæreticorum culpam: subtilitates autem fidei intelligit indubiè illa quæ non sunt expressa in Symbolo, et ejusmodi in quibus est schisma nostratium.* Franc. à Sta. Clara; problem. 15. de Ignorantiâ Invincibili.

[r] Philastrius. August.

decimani, Vigilantiani, Animæ Traductæ Assertores, Tralationis 70 Interpretum Desertores; sed et qui Antipodas, mundi alterius architecti, statuere ausi; et qui metallorum transmutationem arte ullâ posse fieri tenuerunt; huic olim calumniæ, non nemine impingente, succubuerunt.

Atque ita catalogum auxit nostro ævo Prateolus[s], ut modò non pauciores quàm quingentos et viginti nigro hoc Theta stigmatizatos comperiamus: inter quos Musculani, Melancthonici, Lutherosiandriani, Buceriani, Œcolampadiani, Martyriani, Farellistæ, Bezanitæ, et quot fere capita Evangelio jam restituto nomen dederunt, inter hæreticorum agmina satis invidiosè recensentur. Deus Bone! ubi tandem Christiana charitas, ubi candor, ubi ἐπιείκεια? At verò fieri aliter non potuit quin, pro accrescente credendorum aut impositione aut abnegatione, atroces istæ dissentientium censuræ consequerentur.

Quòd si quis ita verè insanierit, ut dogmata quædam sua, sive αὐτολέξει, sive ex manifestâ et irrefragabili consequentiâ, notis fidei articulis planè adversa contumaciter tueri velit, hunc, post debitum procedendi morem, velut Ecclesiæ pestem vitandum judicabimus.

Cautè, ergo, istic incedendum erit homini Christiano: et media semper via tenenda, inter vagam quandam, et nullis piæ moderationis metis constrictam, prophetandi licentiam; et illos nimis angustos Theologicarum definitionum fines, intra quos severiores quidam arbitri mentis Christianæ disquisitionem prorsùs concludi debere statuerunt.

SECT. 15.

QUANDOQUIDEM, verò, tuta quædam latitudo hominum opinionibus necessariò concedenda sit, maximoperè opus erit charitate Christianâ, in aliorum judiciis pensitandis dijudicandisque[t].

Quæ, ergo, duriusculè sonant, dubiúmve præ se sensum ferunt, in paradoxis aliorum sententiis, quantum fieri potest, commodâ aliquâ interpretatione emollienda sunt; et in partem meliorem, pro candore Christiano, construenda.

Sed, et in rebus controversis, indulgendum quantum licet alterius opinioni, et quàm possumus proximè ad sententiam adversarii accedendum: id quod, exemplo suo, præivit fidelium pater Abrahamus; qui de pascuorum delectu litiganti nepoti

[s] Prateol. Elench. Hæret. [t] *Aliquando varietas opinionum absque pertinaciâ stat cum unitate.* Cusan. Concord. Cathol. l. i. c. 5.

Transmigration of the Soul, and those who repudiated the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament; nay, even those who ventured to assert that the Antipodes were the work of another Creator, and to maintain the possibility of transmuting metals by human art; all in their turn, as each of them found an accuser, submitted to this reproach.

And to such an extent has Prateolus, in our own day, increased the Catalogue, that we now find not fewer than five hundred and twenty names marked with the black cross; among whom the disciples of Musculus, Melancthon, Luther, Osiander, Bucer, Œcolampadius, Martyr, Farel, Beza, and of almost every one who has added the sanction of his name to the late revival of the Gospel, are recounted, invidiously enough, among the herd of heretics. Gracious God! what is become at length of Christian charity, of Christian uprightness, of Christian justice? Yet it could not but happen, that, as the imposition or abjuration of points of faith increased, those savage censures must ensue on all who refused conformity.

Still, if any man is really so mad, as to persist in maintaining notions of his own, which are openly opposed, whether in so many words, or by clear and irrefragable consequence, to acknowledged articles of religion, that man we adjudge, after due form of procedure, should be avoided as a pest of the Church.

Here, therefore, a Christian man must walk with caution, and constantly preserve a middle way; shunning, on the one hand, that vague liberty of interpretation, which submits to no restraints of pious moderation; and, on the other hand, those narrow limits of theological definition, within which some of our harsher legislators would utterly confine the enquiries of the Christian mind.

SECT. 15.

But forasmuch as a latitude, though not incompatible with safety, must necessarily be allowed both to men and doctrines, there will be the greatest need of Christian charity, in examining and determining the judgments of other people.

Things, therefore, which sound a little harsh, or admit a doubtful sense, in the fanciful opinions of others, we must qualify, to the utmost, by an accommodating interpretation; and, agreeably with Christian kindness, allow them the more favourable construction.

Again, on subjects of controversy, we must grant as much indulgence as we can to the opinion, and approach as near as possible to the principles, of our adversary: conduct, for which we have a precedent in Abraham, the father of the faithful; who, when his nephew would have striven with him

de jure suo homo mansuetus comiter remisit, paci inter utriusque pastores magis consultum volens, quàm utilitati propriæ. Gen. xiii. 7—9.

Meritò laudatur eximius Theologus Petrus Martyr[u], qui, in illâ infelice de re sacramentariâ controversiâ, sic loqui maluit, ut parti etiam adversæ placuisse videretur: sed et Bucerus[x], Capito, Musculus, aliique Superioris Germaniæ Theologi, in Colloquio Wittenbergensi, de hâc nimis agitatâ lite, ita mentis suæ sententiam expresserunt, ut cum Luthero, Melancthone, Crucigero planè intelligerentur convenisse. Id quod si ab utriusque partis asseclis et hyperaspistis ex eo pariter præstitum fuisset, bellum illud sacramentarium non tanto cum furore usque sæviisset.

Candor iste si defuerit, immanè quantùm lites accrescere, et sententias distorqueri necessum est! Sensit hoc etiam ille ipse Dei Filius, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in cujus ore fraus nulla unquam inventa est; qui, quod de corporis sui templo impiorum manibus diruendo, suis verò restaurando, verissimè dixisset, aliorsum prorsùs traductum, sibique in os, perjurorum testium linguis falsiloquis, ingestum patienter audiit.

Malè etiamnum vulgò audit Imperator Constantius, ac si Arianorum causæ nimium favisset: at, verò, si Sozomeno[y] et Theodoreto[z] credere fas sit, ipsius opinio, quoad sensum, eadem cum patre et fratre orthodoxis semper fuit: vocem interim *ὁμοιούσιον*, non satis commodè interpretatus, desertæ fidei crimen immeritò incurrit: sono, quidem, hæreticus, sensu orthodoxus: quem negabat *ὁμοούσιον*, eum confitebatur ante secula ex Patre genitum, Deum Verbum; abdicatis iis, qui condituram dicere Filium audebant. Novimus tamen, qui hunc Satanam et Antichristum hâc ipsâ de causâ palam appellârit.

Celebre, nec cui non notum est illud Socratis[a] historici. Serapion, Chrysostomi gratiâ fretus, nimis inde insolescens non tribuit Severiano Episcopo honorem tanto Præsuli debitum. Irâ nimis commotus Severianus, hominem acriùs quàm par erat increpat: inter reliqua; "Si Serapion," inquit, "moriatur Christianus, Christus certè nunquam homo factus est." Temerè hoc ab Episcopo dictum illico defert Serapion Chrysostomo; et, subdolè supprimens priorem clausulæ partem, accusat

[u] Orat. de Vitâ Petri Martyris. [x] Bucer. Script. Anglic.
[y] Sozom. l. iii. c. 17. [z] Theod. l. iii. c. 3. [a] Socr. l. vi. c. 10.

about a choice of pastures, conceded his right, as a man of modesty and meekness, preferring peace between the herdsmen to his own advantage. Gen. xiii. 7—9.

That illustrious theologian, Peter Martyr, is justly applauded, because, in that unhappy controversy on the sacraments, he chose to speak in such wise, that he seemed to have satisfied the opposite party as well as his own; whereas Bucer, Capito, Musculus, and other divines of Upper Germany, at the conference held at Wirtemberg concerning this much-agitated point, so expressed their minds, that they were evidently seen to have coalesced with Luther, Melancthon, and Cruciger. Had the course adopted by Martyr been equally pursued from that time forth by the followers and partisans of either side, the sacramentarian war would not have continued to rage with so great fury.

Wherever this spirit of conciliation is wanting, how terribly must altercation be increased, and, of necessity, sentiments misrepresented! A circumstance this which escaped not the observation of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, in whose mouth no guile was ever found; who patiently heard the remark he had most truly made about the temple of his body, which should be destroyed by the hands of wicked men, but restored by his own, distorted to a signification altogether different, and cast into his teeth by the tongues of false witnesses.

Even to this very time the Emperor Constantine inherits a bad report, as if he had too much favoured the cause of the Arians: though, if we may believe Sozomen and Theodoret, his own opinion, as regards the sense, was always the same with that of his father and his brother, who were orthodox: meanwhile, by interpreting the word ὁμοιούσιον with too little accommodation, he undeservedly incurred the charge of a departure from the faith: being in word a heretic, but orthodox in sense: the Word, whom he denied to be ὁμοούσιον, he confessed to be God, begotten of the Father before all ages; disowning those who ventured to call the Son a creature. Yet we know who it was, that openly called him Satan and Antichrist for this very reason.

There is no one who knows not the case recorded by Socrates the historian. Serapion, relying on the favour of Chrysostom, assumed a haughtiness of carriage, and refused to render to Severian, the Bishop, the honour due to so great a prelate. Severian, roused to anger, upbraids the man with too much sharpness; saying, among other things, "If Serapion dies a Christian, Christ never was made man." The speech so rashly uttered by the Bishop, Serapion forthwith reports to Chrysostom; but, artfully suppressing the former clause of

Severianum quasi simpliciter dixisset, "Christus certè non est homo factus." Adducuntur testes. Chrysostomus Episcopum, velut blasphemiæ reum, è civitate exigit; et vix tandem Eudoxiæ Imperatricis, vel filii sui Theodosii precibus, censuram revocavit.

Hinc, pari modo, factum est, magnum Athanasium et Marcellum blasphemiæ et impietatis publicè insimulatos fuisse.

Hinc, ut omittam cetera, calumniante ipso Bellarmino, Erasmus Arianorum patronus audit: Lutherus Sanctæ Trinitatis et ὁμοουσιότητος Filii hostis publicus: Melancthon, sed et Scheckius, Tritheistarum fautor: Calvinis, Samosateniorum; Bullingerus, Arianismi; Beza, denique, Nestorianismi advocatus.

Quis, verò, immunis esse poterit à turpi hæreseos vel teterrimæ maculâ, si liberum fuerit adversario, æmuli sui scripta pertrahere quaquà velit: in eâdemque causâ simul accusatorem, testem, judicem agere, pro suo solius arbitratu? Non decet iniquissima hæc alienæ sententiæ distortio hominem Christianum; non, pacis filium: quinimo cum grano salis excipienda sunt verba quorumcunque, si paci, veritati, charitatíque studere curæ nobis fuerit.

SECT. 16.

Parum igitur credenda sunt æquo judici, quæ adversarii sibi invicem nimio contentionis fervore, imputare solent; sive morum, sive opinionum crimina. Bone Jesu! quæ convitiorum plaustra istic occurrunt lectori Christiano! Nolo puram hanc chartam tam atrocium calumniarum enumeratione conspurcare: neque, verò, hæc est ad pacem, quam tantopere quærimus, via. Pudet me, profectò pudet, tam odiosæ βλασφημίας, quam, ridente Mauro, indignissimè luit læsa utrinque innocentia: neque scio charitás-ne in hâc parte plus patiatur, an justitia. Sapiamus jam serò fratres; neque committamus, ut, per fratrum latera, ipsum quem profitemur Christum vulneremus.

SECT. 17.

Distinguendum, verò, necessariò erit, ut rectè monuit Augustinus[b], inter hæreticos, et hæresiarchas; inter eos qui se-

[b] Aug. de Utilitate Cred. ad Honorat. *Inter hæreticos, et faventes hæreticis.* Ibid.

the sentence, accuses Severian of having said simply, that "Christ never was made man." Witnesses are produced. Chrysostom banishes the bishop from the city, as guilty of blasphemy; and it was not till some time afterwards, at the entreaty either of the Empress Eudoxia, or of her son Theodosius, that he revoked the sentence.

Hence it was, in like manner, that Athanasius and Marcellus were publicly impeached of blasphemy and impiety.

Hence it was, to omit other instances, that, by the slander of no less a person than Bellarmine, Erasmus got the credit of being the patron of the Arians; Luther of being the notorious opponent of the Trinity, and of the consubstantiality of the Son; Melancthon and Scheck, of being favourers of the Tritheists; Calvin, of the Samosatenians; Bullinger, the advocate of Arianism; and, lastly, Beza, of Nestorianism.

But who is there, that can escape the foul stain of heresy, and that the most flagrant, if it shall be free to an adversary to twist and turn the writings of a rival whichever way he pleases: and, in one and the same cause, to act at once the accuser, the witness, and the judge, just at his own will and pleasure? So wicked a perversion of the sentiments of another man becomes not a Christian, a child of peace: rather, the words of all men should be taken with a little allowance, if we would strive to promote the cause of peace, truth, and charity.

SECT. 16.

An honest judge, then, will scarcely credit the accusations brought by mutual adversaries against each other, in the excessive heat of contention; whether they affect the morals or the opinions of the accused. Merciful Jesus! what masses of abuse must the Christian student encounter, in the history of these transactions! I should be sorry to defile this fair sheet of paper by the enumeration of calumnies so atrocious: nor, in truth, were this the way to peace, the object we are now so earnestly pursuing. I am ashamed, I am really ashamed, of so hateful a system of reviling, for which injured innocence on each side suffers most disgracefully, to the great amusement of the ungodly; nor do I know whether charity or justice suffer more in this respect. Let us, however, be wise, at length, as becomes the brotherhood; and let us not afford occasion of wounding, through the sides of brethren, the very Saviour we profess to honour.

SECT. 17.

A distinction must be made, notwithstanding, as Augustine has properly suggested, between heretics and heresiarchs;

quuntur Absalonem simplici corde, et αὐτοκατακρίτους populi Christiani seductores[e]: cum illis agendum mitiùs, utpote misericordiâ saltem aliquâ dignis; hi, verò, ut pacis communis perturbatores, pro disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ rigore, tractandi severiùs.

Rectè olim Tertullianus[d]: "Religionis non est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi:" suadenda nempe, non cogenda, fides; neque animorum morbi corporeis medicinis curari unquam possunt. Parùm æquum est igitur, ut meris erroribus intellectûs civiles pænæ irrogentur: spiritualibus heîc remediis opus est; quæ malis hujusce generis, tempestivè et omni cum lenitate, adhiberi debent.

Illa Procli Episcopi Constantinopolitani laus erat[e], comiter cum errantibus egisse; plurésque funibus amoris traxisse ad Christum, quàm reliqui omnes fecissent nimiâ censurarum severitate. Et, sanè, quod Hippocrates de corporis morbis, idem ego de maximè exitialibus mentis erroribus pronunciandum censeo: "Ad ferrum et ignem, non nisi ad ultima desperatæ conditionis remedia, serò esse recurrendum."

Cum meris igitur, quàmlibet gravibus, opinionum ἁμαρτήμασι, non aliter quàm sano consilio, solidis argumentis, piis precibus agendum erit. Quòd si sontica quædam hæresis, cum blasphemiâ, aut cum seditione, aut gravi reipublicæ perturbatione conjuncta fuerit; jam locum habet illud Bernardi: "Hæretici corrigendi, ne pereant; coercendi, ne perimant:" cui addendum insuper, si publicæ rei salus inde periclitetur, perimendi, ne perdant[f].

Enimvero, quod Theodosius et Valentinianus olim Cyrillo Alexandrino Episcopo[g]: Reipublicæ Christianæ constitutio eâ, quæ in Deum est, pietate præcipuè nititur; multâque inter hanc et illam cognatio ac familiaritas intercedere solet: nam ex sese invicem pendent, et utraque prosperis alterius successibus incrementa sumit.

SECT. 18.

Interim, quod olim Thurii, vel, ut aliis placet, Lycii, statuisse dicuntur, de novarum legum rogatoribus, ut funem alterâ

[e] *Quidam sunt scientes hæretici, quidam hæretici non scientes.* Occham. Dial. l. iv. p. 1.

[d] Tertul. ad Scapulam.

[e] Socr. l. vii. c. 40.

between those who follow Absalom in the simplicity of their hearts, and those beguilers of the Christian public, who stand or fall by their own judgments; with the former we may deal more leniently, as worthy at least of some degree of commiseration; but the latter, as disturbers of the common peace, should be treated more severely, according to the rigour of Ecclesiastical discipline.

Tertullian well observed: "It is not the part of religion to coerce religion, which ought to be embraced willingly, not compulsorily:" that is to say, faith is a matter of persuasion, not of force; nor can diseases of the soul be ever cured by medicines for the body. It is far from right, therefore, that civil punishments should be awarded to mere errors of the mind; they are spiritual remedies that are here required; and which ought to be applied to evils of this description, only on fit occasions, and with the utmost forbearance.

It was the praise of Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, that he dealt tenderly with those that were in error; and that he drew more souls to Christ by the cords of love, than all the rest of the bishops by the extreme severity of their censures. And what Hippocrates observed of diseases of the body, may, I think, be applied even to the most fatal delusions of the mind: "We should never have recourse to fire and knife, but as the last remedies reserved for a hopeless case."

With mere mistakes of opinion, then, however serious, we must deal only by sound advice, solid arguments, and pious prayers. But should noxious heresy appear, combined with blasphemy, or sedition, or formidable disturbance in the state, then comes in the sentence of Bernard: "Heretics are to be corrected, lest they perish themselves; and to be restrained, lest they destroy others;" to which may be added furthermore, if the safety of the common-weal be endangered by their doctrines, they are to be destroyed, lest they bring the state to ruin.

For, as Theodosius and Valentinian once remarked to Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria: The constitution of a Christian state depends chiefly on its piety towards God; and considerable sympathy and intercourse subsists between the one and the other: they depend mutually on each other, and each derives support and increase from the good successes of the other.

SECT. 18.

MEANWHILE, as, in former times, the Thurians, or, according to some, the Lycians, are said to have decreed, that those

[f] *Timendum est ne plures putrescant, dum putribus parcitur.*
[g] Concil. Tom. i. Bin. p. 726.

manu secum ferrent, legem ferendam alterâ; idem ego vahlè velim novorum in religione dogmatum authoribus decerni: hoc præsertim sæculo, in quo nimiâ luce cæcutimus, et novarum opinionum multitudine pænè ad insaniam laboramus. Excolamus potiùs, quantum possumus, communem certamque, quam Deus nobis indulsit, Evangelicæ doctrinæ veritatem, quæ nobis ad vitæ æternæ consecutionem abundè sufficiat; inque eâ placidè conquiescamus. Quæ verò dementia est, ubi nota et probè trita ad cælum via clarè ob oculos patescat, aliò excurrere; et quærere nescio quæ diverticula, et nullis calcatam vestigiis viam tentare; ac clamare tandem, "Quis me ignis fatuus ad hanc foveam intutásve paludes miserum erronem deduxit?"

SECT. 19.

Consectaria, quæ ex cujusque sententiâ adversarii acumine erui solent, parùm æquum fuerit cuiquam authori pro suis impingere[h]: lubrica enim est consecutionum fides; et plæraque fortassis errare possumus, non tam Theologiæ, quàm Logices vitio, aut Philosophiæ Naturalis inscitiâ. Exemplo sit tritum illud Scholæ. Risibilis ut sit, homini omnimodò proprium concedi solet: jam, si quis Christum non fuisse risibilem tenuerit, quæritur hæreticús-ne habendus fuerit: affirmant aliqui; "Destruit siquidem," inquiunt, "humanam Christi naturam; hominem negat, quem negat risibilem:" negant alii, idque veriùs; quandoquidem hic homo humanam Christi naturam arctè tenere rotundè profitetur, risibilitatem verò, velut qualitatem ab humanâ formâ necessariò profluentem, negat: philosophicus nempe hic error erit, hæresis non est.

Sunt, quidem, consequentiæ quædam ita liquidò necessariæ, ut, primo statim intuitu, non minùs certò constent, quàm ipsa, è quibus immediatè deducuntur, principia. Quales sunt, quæ à certis intrinsecísque causis, ad sua propria et indubitata effecta, sed et reciprocè, irrefragabiliter derivantur: ut, "Deus est: ergo omnipotens, omniscius."

Sunt et aliæ, quæ, ut ut nobis non minùs necessariæ videan-

[h] *Nostrum est, non quid per se ex quovis sequatur dogmate, sed quid in illorum conscientiâ, spectare, qui tenent illud dogma.* Bucer. Pesantius in Thom. 1. q. 2.

who proposed new laws should appear, bringing with them, in one hand, the law to be submitted, and, in the other hand, a rope; so I could much wish that a similar arrangement were ordained for the authors of new doctrines in religion: in this age, more especially, when we are half-blinded with over-much light, and troubled almost to madness by the multitude of new opinions. Rather let us cultivate, to the extent of our means, that common and unquestionable truth of evangelical doctrine, with which God has favoured us, and which is abundantly sufficient for us in the pursuit of eternal life; and in that let us rest contented. What folly is it, when a path to heaven, well known and tried, lies open before our eyes, to be running hither and thither; seeking I know not how many bye-ways, and attempting paths which no footstep has ever trodden; with the prospect of crying out at last, "What will-o'-wisp has lured me, an unhappy wanderer, over miry marshes, into this pitfall?"

SECT. 19.

THE corollaries which may be deduced from the opinion of an author by the acuteness of his opponent, it would be very unfair to urge against him as his own: inferences are treacherous things; and perhaps we may err considerably, not so much by a failure of divinity as of logic, or by an ignorance of natural philosophy. Take as an example that common fallacy of the schools. It is granted to be a quality peculiar to man, that he is a laughing creature. Now, should any one maintain that Christ was not a laughing creature, the question arises, whether he ought, or ought not, to be esteemed a heretic: some say that he ought, on "the ground that he destroys the human nature of Christ; and that to deny that he was a laughing creature, is to deny that he was a man:" others say that he ought not, and that more rightly; forasmuch as he professes, in honest terms, to hold, strictly and literally, the human nature of Christ, though he denies his propensity to laugh as a quality necessarily issuing from the constitution of man: in truth, though there may be an error of philosophy, there is no heresy in the case.

There are, indeed, some consequences so palpably necessary, that, at the very first glance, they stand forth with no less certainty, than the principles themselves, from which they are immediately deduced. Such are those which are derived, reciprocally and irrefragably, from positive and innate causes, to their own appropriate and unquestionable effects: as "There is a God; therefore there is an Almighty and Allwise."

But there are other deductions also, which, although they

dis. 1. *Canus et Valentia aiunt hunc esse hæreticum, non directè et immediatè, sed indirectè et reductivè.* Sanchez. l. ii. c. 7. nu. 33.

tur vi certissimæ rationis illatæ sequelæ, alteri tamen non adeò indubiæ sunt, quin ut justâ aliquâ distinctione satis commodè eludi possint: ita, verò, ut qui consecutionem neget, suis tamen principiis immotus adhærescat. Quales illæ Gualterii Jesuitæ: "Negat Theodorus Beza posse fieri, ut pluribus simul in locis Christi corpus verè ac substantialiter præsens sit: ergo negat Beza Dei omnipotentiam:" "Adscribunt Protestantes Deo plus aliquid quàm meram permissionem mali: Deum ergo peccati authorem faciunt." Sed et è nostris non nemo: "Papista Christum fingit creaturam: ergo Arianus est:" "Ex farinâ Christum conficit; non ergo ex purâ Beatæ Virginis substantiâ: Apollinarista igitur." Ilicet hoc est, quod Reformatas Christi Ecclesias ita miserè distrahit; nimis audax ac pertinax consequentiarum plenè non certarum fiducia. "Humanitatem Christi omnipræsentem asseritis," unus ait: "ergo humanam Christi naturam prorsùs tollitis; siquidem hoc soli Deitati proprium." "Humanæ Christi naturæ ubiquitatem pernegatis vos," regerit alter: "ergo unionem hypostaticam omnino destruitis." Atqui, verò, neque hoc neque illud. Fundamentum tenemus utrique: superstructuram abominamur.

SECT. 20.

In secundariâ, sive credendorum sive agendorum, serie, non decet hominem Christianum illa morosa *αὐθάδεια*; ut nihil primævæ succedaneæque Ecclesiæ, seu judicio seu praxi, tribuendum judicet. Illud potiùs animum inducat ut certò statuat, quicquid universalis Christi Ecclesia per omne ævum crediderit feceritve, huic contravenire insolentissimæ esse insaniæ[1].

SECT. 21.

Liberum, interea, fuerit regno cuique Christiano ac reipublicæ, pro variâ cujusque conditione, leges sibi ferre proprias quasique municipales; sive procurandæ sive conservandæ paci Ecclesiasticæ; pietati tamen, justitiæ, charitati, undequaque consentaneas: neque par est, interim, ita præjudicare aliis, ut quod huic satis commodum ac salubre comperimus, id alteri

[1] *Sapientis est mutare consilium.* Vivald. de Depositione. *Quod neque contra fidem nec bonos mores injungitur, indifferenter est habendum, et pro eorum inter quos vivitur societate utendum.* Aug. Ep. ad Januar. 118. *In his rebus, de quibus*

may appear to us to have been drawn, not less necessarily, by the force of most evident reason, are yet, to another person, not so indisputable, but that they may be evaded, easily enough, by some fair and sound distinction; yet in such a manner, that he who denies the corollary may still adhere immoveably to his own principles. Such are the arguments of Gualter the Jesuit: "Theodore Beza denies the possibility, that the body of Christ can be truly and substantially present at the same time in more than one place: therefore Beza denies the omnipotence of God." "The Protestants ascribe to God something more than the mere permission of evil: therefore they make God the author of sin." And some even of our own writers have done the same thing: "the Papist makes Christ a creature: therefore he is an Arian:" "He forms Christ out of meal: accordingly not of the pure substance of the Blessed Virgin: therefore he is an Apollinarian." This, in short, it is, which so miserably distracts the Reformed Churches of Christ; to wit, an over bold and obstinate adherence to consequences, which are any thing but certain. "You assert," says one, "that the humanity of Christ is omnipresent: then you take away the human nature of Christ entirely; for omnipresence belongs to Deity alone." "As for you," retorts the other, "you deny the ubiquity of the human nature of Christ: therefore you destroy altogether the hypostatical union." But, in good truth, neither the one nor the other is ours. We both hold the foundation: we both disown the superstructure.

SECT. 20.

In the secondary class, whether of things to be believed, or of things to be done, this surly sort of arrogance misbecomes a Christian; in allowing no respect, either for judgment or for act, to the primitive Church, and to that which next succeeded. He should rather make up his mind to decide, that whatsoever the universal Church of Christ in every age has thought or done, it is a token of most presumptuous folly to gainsay.

SECT. 21.

Meanwhile it should be always free to Christian kingdoms and states, according to their several circumstances, to provide enactments of a local, and, if I may so speak, a municipal kind, whether for the attainment or preservation of peace in the Church; provided they be every way consistent with piety, justice, and charity: nor should we so forestall the judgment of others, as to prescribe necessarily to all, what we have found to be convenient and beneficial for one: every Church

nihil certi statuit Scriptura Divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta Majorum pro lege tenenda sunt. Aug. Epist. 86.

necessariò prescribamus: jure suo fruantur Ecclesiæ quæque, dummodo condecentia et suorum animis salutaria injunxerint[k].

SECT. 22.

Æquum quidem est, ut Deum, in Scripturis suis loquentem, rerum suarum judicem statuamus omnes: ubi, verò, difficiliora occurrerint Scripturæ loca, absit ut privatus quisque singularia spiritûs sui interpretamenta sequenda sibi proponere ausit: quin potiùs communem Doctorum Ecclesiæ sensum suo semper præferendum modestè judicet.

SECT. 23.

De rebus quibusque mediis, sive agendis sive judicandis, stet nobis dare operam, ut, ubi capita parùm consentire possunt, corda interim unanimiter conspirent; neque se sinant abs se mutuò dissilire, insolubili Christiani amoris affectu usque cohæsura: idque demum à nobis impetremus, nos fratrum sive opiniones sive actiones adiaphoras miti quâdam tolerantiâ et æquanimitate semper excepturos, et in partem tutissimam interpretaturos.

Damnentur ad imum usque barathrum illa nominum opprobria, Lutheranorum, Calvinianorum, Arminianorum, Puritanorum, Prelaticorum, Presbyterianorum, Independentium; quæ fidei ejusdem professoribus vulgò objectari solent. Christiani et audiamus, et verè simus; non magis fidei unitate, quàm charitatis vinculo conjunctissimi. Amemus, adjuvemus, protegamus nos mutuò. Deum denique communem, nostrum Patrem, Redemptorem, Paracletum, in quo nos unum sumus, et non seculares hasce distractiuncularum querelas præ oculis habentes, illud unum ambiamus æmulemúrque, quis nostrûm fide firmior, charitate ferventior, piis officiis bonisque operibus cumulatior, Deo denique proximior evaserit.

SECT. 24.

Hæc sunt, Fratres Christiani, quæ vos modò volui: obnixè insuper per Christi viscera efflagitans, ut animos vestros ad sanctam pacem studiosè componere velitis, omnésque de rebus non necessariis disceptationes prorsùs inutiles, sed et haud parùm noxias, rejiciatis.

[k] *Graviter peccant, qui propter indifferentes ceremonias turbant Ecclesias, dam-*

should be left to enjoy its own regulations, so that it ordain nothing but what is meet and salutary to the minds of its own constituents.

SECT. 22.

It is right, indeed, that we all make God, as he speaks in his own Scriptures, the judge of his own affairs: where, however, passages of greater difficulty occur in Scripture, let no individual venture to propose the private interpretations of his own spirit as the guide he is to follow; but rather judge with modesty, that the common consent of the doctors of the Church should always be preferred to his own.

SECT. 23.

On subjects which occupy a middle rank, whether for action or for judgment, let us resolve to strive, that where our heads cannot quite agree, our hearts may nevertheless beat in concord; instead of consenting to a mutual separation, let them cling closely together in the indissoluble embrace of Christian love; and let us go so far as to lay an obligation on ourselves, whatever be the opinions or conduct of our brethren in things indifferent, to receive them in all the meekness of submission and equanimity, and to interpret them in the most favourable direction.

As for the reproach conveyed in names, as of Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Puritans, Prelatists, Presbyterians, Independents, which are wont to be applied to professors of the same faith, let them be condemned to the bottom of the pit. Let us be called, and let us really be, Christians; not more allied in the unity of the faith, than in the bond of charity. Let us mutually love, aid, and assist each other. Finally, setting our common God before our eyes, the Father, the Redeemer, the Comforter, in whom we are all one, and not the worldly host of complaints that betray our frivolous distractions, let us seek and strive after this one object, who of us all shall shew himself the firmest in faith, the warmest in charity, the richest in pious duties and good works, and, above all, the nearest in his walk with God.

SECT. 24.

These are the topics, Christian brethren, on which I wished to address you: earnestly beseeching you, moreover, by the bowels of Christ, to subdue your inclinations, gladly and studiously, to sacred peace, and to reject all disputations upon things unnecessary, as wholly useless, and extremely mischievous.

nant alios principes et magistratus. Hæccine pietas, quam jactamus? hæccine charitas, quam debemus fratribus et Ecclesiis? Zanch. de Redemptione. i. p. 765.

Preciúmne operæ fuerit, pacem vobis operosè collaudare; quam, summi instar beneficii, terris apprecati sunt angeli; quam, ditissimi patrimonii loco, legavit nobis, cœlum repetiturus, Cœli Dominus, Servator noster Jesus Christus? Nimis, profectò, irritus foret omnis iste labor.

Christianos alloquor, alloquor pios Ecclesiæ filios: communis Matris incolumitatem, Evangelii successum, ac plerarúmque animarum salutem in hoc cardine verti, facilè persentiscitis. Discordiæ utriusque, tam civilis quàm ecclesiasticæ, malis ferè omnes ita ingemuimus, ut vix ullus suspiriis lacrymísve locus deinceps videatur superesse. Ilicet tempus nunc est, ut, jam serò, paci litemus Evangelicæ; ut gladios in ligones, hastásque in falces, Christiani omnes tandem convertamus[l]. Isa. ii. 4; Mic. iv. 3.

SECT. 25.

Audio inconsultos quosdam, ubi ulla pacis mentio inciderit, Veritatem illico inclamitare ac Justitiam: præque his flocci facere, quam tantopere desideramus, fidelium unitatem ac concordiam; quasi, verò, cordatus quispiam hæc à se invicem divelli ac disjungi unquam patiatur. Pax certè non est, quæ veritate destituitur; sed iniqua quædam in errore conspiratio: pax non est, quæ vacat justitiâ; sed pusillanimis quædam et desidiosa populi degeneris, et cuivis tyrannidi succumbentis, servitus.

Scilicet aut se mutuò exosculantur pax et veritas, veritas et justitia; aut ipsæ, quæ videntur, non sunt. Veritatem quovis pretio redimere jubet regum sapientissimus, nec quo vendere; Prov. xxiii. 23. Sed huic, interea, valore proximam voluit esse pacem, qui Pacis Deus appellari amat. 2 Thess. iii. 16.

Nulla, certè, veritatis Christianæ particula est, quam quis bonus, sciens prudénsque, quâvis mercede, quovis metu prodere velit; et, timidâ quâdam abnegatione, prorsùs abdicare[m]. Sunt tamen, interea, quidam veritatis parùm necessarii apices, qui publicæ pacis studio tantisperdum celari et possunt et verò debent; et in universalibus, non tam dolosus versatur, quàm pacificus. Nempe, unum hoc est, quod vos iterum atque iterum

[l] Ἀρκεῖ τὰ γεγονότα, ἀρκεῖ· μισῶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον κἂν κρατῷ. Otho. apud Dionem.

Can it be worth while, to accost you with an elaborate panegyric upon peace; when the angels of heaven announced it as the greatest blessing to earth, and the Lord of Heaven, our Saviour Jesus Christ, when about to return to heaven, bequeathed it to us, as our richest heritage? Well I know that all such labour would be supererogatory.

I address Christians; I address the pious sons of the Church: you easily perceive that the safety of your common Mother, the success of the Gospel, and the salvation of many souls, hinge on this determination. We have so wept, almost to a man, over the evils of discord, civil as well as ecclesiastical, that there seems henceforth to be scarcely room left either for sighs or tears. Now, in short, is the time, that we do honour, however late, to the peace of the Gospel; that all, who are really Christians, convert their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. Isaiah ii. 4; Micah iv. 3.

SECT. 25.

I HEAR some unadvised men, whenever peace happens to be mentioned, immediately begin crying out for truth and justice: in comparison with these, they esteem the unity and concord of the faithful, which we so desire, a thing of small account; as if any prudent man, the while, would ever suffer these things to be rent in twain and plucked asunder from each other. That certainly is not peace, which is deprived of truth, but only a wicked confederacy in sin: that is not peace, which is void of justice, but the cowardly and slothful prostration of a degenerate people, crouching to any tyranny that may usurp the rule over them.

We may be sure that either peace and truth, truth and justice, mutually kiss each other; or themselves are not what they seem to be. The wisest of kings commands us to buy the truth at any price, and not at any price to sell it; Prov. xxiii. 23. Yet he who loves to be called the God of peace, has willed, meanwhile, that Peace should be the next to truth in value. 2 Thess. iii. 16.

Certainly there is no particle of Christian truth, which a good man would consent, wilfully and deliberately, for any recompense, or under any temptation, to forego: and thus, by a sort of timid backwardness, to renounce altogether. Yet there are meanwhile, some points of truth, not wholly indispensable, which, in the pursuit of public peace, both can and may be, to a certain extent, withheld. He who deals in universals, is not so much a man of dissimulation, as a man of peace. For this is that one topic, on which I would have you admonished again and again: Is our contention for the very

* *Oportebat quidem nihil non ferre, ne Ecclesiam Dei scinderes.* Dionysius ad Novatum. Euseb. l. vi. c. 44.

monitos velim: De Fidei Christianæ animâ lis est? Præ hâc ψυχήν ἡμῶν οὐ τιμίαν ἔχομεν, cum Heroe illo Evangelico; Act. xx. 24. Hanc nos fortiter usque propugnemus, σὺν δορί, σὺν ἀσπίδι; voveamúsque, juxta magnanimum illud matrum olim Laconicarum mandatum[n], ἢ τᾶν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς. De vestis interea fimbriis non nimis atrociter decertemus.

Libertate nostrâ Christianâ modestè utamur et prudenter: neque ita nos geramus, ut, dum ergastulum quoddam nimis fortè angustum refugimus, per campos latè patentes, perque loca invia ac deserta, onagrorum more, vagi discurramus; ventùmque anheli hauriamus, nullis aut legum frænis aut pietatis sepimentis contineri sustinentes. Sed, si verè sapimus, ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, Eph. iv. 15. ea, quæ fidei sunt, etiam cum vitæ dispendio tueamur; quæ præter fidem, aut susque deque habeamus, aut certè non impetuosiùs prosequamur; quæ, denique, contra fidem, abominemur, et, quantum possumus, animosè debellemus: et ita, demum, nos comparemus, ut per omnia pares simus divinæ illi παρακλήσει, quam Corinthiacis suis impertiit Gentium Apostolus: *Fidelis est Deus, per quem vocati estis in communionem Filii ipsius, Domini nostri, Jesu Christi. Obsecro, autem, vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, ut idem loquamini omnes; et non sint inter vos dissidia, sed sitis coagmentati eâdem mente et eâdem sententiâ.* 1 Cor. i. 9, 10.

ὁμοψήφως καὶ ὁμοψύχως.

SECT. 26.

Quod si qui sint, qui sententias suas impias cervicosâ animositate, ut cum Gersone loquar, non sine publicæ pacis dispendio, tueri velint; non aliâ profectò erga hos quàm Paulinâ utar charitate; *Utinam abscindantur, qui vos conturbant:* Gal. v. 12. abscindantur, inquam, non tam ore gladii, quàm gladio oris. Haud, equidem, invenio, ubi quem hæreticum Apostolus sæculari potestati tradiderit: tradidit, quidem, Satanæ; non tamen ut damnaretur illico, sed *ut disceret non blasphemare.* 1 Tim. i. 20. Habet ensem suum magistratus; habent et suum non Petri modò successores, sed et Apostolorum: stringendus erit, ubi opus, utérque; ita verò, ut alter alteri subsidio esse

[n] Suid. V. Lycurgas.

life and soul of the Christian faith? In comparison of this, we may say, with the bold Apostle, "we count not our life dear unto ourselves." Acts xx. 24. This we must defend bravely, with the spear and with the shield; and we must resolve, according to that noble exhortation, given of old by the Spartan matrons, to return either with it, or on it. But we need not fight so very fiercely for the fringes of the garment only.

Let us use our liberty, as Christians, with moderation and prudence: nor let us so demean ourselves, that, while perhaps we dislike the narrow confines of the work-shop, we must run about, like wild asses, over the open plains, and through pathless and desert places; panting as we snuff the wind, and disdaining to be restricted, either by the bridle of the law, or within the hedge-rows of religion. But, if we be truly wise, *let us speak the truth in love:* Eph. iv. 15. those things which come within the pale of our faith, let us defend even at the expense of our lives; those things which lie beyond the range of our faith, let us either regard with unconcern, or at least pursue without impetuosity; and those things which militate against our faith, let us both abhor and zealously exterminate, as far as we are able: and so at length prepare ourselves, that we may be in all things equal to that divine benediction, which the Apostle of the Gentiles imparted to his brethren at Corinth: *God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Now, I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.* 1 Cor. i. 9, 10.

One in voice, and one in spirit!

SECT. 26.

But should there, after all, be some, who choose, not without hazard to the public peace, to maintain their unholy sentiments with headstrong pertinacity; towards these I would adopt no other charity than that of Paul; *I would they were even cut off, which trouble you:* Gal. v. 12: cut off, I mean, not with the sword of battle, but with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. I find no instance, where an Apostle delivered up a heretic to secular authority: he delivered such an one, indeed, unto Satan; yet not that he might be damned outright, but *that he might learn not to blaspheme.* 1 Tim. i. 20. The magistrate has his sword; and the successors, not of Peter only, but of all the Apostles, have theirs: either must be drawn, when necessity arises; but only in such wise, that each may subserve the other, and

possit; hominum animabus, utérque. Ne vulpeculæ, quidem, ipsæ, vitibus Domini infestæ, ferendæ sunt. Sed, si quis ex Arii vel Socini nemore conturbator aper vineam Christi penitùs vastare aggressus fuerit, nunc,

Odora canum vis,
Retia rara, plagæ, lato venabula ferro, Æn. iv. 131, 2.

in auxilium vocanda sunt: sylvæ cingendæ: et quidvis tentandum, denique, ut fera bellua capiatur; atque ita secum agi sentiat, ut à tam manifesto suffossionis periculo Ecclesia Dei deinceps liberetur.

Verè ille olim, "Aliæ sunt leges Papiniani, aliæ Christi;" utrarúmque tamen scopus unus idémque est, ut benè sit populo Dei, cujus salus suprema lex.

In Libano hujus mundi, licèt passim exaudiantur operariorum clamores, fabrorum secures, serrarum stridores, et lapicidarum tuditantium mallei; at in monte sancto, in Templo Domini ædificando, vult Deus, ut ne lignei quidem malleoli sonus aurem verberet. 1 Reg. vi. 7.

At, at, Bone Deus, ubi sumus? quis istic strepitus? quæ ferramentorum collisio? quis hic horridus cadentium saxorum fragor? Destruitur nimirum, destruitur planè, hoc modo, Templum Dei; (ita enim Psaltes olim, *Etiam nunc sculpturas ejus simul vecte et tuditibus tundunt:* Ps. lxxiv. 6.) sic, verò, ut extrueretur uspiam domus Dei, fando nunquam auditum est.

O nos in illa servatos tempora, de quibus Servator noster olim præmonuit: *Futurum est, ut audiatis bella, et rumores bellorum: insurgent gens in gentem, et regnum in regnum!* O verè *ἀρχὴν τῶν ὠδίνων*! sed et *pænè* etiam *exitum.* Matt. xxiv. 6—8. Illud, enim, unum, in tam communi bonorum omnium cordolio, afflictissimis piorum animis solatio esse potest, indicia hæc esse appropinquantis, quasique præ foribus astantis, Liberatoris nostri Domini, Jesu Christi. Ille nempe Benedictus in secula Dei Filius, qui, in Primo suo Adventu,

Belli ferratas portas, postésque refregit; Ennius.

neque in orbem, nisi Augusti sceptro pacatissimum, descendere voluit; Secundi Adventûs sui tempus in illud ævum conjecit,

that both may bring advantage to the souls of men. Not even the foxes that infest the vines of the Lord, are to be tolerated. But should a wild boar, a destroyer, from the forest of Arius or Socinus, attempt to carry his devastations into the vineyard of Christ,

> "Then iron spears,
> Hounds of sagacious scent, with nets, and snares,"
> Æn. iv. 131, 2.

must be called to aid; the wood surrounded; and every effort made that the beast may be captured, and that he may see himself thus dealt with, in order that the Church of God may be liberated forthwith from so manifest a danger of subversion.

Truly said he of old, "The laws of Papinian are one thing, the laws of Christ another;" and yet the aim of both is one and the same, that it may be well with the people of God, whose salvation constitutes a law of the highest authority and obligation.

Though, in the Lebanon of this world, there are heard on every side the shouts of workmen, the axes of smiths and carpenters, the grating of saws, and the hammering of masons as they ply the chisel; it should not be so in the sacred hill, where the temple of the Lord is building; there it is the will of God that not even the sound of a wooden mallet should strike the ear. 1 Kings vi. 7.

But where, good Lord, where are we? what is that noise? what that knocking of tools? what that horrible crash of falling stones? The destruction, no doubt, the destruction of the temple of God, may be thus effected; for thus said the Psalmist, *Now they break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers:* Ps. lxxiv. 6. but that the house of God was ever built in this way, no one has yet heard tell.

Alas! that we should have been reserved to see the times, of which our Saviour warned his followers beforehand: *Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom!* Truly these are *the beginning of sorrows;* but they are *almost the end* of sorrows too. Matt. xxiv. 6—8. For in that grief of heart, which has fallen so generally upon all good men, there is just this one consideration, to console the minds of the pious in the depth of their distress, that these are but the signs of our Deliverer, the Lord Jesus Christ, approaching, yea, standing, as it were, before the door. For so it is; the Son of God, blessed for ever, who, at his First Advent,

> "Burst the huge posts and iron gates of war;" Ennius.

and chose not to descend upon the earth, till it was first brought into a state of peace under the sceptre of Augustus;

in quo turbatissima futura sunt omnia; ut, cum extremâ et deploratissimâ inquietudine fessus laborârit orbis, Principem Pacis, Veritatis et Justitiæ Vindicem, Patientiæ Remuneratorem, Consolatorem Ecclesiæ, et avidiùs expectet et excipiat alacriùs.

Etiam veni, Domine Jesu, veni citò. Amen. Rev. xxii. 20.

has assigned the period of his Second Advent to that age, when all things will be full of trouble and embarrassment; to the end that, when the world is ready to sink under the fatigue of her last and most miserable confusion, she may both more earnestly expect, and more gladly welcome, the arrival of the Prince of Peace, the Assertor of Truth and Justice, the Rewarder of the Patience of the Saints, and the Comforter of the Church.

Even so, come, Lord Jesus; come quickly. Amen.
Rev. xxii. 20.

PSALMUS CXXXIII.

Tandem experimur, hactenus pænè obruti
Discordiarum fluctibus,
Fraterna quid pax valeat, et concordium
Unita virtus civium.
Nil charitate mutuâ salubrius,
Nil uspiam est amœnius:
Nec suaviorem exhalat auram balsami
Aromatumque principum
Perfecti odoris unctio, quæ verticem
Aaronis effusa in sacrum
Sanctam verendi Antistitis barbam imbuit,
Et inde lapsu defluit
Auratæ in imas usque vestis fimbrias:
Nec, denique, affluentiam
Tantam minatur imber ille roscidus,
Qui fertiles inebriat
Hermonis agros; aut perusta solibus
Rigat Sionis jugera:
Illic benigna rerum abundat copia;
Illic piæ tranquillitas
Vitæ; propitii quam benignitas Dei
In sæculum usque protrahet.

Ex Metaphrasi Manuscr. Collegæ mei, p. m.
Joannis Dunæi Barstapulensis.

SACRED POLEMICS.

PART THE FIRST.

NO PEACE WITH ROME:

WHEREIN IS PROVED, THAT,

AS TERMS NOW STAND, THERE CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION

OF THE REFORMED RELIGION WITH THE ROMISH:

AND THAT THE ROMANISTS ARE IN ALL THE FAULT.

WRITTEN FIRST IN LATIN BY

JOSEPH HALL,

AND NOW ENGLISHED.

POLEMICES SACRÆ

PARS PRIOR.

ROMA IRRECONCILIABILIS:

QUA DOCETUR,

NULLAM SPERARI POSSE, NEC DEBERE QUIDEM,

UTI SE NUNC RES HABENT,

PONTIFICIORUM CUM EVANGELICIS,

IN CAUSA RELIGIONIS,

CONCILIATIONEM:

CUDENDAMQUE IN SOLOS PONTIFICIOS HANC FABAM.

AUTH. JOSEPHO HALLO, BRITTANNO, S. TH. DOCT.

ET HENRICO PRINCIPI A SACRIS.

1611.

WHAT PEACE, SO LONG AS THE WHOREDOMS OF THY MOTHER JEZEBEL, AND HER WITCHCRAFTS, ARE SO MANY?

2 KINGS, IX. 22.

QUÆ PAX, CUM ADHUC FORNICATIONES JEZEBEL MATRIS TUÆ, ET VENEFICIA EJUS MULTA, VIGENT? 2 REG. IX. 22.

*** If not the most important, this is probably the most curious addition, which the Editor has been enabled to make to the present Edition of the Works of Bishop Hall. Other Editions have contained the English translation; but the Original Latin (recovered, apparently, after a loss of more than two centuries) is now for the first time introduced. A copy of this very rare little volume has been recently added to the stores of the British Museum: but for that now used, the Editor has to express his best acknowledgments to the Venerable Joseph Holden Pott, Vicar of Kensington, and Archdeacon of Middlesex. The only alteration made in the present reprint respects the division of the chapters and sections; for which a comparison with the English translation has enabled the Editor to provide a more complete and convenient arrangement.—H.

THE OPINION OF GEORGE CASSANDER,

A LEARNED PAPIST, AND GRAVE DIVINE:

THAT, BY TWO SEVERAL EMPERORS, FERDINAND AND MAXIMILIAN, WAS SET ON WORK, TO COMPOSE THESE QUARRELS OF THE CHURCH.

In his Consultation; pp. 56 and 57.

YET I cannot deny, but that, in the beginning, many, out of a godly zeal and care, were driven to a sharp and severe reproof of certain manifest abuses; and that the principal cause of this calamity and distraction of the Church is to be laid upon those, which, being puffed up with a vain insolent conceit of their Ecclesiastical power, proudly and scornfully contemned and rejected them, which did rightly and modestly admonish their reformation. Wherefore my opinion is, that the Church can never hope for any firm peace, unless they make the beginning, which have given the cause of the distraction: that is, unless those, which are in the place of Ecclesiastical Government, will be content to remit something of their too much rigour, and yield somewhat to the peace of the Church; and, hearkening unto the earnest prayers and admonitions of many godly men, will set themselves to correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of Divine Scriptures, and of the Ancient Church from which they have swerved.

GEORGII CASSANDRI,

HOMINIS PONTIFICII, LONGE QUIDEM DOCTISSIMI, GRAVISSIMIQUE,

AB IMPERATORIBUS DUOBUS, FERDINANDO ET MAXIMILANO,

AD LITES ECCLESIÆ COMPONENDAS EVOCATI,

SENTENTIA.

In Consultatione suâ; pag. 56 et 57.

NON negarim tamen, multos initio, pio studio, ad acriorem reprehensionem quorundam manifestorum abusuum impulsos fuisse; et præcipuam causam hujus calamitatis et distractionis Ecclesiæ illis assignandam, qui, inani quodam fastu Ecclesiasticæ potestatis inflati, rectè et modestè admonentes superbè et fastidiosè contempserunt et repulerunt. Quare nullam Ecclesiæ firmam pacem sperandam puto, nisi ab iis initium fiat, qui distractionis causam dederunt: hoc est, ut ii, qui Ecclesiasticæ Gubernationi præsunt, de nimio illo rigore aliquid remittant, et Ecclesiæ paci aliquid concedant; ac multorum priorum votis ac monitis obsequentes, manifestos abusus, ad regulam Divinarum Literarum, et Veteris Ecclesiæ, à quâ deflexerunt, corrigant.

TO THE

TRUE, SOUND, AND HOLY CHURCH OF GOD,

WHERESOEVER WARFARING UPON EARTH.

I PRESENT unto thee, Dear and Holy Mother, this poor unworthy token of my love and loyalty; the not so pleasing, as true report of thy future broils. How much gladder should I have been, if thy Spouse had so thought good, to have been the messenger of thy peace and security! But, since the Great and Wise Moderator of All Things hath thought a palm fitter for thee than an olive, it is for thee to think of victory, not of rest. Thou shalt once triumph in heaven, and rest for all; but, in the mean time, here is nothing to be looked for but ambushes, skirmishes, tumults. And how cheerfully must thou needs both bear and overcome all oppositions, that art not more sure of the necessity of thy warfare, than of the happiness of thy success; whilst thou seest thy Glorious Husband not only the leader of this field, but a most just and merciful crowner of thy conquest! Certainly, it is as impossible for thee to miscarry, as to sit still, and not fight. Behold, all the forces of heaven and earth conspire, and rejoice to come voluntaries unto this holy war of thine, and promise thee a most happy issue. Address thyself, therefore, as thou art wont, courageously to this work of God: but, remember, first, to enquire, as thou dost, at Abel; 2 Sam. xx. 18. Spare no tears to thy desperate Sister, now thine enemy; and, calling heaven and earth to witness, upon thy knees beseech and entreat her, by her own soul, and by the dear bowels of Christ, by those precious drops of his bloody sweat, by that common price of our eternal redemption, that she would, at the last, return to herself, and that good disposition which she hath now too long abandoned; that she would forbear, any more, as I fear she hath hitherto wilfully done, to fight against God. But if she shall still persist to stop her ears against thee, and to harden herself in rebellion against her God; forget, if thou canst, who she once was; and fly mercilessly upon this daughter of Belial, that vaunts herself proudly in the glory of her munition. Go, smite, destroy, conquer, and reign, as the worthy partner of thy Husband's throne. For me, I shall, in the mean time, be as one of thy rude trumpets, whose noise shall both awaken thy courage unto this spiritual battle, and whose joyful gratulations shall, after thy rich spoils, applaud thy happy return in the day of thy victory.

J. H.

SANÆ SANCTÆQUE DEI ECCLESIÆ,

UBICUNQUE TERRARUM COMMILITANTI.

ADFERO tibi, Pia Mater, hoc qualecunque pignus amoris simul et fidei; non tam suave illud quidem, quàm fidele turbarum tuarum præconium: quantò lubentiùs, modò ita Sponso tuo visum, pacis tuæ securitatisque nuncium allaturus! Verùm cùm, uti video, palmam tibi, non olivam, reponendam censuerit Magnus Rerum Arbiter, victoriam te hercle meditari oportebit, non quietem. Triumphabis olim in cœlis, et æternum requiesces; nihil istic interea præter insidias, certamina, tumultusque hosticos expectabis. Quantâ verò animi alacritate adversa quæque et perferes, et superabis, quæ Gloriosissimum Conjugem, non belli modò ducem, sed et æquissimum βραβεύτην, nihilo quidem incertiùs quàm tuam ipsius militiam, prænoveris. Succumbere non magis profectò poteris, quàm desidere. En tibi in commilitium istud adscitas auxiliares cœli terræque acies, quæ tibi omnes fœlicissimum sacri belli exitum pollicentur. Memineris vero inprimis interrogare, quod soles, Abelæos; 2 Sam. xx. 18. Allachrymare, obsecra, et, Deum atque homines contestans, hostem Germanam miserè deperditam, per suam ipsius animam, per charissima Christi viscera, per pretiosissimos illos sanguinei sudoris grumulos, per commune denique æternæ redemptionis pretium, vel de geniculis obtestare, ut ad se redire velit aliquando, frugemque bonam; ut desinat, quod usque vereor ut sciens facit, θεομαχεῖν. Quòd si illa rebellem dehinc in te, in Deum, obdurârit sibi animum, aurem obturârit; obliviscere, si potes, quæ illa olim fuerit; invola nunc in turpem Belialis filiam, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀκκίζουσαν. Vade, percute, demolire, vince, regna, consors solii conjugalis. Ecce me tubam interea rudiorem, cujus et clangore ad prœlium hoc sanctum animosiùs exsusciteris, et lætâ demum gratulatione post opima quondam spolia, victoriali illo die redux excipiaris.

J. H.

NO PEACE WITH ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. 1. *The State of the now Roman Church.*

THERE is no one question doth so rack the minds of men at this day, as this of the Church.

The infancy of the Church was sore and long vexed with heresies of a higher nature, concerning God, concerning Christ, which still struck at the head: but her vigorous and hoary age is exercised with a slighter quarrel, concerning ourselves; which yet raiseth up the greater broils everywhere, by how much every man naturally loves himself more than God.

Not to meddle with any foreign questions of this nature, too many seem unto me to misconceive the state of our Church, and the Romish, as if they had been always two: as if, from their first foundations, they had been sensibly severed in time and place; like to Babylon and Jerusalem, or those two famous cities opposed in St. Austin's learned discourse.

Hence are those idle demands of some smattering questionists: Where our Church hath thus long hid itself: What year and day it came to light: In which age that other Church lost istelf: Why we have withdrawn ourselves no further from them: What is become of our forefathers: Which was the religion of the former world?

From hence have those sharp and rigorous censures passed on both sides; whether of novelty, or of the desperate condition of those souls which have departed out of our own way.

Alas! what monsters both of opinions and questions have risen hence; and have vexed, not their own authors only, (for the Delphic Oracle said well, "It is fit a man should have as he doth:") but, together with them, the whole Church of God! How many silly souls have splitted upon this rock; which had never needed any votive monument of their wreck, if they had but learned to hold no other difference betwixt us and Rome, than must needs be granted, betwixt a church miserably corrupted, and happily purged; betwixt a sickly, languished, and dying Church, and one that is healthful, strong, and flourishing!

ROMA IRRECONCILIABILIS.

INTRODUCTIO.

Sect. 1. *Status nunc Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*

Nulla æquè hominum ingenia torquet hodie, ac quæ de Ecclesiâ quæstio est[a].

Infantiam quidem Ecclesiæ sublimior hæresis de Deo, de Christo, malè diuque solicitam, habuit: *ἀκμὴν* verò et senectam paulò levior quædam de nobismetipsis exercet velitatio; quæ tamen tantò majores ubique tumultus ciet indies, quantò quisque se impensiùs quàm Deum diligit.

Reliqua quotquot uspiam terrarum occurrunt aliàs *ζητήματα, ἔασωμεν εὕδειν*: de nostrâ, deque Romanâ Ecclesiâ ita plæriqueque mihi perperam sentire videntur, quasi duæ semper ab origine sui fuissent; tempore ac loco, non secus ac Babylon et Hierosolyma, duæve illæ celebratissimæ Augustino civitates, palàm disterminatæ[b].

Hinc illæ sciolorum hominum otiosæ percontatiunculæ: Ubi tandem latitaverit Ecclesia nostra: Quo consule ac die nata: Quo demum seculo illa altera desierit: Cur nos nihilo ulteriùs ab istorum oris subducti: Quid de proavis nostris factum: Quæ fuerit prisci ævi religio?

Hinc rigidiusculæ illæ utrinque, cùm novitatis, tùm deploratæ abscedentium animarum salutis, censuræ.

Deus bone! quæ et opinionum monstra et questionum istinc enata! et non tam suos authores, (verè enim Oraculum illud Delphicum, *Εἰ κε πάθοι τὰ κ' ἔρεξε, δίκη τ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο*[c],) quàm Ecclesiam Christi miserè divexârunt! Quot miselli naufragium istic fecerunt; quibus hercle votivâ tabellâ parum usus fuisset, si tantum didicissent inter nos et Pontificios discriminis constituere, quantum inter Ecclesiam pessimis modis corruptam, et luculentè perpurgatam; inter morbidam ac moribundam, et sanam, vegetam, vividamque, necessariò concedendum est!

[a] G. Cassand. lib. de Consult. Art. 7. *Ex articulo hoc de Ecclesiâ, omnis hæc distractio, quæ hodie est in Republicâ Christianâ, originem ducit.*

[b] Aug. de Civit. (l. 14. c. 9. s. 28.)

[c] Julian. Cæsaris. *Judicium, si quis quæ fecit perferat, æquum est.*

Neither therefore did that Valdus of France, nor Wickliffe of England, nor Jerome of Prague, nor Luther of Germany, ever go about to frame a new Church to themselves, which was not; but only endeavoured, not without happy success, to cleanse, scour, restore, reform that Church which was, from that filthy soil, both of disorder and errors, wherewith it was shamefully blemished. All these rather desired to be accounted physicians to heal, than parents to beget a Church.

And the same have we carefully done, ever since; and do seriously and ingenuously profess of ourselves at this day.

Rome is alike to us, as it was of old to Jerome, with Eugubium, Rhegium, Alexandria: save that this city is both more famous and more near us. Places do not vary either faith or title. What Church soever God shall call Daughter, we will call Sister: and so we safely may.

How many honest and chaste matrons have we known, that have been ashamed of a lewd sister; and have abhorred filthiness in one of their own blood! So it fareth now with us. Rome is overgone with heresy, with idolatry. Let her practice her whoredom at home, by herself: it was not for us, with the safeguard of our honesty, to dwell with such a partner.

Not only her wickedness hath thrust us out: but her violence. We yield, therefore; and sorrowfully complain, with the Prophet, *How is the faithful city become a harlot! It was full of judgment, and justice lodged therein; but now it is full of murderers. Thy silver is become dross, and thy wine is brewed with water:* Is. i. 21, 22.

Away with the imperious name of a Mother. We are all the same Church, by the virtue of our outward vocation, whosoever, all the world over, worship Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, and Saviour of the World; and profess the same common Creed. Some of us do this more purely; others, more corruptly: in the mean time, we are all Christians; but sound Christians we are not.

But how harshly doth this sound to a weak reader, and more than seems to need reconciliation with itself; that the Church should be one, and yet cannot be reconciled! Certainly; yet so it is. The dignity of the outward form, which comprehends this unity in itself, avails nothing to grace, nothing to salvation, nothing to the soundness of doctrine. The net doth not strait make all to be fish, that it hath dragged together: ye shall find in it vile weeds, and whatsoever else that devouring element hath disgorged.

The Church is, at once, one, in respect of the common principles of faith; and yet, in respect of consequences, and that rabble of opinions which they have raked together, so opposed,

Non ergo Petrus ille Valdus Lugdunensis[d], non Jo. Wiclefus, non Hussius, non Lutherus, novam sibi unquam procudere Ecclesiam voluerunt; sed priorem illam, et morum et ἑτεροδιδασκαλίων sordibus miserè fœdatam, verrere, mundare, expolire, ac splendori pristino restituere, haud infœlici operâ studuerunt. Medicos haberi se maluerunt isti qui sanarent, quàm parentes qui Ecclesiam progignerent.

Idemque nos ex eo sedulò fecimus, et de nobis hodie seriò et ingenuè prædicamus.

Pariter se nobis habet Roma, uti olim Hieronymo[e], ac Eugubium, Rhegium, Alexandria; nisi quod urbs illa paulò et celebrior, et vicinior. Loca non variant fidem, non titulum. Quamcunque Ecclesiam Deus Filiam, nos Sororem salutabimus: et tutò quidem istud.

Quot pias pudicasque fœminas novimus, quas malè moratæ sororis dispuduit, quæque germanum prostibulum haud parum oderint! Illud idem nobis istic usu venit. Roma hæretica est, idolatrica est. Meretricium apud se suum exerceat; nobis cum illâ tali cohabitare, salvâ pudicitiâ, non licuit.

Hujus nos extrusit nequitia, pepulere vires. Cedimus loco, et mœsti interim conquerimur, *Quomodo effecta est meretrix urbs fidelis; et plenissima jure, in quâ justitia pernoctabat, ea nunc homicidarum plena est! Argentum tuum abiit in scorias, merum tuum aquâ inspurcatum est:* Is. i. 21, 22.

Apage matris imperium! Una omnes eademque Ecclesia sumus, externæ vocationis merito, quotquot ubivis terrarum Jesum Christum, Dei Filium, unicum Mundi Servatorem colimus, idemque communis fidei Symbolum[f] profitemur. Puriûs hoc alii facimus, alii verò corruptiùs: Christiani sumus interea omnes, sani non sumus.

At quàm temerè (inquis) ista; quæque conciliatore ipsa nimis indigeant; una ut sit Ecclesia, quæ tamen conciliari nescit! Certè. Exterioris formæ dignitas, quæ unitatem hanc in se complectitur, nihil quicquam confert ad gratiam, nihil ad salutem, nihil ad sanitatem doctrinæ. Non efficit sagena ut pisciculus illico sit, quicquid ipsa corraserit; vilem hîc algam comperies, et quicquid eructaverit vorax illud elementum.

Et una ergo est, quoad communia fidei principia; et quoad consecutiones, adjectitiorumque dogmatum farraginem, ita sibi

[d] A. D. 1160.

[e] Hieron. Epist. 85, ad Evagrium.

[f] Iren. l. i. c. 2, 3.

that it cannot, by any glue of concord, as Cyprian speaketh, nor bond of unity, be conjoined. That which Rome holds with us, makes it a Church: that which it obtrudes upon us, makes it heretical. The truth of principles makes it one: the error and impiety of additions makes it irreconcileable.

Neither doth this late and spurious brood of traditions more oppose us, than it doth those very principles of religion, which the authors themselves desire to establish.

Look on the face, therefore of the Roman Church, she is ours, and God's: look on her back, she is quite contrary, Antichristian.

More plainly, (for it is no disputing in metaphors, as Clemens said well,) Rome doth both hold the foundation, and destroy it. She holds it directly, destroys it by consequent. In that she holds it, she is a true Church, howsoever impured: in that she destroys it, whatever semblance she makes of piety and holiness, she is a *Church of Malignants*, Ps. xxvi. 5. If she did altogether hold it, she should be sound and orthodox: if altogether she destroyed it, she should be either no Church or devilish: but, now that she professes to hold those things directly, which by inference of her consequences she closely overthrows, she is a truly visible Church, but an unsound. In what she holds the principles, we embrace her: in what she destroys them, we pity her error, and hate her obstinacy.

The common bond of Christianity never ties us to favour gross errors, so much as with silence. There is no such slavery in the dear name of a Sister, that it should bind us to give either aid or countenance to lewdness. *Have no* such *fellowship*, saith St. Paul, *but rather reprove;* Eph. v. 11. So we have done; both modestly and earnestly. The same is befallen us, which befell the blessed Apostle: we are become their enemies, for telling the truth; Gal. iv. 16.

Behold, now we are thrust out of door; spat upon; railed at; and, when opportunity serves, persecuted with most curious torments. And, lest any mischief should be wanting, obstinacy is now, at last, added unto error; and a cruel rage, arising from impatience: and now their wickedness began to please them more, because it displeased us.

And what should we now do, in such a case; we, the despised and rejected patrons of this spiritual chastity? To let fall so just a cause, we might not; unless we would cast off that God, who challenges this plea for only his. To yield and give in, were no other than to betray the truth of God, and damn our own souls. No course remains, but this one; (and here is our only safety;) with all our courage and skill, to oppose the wicked paradoxes and idolatrous practices of the Romish

opposita, ut nullo concordiæ glutine[s], aut unitatis vinculo, copulari possit. Quæ nobiscum illa tenet, Ecclesiam faciunt; quæ nobis obtrudit, hæreticam. Principiorum veritas unam facit; adjectionum error et impietas, insociabilem.

Neque tam nobiscum pugnat posthuma hæc et spuria traditionum soboles, quàm cum illis ipsis, quæ stabilire maximè discupiunt authores, religionis suæ principiis.

A facie ergo, Romana Ecclesia et nostra est, et Dei est: à tergo, aliena est, Antichristiana est.

Planiùs, (*μὴ γὰρ διαλέκτεον ταῖς μεταφοραῖς*, verè Clemens,) Fundamentum et tenet Roma, et tollit. Directè tenet, tollit ex consequente. Quà tenet, vera Ecclesia est, quantumlibet impurata: quà tollit, *ἐκκλησία πονηρευομένων* est, Ps. xxvi. 5, quicquid simulet pietatis ac sanctimoniæ. Si prorsus et omnimodè teneret, sana foret et orthodoxa: si æquè itidem destrueret, aut nulla foret, aut diabolica: jam verò, cùm ea directè tenere profitetur, quæ clancularià consecutionum vi subinde destruat, verè visibilis Ecclesia, sed malesana est. Quà tenet, amplexamur; quà destruit, et errantem misericordià prosequimur, et odio pertinacem.

Non illud à nobis postulat commune Christiani nominis vinculum, ut erroribus crassissimis vel silentio faveamus. Non illa Sororia servitus est, ut germanæ operam præstemus malis artibus. *Μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε*, inquit Paulus, *μάλλον ἐλέγχετε*; Eph. v. 11. Fecimus nos quidem, modestè et seriò. Idem nobis accidit, quod Apostolo: *ἐχθροι γεγόναμεν, ἀληθεύοντες*; Gal. iv. 16.

Ecce nos nunc exturbamur foras, conspuimur, obruimur planè contumeliis, quæsitissimis denique pœnis afficimur. Et ne quid fortè mali deesset, accessit demum errori pertinacia, natusque ex impatientià furor; tantóque magis arridere cœpit vitium, quantò nobis displicere solet.

Nos verò quid nunc agimus exclusissimi, despicatissimique melioris pudicitiæ patroni? Lite quidem tam nimis justâ cedere non licet; nisi Deum ipsum, cujus unius causam dicimus, floccifacere mavelimus. Animo autem succumbere, cessimque ire, æquè tutum esset, atque animas nostras, veritatis divinæ proditrices, ire perditum. Unum illud restat, (et una hîc salus,) prava Romanæ Ecclesiæ paradoxa, moresque idololatricos,

[s] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 13.

Church, till either she be ashamed of herself, or repent that ever she was.

Sect. 2. *The Commodities and Conditions of Peace.*

Beautiful is the name of Peace, as Hilary speaketh, and truly sacred; and such, as scarce savoureth of the earth. Neither did the Hebrews by any other term choose rather to express all happiness, and perfection of living. Neither is there any thing, which the angels did more gladly congratulate unto men, or which Christ did more carefully bequeath, or the apostles more earnestly enjoin. How oft, and how vehemently, doth the Spirit entreat and command us to have peace!

"But this," thou sayest, "is every man's wish, to have peace: but what if peace will not be had?" Lo, then, St. James charges us *to make peace*, James iii. 18, by our endeavours, by our patience. "Once made, and had; what if it will not stay with us?" Then St. Paul bids, to *follow those things which concern peace;* Rom. xiv. 19. "What if it will needs away, and hide itself?" Yet then St. Peter commands to *follow*, and *enquire after it;* 1 Pet. iii. 11. "What if, once found, it refuse to come; as Abraham's servant presupposed of Rebekah?" Even then *study to be quiet*, saith St. Paul; or, as the word implies, *be ambitious of peace;* 1 Thess. iv. 11.

So let the Author of Peace love us, as we love peace! Who is there, that would not rather wish, with Constantine, quiet days, and nights free from care and vexation? It was a speech, worthy of an Emperor and a Christian, that fell from Jovianus, about that querulous libel of the Macedonians: "I hate contention; and those, that are inclined to concord, I love and reverence."

Our adversaries would make us believe they profess and desire no less, with an equal zeal of charity and agreement. God be judge betwixt us both; and, whethersoever persists to hate peace, let him perish from the face of God and his holy angels! Yea, that this imprecation may be needless, he is already perished: for, as Cyprian, according to his wont, gravely, "They cannot come to the reward of peace, which have broken the peace of God with the fury of discord."

And, surely, what but the flames of hell can determine the ambition of these fiery and boiling spirits? Basil observes well, That God's fire gave light, and burned not: contrarily, the fire of hell burneth without light; and, therefore, is well worthy of those, who, despising the light of truth, delight themselves in the flames of contentions.

[h] Hilar. (contra Ruxent. l.) cit. à Calvin. de Verâ Pacificatione.
[i] Jud. vi. 23. 2 Sam. xviii. 28. Jud. xix. 20. 1 Chron. xii. 18.
[a] Luc. ii. 14. [b] Joh. xiv. 27. [c] 2 Cor. xiii. 11.
[k] Socr. l. i. c. 4. [l] Socr. l. iii. c. 25.

strenuè (σύν δορὶ, σύν ἀσπίδι) usque oppugnare, dum aut illam pudeat, aut se denique pœniteat fuisse.

Sect. 2. *Commoda ac Conditiones Pacis.*

Speciosum quidem est Pacis nomen (ut rectè Hilarius[h]), verêque sacrum, et quod vix terram sapiat. Nec alio nomine Hebræi τὸ εὐζῆν, ipsamque adeo perfectionem, innuebant[i]. Nec quid aliud humano generi lubentiùs vel gratulati sunt angeli[a], vel legavit Christus[b], vel apostoli præceperunt[c]. Quoties, quamque impensè, rogat jubetque Spiritus εἰρηνεύειν?

Illud verò cuivis in proclivi est, pacem habere; sed quid, si non fiat copia? Tum ποιεῖν εἰρήνην monet Jacobus, Jac. iii. 18, operâ nostrâ, nostrâ tolerantiâ. At quid, si concessa semel aufugerit? Tum, sectari quæ pacis, jubet Paulus, Rom. xiv. 19. Quid, si adhuc subduxerit se ultro? Inquirere et sequi, jubet Petrus, 1 Pet. iii. 11. Quod si ipsa venire noluerit, ut de Rebeccâ servus Abrahæ? Etiam tum φιλοτιμεῖσθε ἡσυχάζειν, 1 Thess. iv. 11.

Ita profectò nos amet Pacis Author, ita amplexetur, ut nos pacem! Dies tranquillos, noctesque curæ ac molestiarum expertes, ecquis est qui cum Constantino non expetierit[k]? Digna et Imperatore vox illa, et Christiano, Joviano quondam excidisse dicitur, de querulo Macedonianorum libello: "Ego contentionem odi; eos, qui concordiæ dediti sunt, complector amore, venerorque[l]."

Quod idem cùm adversarii nostri non minore charitatis zelo profiteri simulant; pereat quisquis pacem oderit, à facie Dei et angelorum malè pereat! Imò jam nunc, ut frustra sint hæ diræ, quisquis est, oppidò periit: "Ad pacis enim præmium venire non possunt, qui pacem Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt;" graviter (quod solet) Cyprianus[m].

Et certe φιλεγκαίμονες[n] illi spiritus quid aliud quàm gehennam ambiunt? Optimè Basilius[o], Ignis Dei lucem dedit sine incendio: infernus contrà sine luce incendium; dignus mehercle illis, qui, spretâ veritatis luce, flammis contentionum refocillari gestiunt.

[m] Cypr. de Simplicitate Prælatorum: (sive, de Unitate Ecclesiæ; p. 142. ed. Romæ, 1563.—A.)

[n] Hieronymus ad Evagrium. (Forsan potiùs φιλεγκλήμονες legendum est. Vide etiam Hieron. adv. Joan. Hierosol. Epist. 62, ad Theoph.—A.)

[o] Basil. in Ps. xxviii.

Those are the true haters of peace, which do wilfully patronize errors contrary to the Christian faith. So long as we must dwell by these tents of Kedar, we shall too justly complain, with the Psalmist, *I love peace; but, in the mean while, they are bent to war;* Ps. cxx. 5.

And, as for us, which profess ourselves the ingenuous clients of peace; since we must needs fight, it is not for us to do nothing. For that blessed Choir of Angels, before their *Peace upon earth,* well sung, *Glory to God in the highest heavens;* Luke ii. 14: and St. James describes the wisdom of God to be *first pure, then peaceable;* James iii. 17: and that Chosen Vessel implies no less, when, to his charge of peace, he adds, *if it be possible;* Rom. xii. 18.

That is as impossible to every good man, which ought not to be done, as that which cannot be done. Neither, indeed, as the rule of lawyers runs, can we be said to be able to do that, which we cannot honestly do. *God,* saith St. Paul, *is not the author of confusion, but of peace;* 1 Cor. xiv. 33. It is a wicked peace, it is no peace, that necessarily breeds confusion. That peace is worthy of a defiance, which proclaims war with God. And, I would to God, that peace, which Rome either can perform or dare promise, were of any better, of any other nature.

Well, then: let it be our present task, carefully to discuss St. Paul's condition of possibility; and teach how vain it is, to hope that a true, holy, and safe peace can be either had or maintained with our present Romanists: whether we regard THE ADVERSE AND STUBBORN DISPOSITION OF THE ONE SIDE; or, THE NATURE OF THE MATTERS CONTROVERTED; or, lastly, THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF THOSE MEANS, WHEREBY ANY RECONCILIATION MAY BE WROUGHT.

These three shall be the limits, wherein this our not unprofitable, nor yet unseasonable work, shall suffer itself to be bounded.

Oderunt verò pacem planissimè, qui erroribus, fidei Christianæ infestissimis, præfracto animo patrocinantur. Quamdiu habitandum nobis erit propter tentoria hæc Kedarena, queremur meritò, quod olim Psaltes, *Ego pacem diligo; ipsi interim ad bellum conclamant;* Ps. cxx. 5.

Neque nos, ingenui pacis cultores, quando ita nobis incumbit pugnæ necessitas, nihil agimus. Enimvero sanctus ille Chorus Angelorum, *Paci in terris*, jure præcinebat, *Gloriam Deo;* Luc. ii. 14: et beatus Jacobus sapientiam, quæ supernè est, *primò puram effingit, dein pacificam;* Jac. iii. 17. Adstipulatur Vas Electum, dum communi pacis ineundæ præcepto (*εἰ δύνατον*) illico subnectit; Rom. xii. 18.

Æquè impossibile est bono cuique, quod fieri non debet, ac quod non potest. Neque omnino possumus quidem, quicquid honestè non possumus, ut probè jurisconsulti[p]. *Non confusionis author est Deus*, inquit Paulus, *sed pacis;* 1 Cor. xiv. 33. Confusionem quæ parit consensio, pax impia, pax nulla est. Apage à nobis pacem, quæ bellum indicit Deo. Utinam hujusmodi non esset, quam Roma vel præstare nobis possit, vel ausit profectò polliceri.

Agedum ergo: Paulinum illud (*εἰ δύνατον*) sedulo discutiamus; doceamusque pacem coli cum Pontificiis, piam quidem illam et salutarem, non posse: sive AVERSAM PARTIS UTRIUSQUE VOLUNTATEM; seu LITIS UTRINQUE AGITATÆ NATURAM; seu denique MEDIORUM, QUÆ AD HANC CONCILIATIONEM ADHIBERI DEBENT, IMPOSSIBILITATEM spectemus.

Tres isti fines mihi erunt, quibus opella hæc qualiscunque, non inutilis certè, nec intempestiva, terminabitur.

[p] Ss. de Cond. Instit. v. Filius.

I. OF THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE OBSTINATE AND ADVERSE DISPOSITION OF THE ROMANISTS.

And, as for the first, I suppose we need not labour much. Indeed, God can easily make the wolf to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lodge with the kid; Is. xi. 6. How easy is it for him, so to soften the adamantine hearts of men, by bathing them in the blood of that Immaculate Lamb, that they should melt into pure love! But, as the times now are, it would be no less miraculous to find a Popish heart truly charitable to us, than to see the lions fawning upon Daniel.

Even where there is strife about indifferent things, there is necessarily required a conspiring of the minds of them which would be reconciled; neither is it enough, that one side is content, together with arms, to lay down hatred. And how will our Romanists endure this? Surely, that hatred of Eteocles to his brother, or that of Vatinius, is but mere love to this of Papists.

Alas! when, and where, are we not spat upon, as the most desperately heretical enemies of the Church? Rome admits Jews into her bosom, from whose hands their Pope's Holiness disdains not to receive the book of the Law of God; but Protestants she may not endure. That which Socrates complains, as injuriously done by Theodosius, a Grecian Bishop, against the very Macedonian Heretics, is daily done by them against us. No Arians, no Circumcellion Heretics, were ever more cruel: and these idle fablers, in the mean time, slander us to the world, as guilty of the same outrageous proceedings against them.

What heresy is there in all times, which that Romulean wolf, and her bawling clients, are not wont to cast upon us? One while, we are the scholars of Simon Magus, because we do but once mention grace and salvation; for what have we else to do with that wicked sorcerer? Another while, we are fetched from the cursed school of Eunomius, for that we attribute too much to faith; and yet no more, than that holy heretic St. Paul. One while, we are Pepuzians, that ascribe too much to women. Then we are Origenists; for holding the image of God to be defaced in man: then, contrarily, Proclians; for holding the sin of concupiscence not enough defaced. One while, we are the fol-

I. DE RECONCILIATIONIS IMPOSSIBILITATE.

CAP. I.

PROPTER AVERSAM ET OBSTINATATAM PONTIFICIORUM VOLUNTATEM.

Et de primo quidem non magnoperè censeo laborandum. Potest sanè Deus efficere, ut commoretur lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo recubet; Is. xi. 6. Quàm facile ipsi est, adamantina hominum pectora consperso Immaculati illius Agni sanguine sic emollire, ut in merum amorem liquefiant! Sed, ut nunc sunt tempora, non minori hercle miraculo foret, charitatem in nos Pontificiam experiri, quàm leones Danieli amicè adblandientes intueri.

Etiam ubi de rebus mediis lis est, conciliandorum animos quádam tenùs conspirare oportet; neque sat est alteram partem, unà cum armis, odium deposuisse. Istoc verò quî tandem ferent Romani? Eteocleum profectò odium, aut Vatinianum, merus amor est præ hôc Pontificio.

Ecce, nos ubi non, quando non conspuimur, ut hæreticissimi Ecclesiæ hostes? Judæos in sinum suum admittit Roma, quorum etiam è manibus Pontifex Legem accipere non dedignatur[q]; Evangelicos non fert. Quod à Theodosio, Synnadorum Episcopo, iniquè susceptum vel erga Macedonianos, queritur Socrates[r], id ab illis hodie in nos vulgò factum; neque aut Ariani, aut Circumcelliones magis unquam sævierunt[s]; atque idem isti fabulones[t] à nobis erga se indies, factitatum improbè comminiscuntur.

Ecqua omnium hæresis est, quam rabiosula illa lupa, ejusque asseclæ verè *φιλολοίδοροι*, nobis impingere non solent? Nunc Simoniani sumus, qui gratiæ semel meminerimus, et salutis[u]; nam quid nobis illum Magum, si Deo placet, tactio est? Nunc Eunomiani, qui nimium fidei tribuerimus; quantum scilicet hæresiarcha Paulus: nunc Pepuziani, qui mulieribus[x]. Nunc Origenistæ, qui imaginem Dei in homine deleri; nunc Procliani, qui concupiscentiæ peccatum non satis deleri, docueri-

[q] Sacr. Cerem. l. i.
[r] Socrat. l. vii. c. 3.
[s] Socrat. l. ii. c. 22; 30.
[t] Possid. in Vitâ Aug.
[u] Bellar. de Notis Eccles. l. iv. c. 9. Notâ Sextâ, sic accus. Luther. Calv. Brentium.
[x] Bellar. ib. *Re ipsâ Calvinistis in Angliâ mulier quædam est Summus Sacerdos.* (Col. 186. edit. Par. 1613.)

lowers of Sabellius; because, I think, we lived in the same age with Servetus: another while, of Eutiches; because we lived in the time of Swinckfeldius; for what business have we ever had else with those branded heretics? We are Pelagians, one while; for holding the wages of sin to be death: then we are Donatists; for admitting none but the just into the Church of the elect. Sometimes we are Manichees; for denying free-will: straight, we are Arians; for refusing traditions: then, Novatians; for taking away penance. Another while, we are Ærians; for rejecting oblations for the dead, and fastings: then, Jovinianists; for not allowing a slippery and varnishing faith: the followers of Vigilantius; for disclaiming the adoration of relics: of Nestorius; for disliking the asseveration of the sacramental bread. Now, we are Xenaites; for demolishing of images: then, we are Lampetians; for disallowing the servitude of idle vows.

It matters not, whether the foul mouth of that hired strumpet accuse Timotheus the Presbyter, or Athanasius the Bishop, so that somebody be smitten. It matters not what be spoken, so it be malicious. That is fully resolved of, which Nazianzen hath: "No man shall hold in the reins of a riotous and lawless tongue." For, as Jerome saith well, "It is the pastime of the wicked, to slander the good." That, therefore, which was the solemn fashion of the Lindians, never to do service to their Hercules without railing; the same is too ordinary with these public heralds of our patience. "Our daily furnace," as Austin speaks wittily, "is our adversaries' tongue."

How easily might I here unload whole carts of reproaches, that have been heaped together by the scurrilous parasites of Rome! What rivers of blood, what bonfires of worthy saints, might I here shew my reader! All these the world knows and feels too much.

And, as for those honest and goodnatured men, which would needs undertake to be sticklers of these strifes, as Cassander, Fricius, the Interimists, and that nameless Apologist of the French; how ill have they sped on both parts! With whom it hath no otherwise fared, methinks, than with some fond shepherd, that thrusts himself betwixt two furious rams, running together in their full strength, and abides the shock of both. Neither may it ever succeed better to those kind Philistines, which will be bringing this ark of God into the house of Dagon!

y Bellar. z Anno 1532. Test. Surio apud Bell. l. i. de Christo.
a Bellar. de Notis Ecclesiæ. Hæres. 16. Zuingl. et Bucer.
b Ibid. Hær. 9. Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 1. sect. 7.
c Aug. Conf. art. 7.
d Ibid. Hæres. 8. Luth. art. 36. Calv. Inst. l. ii. c. 2.
e Ibid. Hæres. 10. f Ibid. Hæres. 6. cit. Calv. Inst. l. iv. c. 19.
g Hæres. 11. Calv. Inst. l. iii. c. 5.

mus[y]. Nunc Sabelliani, qui Serveti ævo vixerimus[z]; nunc Eutychiani, qui et temporibus Swinckfeldii: quid enim nobis ultra cum illis hæreticis commercii? Nunc Pelagiani[a], qui peccati ὀψώνια mortem statuerimus; nunc Donatistæ[b], qui solos justos admiserimus in Ecclesiam electorum[c]: nunc Manichæi[d], qui liberum arbitrium sustulerimus; nunc Ariani[e], qui traditiones; nunc Novatiani[f], qui pœnitentiam: nunc Æriani[g], qui oblationes pro mortuis et jejunia; Jovinianistæ[h], qui fidem lubricam et evanidam; Vigilantiani[i], qui reliquiarum adorationem; Nestoriani[k], qui asseverationem panis Eucharistici; Xenaitæ[l], qui imagines; Lampetiani[m], qui votorum servitutem.

Parum hercle refert, Timotheumne Presbyterum, an Athanasium, incuset fœdum os meretriculæ. Certum est illud Nazianzeni, Οὐδεὶς ὑφέξει τῆς γλωσσῆς αὐτονομίαν. Etenim, "Bonos carpere, malorum solatium est;" verè Hieronymus[n]. Quod ergo Lindiis olim solenne erat, sacra non peragere Herculi absque convitiis, illud idem patientiæ nostræ præconibus Pontificiis nimio quàm familiare est[o]. "Quotidiana fornax nostra," ut ingeniosè Augustinus[p], "adversariorum lingua."

Quæ hîc convitiorum plaustra, à scurris Romæ trivialibus passim congesta, exonerare liceret! Quæ sanguinis effusi flumina, quæ sanctorum busta, vivi comburio crudeliter damnatorum, commemorare! Novit hæc orbis, et sensit jam nimis.

Sed et qui tantarum litium sequestros agere maluerunt, benigni homines, Cassander, Fricius[q], Interimistæ, et Apologus ille Gallorum ἀνώνυμος[r], quàm malè utrinque audierunt! Quibuscum non aliter mihi videtur agi, quàm fatuo quopiam pastore, qui se arietibus, summo impetu concursantibus, medium interposuerit. Neque fœliciùs unquam obveniat blandioribus illis, quicunque demûm fuerint, Philistæorum, qui arcam Domini in Dagonis ædem inferre molientur.

[h] Hæres. 12. Calv. Inst. l. iv. c. 12.
[i] Hæres. 13. Luth. Serm. de Sanctâ Cruce, et de Abrog. Missâ.
[k] Hæres. 16. Bucer. Melancth. in Locis.
[l] Hæres. 18. Calv. Inst. l. i. c. 11.
[m] Hæres. 19. Luth. de Votis Monast. Ruffin. l. i. c. 17. Epist. Bas. 85.
[n] Hier. ad Theop. advers. Joh. Hierosol.
[o] Chrysost. [p] Aug. Confess. l. x. c. 37.
[q] And. Fricius Modrevius, lib. de Emendandâ Repub.
[r] Examen Pacifique de la Doctrine des Huguenots.

And, for us, since we must needs be put to it, we shall not here, as it often falls out in other quarrels, strive to our loss. Abraham fared well, by the dissentions of Lot: all the milk and honey of whole Palestine hereupon befell to him; whereof he should else have shared but the half. Doubtless, these contentions, through the goodness of God, shall enrich us with a great increase both of truth and glory.

CHAP. II.

BECAUSE A CONFESSION OF THE SAME CREED IS NOT SUFFICIENT.

It is not Cassander's speech only, but every wise and honest man's, that the Creed is the common cognizance of our faith; and we all do, with one voice, willingly profess it.

Surely Theodoret, when he would, by a favourable report, allay the bitter contentions of those ancient Christians of Antioch, writes thus: "Both parts," saith he, "made one and the same confession of their faith; for both maintained the Creed of the Nicene Council." And yet this position is spitefully handled by Cardinal Bellarmin; and can scarce draw breath, since his last stripes: "What care we," saith he, "for the same Creed? Faith is not in words, but in the sense."

And, indeed, I remember what Ruffinus reports done by Arius. That worthy, Constantine, had charged him to write what faith he held: he delivered him a Creed; in words, ours; in sense, his own. And how right his wicked brood took after their father, in the ensuing times of the Church, let histories witness. Sure I am, whosoever shall read the Creeds of their several sects, shall hardly fetch out any thing, which an orthodox censurer would think worthy of reproof. How oft do they yield Christ to be God; yea, God of God; and yet perfidiously reserve to themselves, in the mean time, that absurd conceit, that he was created *ex non entibus!*

As, therefore, Severianus, the Syrian, in Theodoret, spake Greek as a Grecian, but pronounced it like a Syrian: so there may be many, which may speak truths, but pronounce them heretically. "For all heresies," saith Irenæus; "talk of one God, but mar him with their misconceits." "Yea, for the most part, all heresies," saith Chrysologus, "set a face of the Trinity." To little purpose. It was not ill said of Gratian, "That no man is to care for words, since that not the meaning should serve the words, but the words rather the meaning."

Neque enim istic, quod alibi sæpè solet, damnis desudascitur. Bene cessit Abrahæ Loti dissidium; integra hinc illi obtigit lactea ac mellea Palestinæ regio, quam alioqui fortè dimidiatam possedisset. Ditabunt nos, Dei virtute, lites istæ magno fœnore veritatis ac gloriæ.

CAP. II.

QUIA NON SUFFICIT EJUSDEM SYMBOLI CONFESSIO.

At omnium illud, non unius Cassandri[s], in ore est: Communis fidei tessera Symbolum est; idemque nos uno ore omnes lubentissimè profitemur.

Certè Theodoretus, cùm Antiochenorum acerrimè contendentium inimicitias stylo minuere vellet: "Erat," inquit[t], "utriusque partis una eademque fidei confessio, quòd ambæ Nicenam Synodum propugnarent." Quod tamen etiam adhuc à Bellarmini lacertis et languet, et calet. "Quanti enim est," inquit[u], "idem Symbolum? Non in verbis, sed in sensu, fides est."

Et sanè memini quod olim ab Ario factum narrat Ruffinus[x]. Jusserat illum scilicet Constantinus manu suâ scribere, quid de Fide sentiret: is Fidem, verbis nostram, sensu suam, exarâsse dicitur. Et quàm benè patrissârint ejus nepotes, proximis Ecclesiæ seculis, loquantur historiæ. Quisquis certè *Ἐξουκοντιῶν* et Homoiusiastῶν Symbola pellegerit, vix quid inde eruet, quod orthodoxi censores meritò reprehendendum censeant. Quoties illi Christum Deum appellant, etiam de Deo; creatum tamen interea ex non entibus, sibi perfidiosè servant!

Ut, ergo, Severianus ille Syrus, apud Theodoretum, Græcè quidem locutus est ut Græcus, sed ut Syrus pronunciavit: ita plerique orthodoxa loquuntur, pronuntiant interim hæreticè. "Omnes enim Hæreses," inquit Irenæus[y], "Deum unum dicunt, sed per sententiam malam immutant." "Et omnes Hæreses," inquit Chrysologus[z], "Trinitatem mentiuntur vocabulis[a]." Docuit ergo nos non malè Gratianus[b], "Verba nemini curæ esse debere, cùm non intentio verbis, sed verba intentioni debeant inservire."

[s] Lib. de Offic. Boni Viri.
[t] Theod. Hist. l. iii. c. 4.
[u] Bell. de Laicis. lib. iii. c. 19.
[x] Ruff. Hist. l. iii. c. 19.
[y] Iren. l. i. c. 9.
[z] Petr. Chrysol. Serm. 109.
[a] This quotation from Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, (A. D. 433-451,) is supplied in the text from a note appended to the original edition of the Latin.—H.
[b] Decr. 22. q. 5. *Humanæ.*

Let us grant all this, and more. Let it be said of the Creed, as Jerome said of the book of Job, that every word abounds with senses. "There is no Divine Word," as Tertullian speaketh wisely, "so dissolute and diffused, that only the words may be defended, and not the true meaning of the words set down." To put the Cardinal out of this needless fear, the proper and native sense of the Creed may be fetched out: and, I add yet more (except but that one article of Christ's descension into hell, which Ruffinus confesses he could not find, either in the Roman or Eastern Creeds) is openly confessed on both parts.

And yet, for all this, we are never the nearer to peace: for from these common principles of faith, the subtle device of heretical pravity hath fetched strange and erroneous consequences, which, by their sophistical and obstinate handling, are now improved into heresies; and dare now threaten, not only opposition, but death unto those very principles, from which they are raised.

Of this kind, are the most of those Romish opinions, which we undertake to censure in this discourse.

But, if, by the universal consent of all, it should appear that both word and sense are entire; that both the principles, and necessary conclusions thence deduced, are undeniably sound; "Yet," saith Bellarmin, "there can be no peace with Lutherans." Let all the world know this, and wonder.

Our King (be it spoken to the envy of those which cannot emulate him, an incomparable Divine for a Prince, yea, a Prince of Divines, a king of men, and a wonder of kings, mighty both with his sceptre and his pen) going about, in that learned and ponderous Discourse, to clear himself from the aspersion of heresy, which that foul hand had unworthily cast upon him, professes solemnly and holily, that whatsoever is contained either in the Sacred Scriptures, or the Three Famous Creeds, or the Four First General Councils, that, he embraces with both arms; that, he proclaims for his faith; that, he will defend with his tongue, with his pen, with his sword; in that, he will both live and die.

Yea, but this is not enough, saith that great antagonist of princes: for there are other points of faith, wherewith religion is, now of late times, enlarged; as transubstantiation, purgatory, the Pope's primacy: a whole dozen of these goodly articles hath the Tridentine Council created, in this decayed age of the world, lest the Fathers of Italy should seem to come short of the Apostles, and the Pope of Christ; any parcel whereof,

[c] Hier. in Præfat.
[d] Tert. de Præscript. s. 9.
[e] Ruffin. in Symbol.
[f] De Laicis. l. iii. c. 19. sect. 4.
[g] In Præfat. ad Imper. et Principes.
[h] Bell. Resp. ad Regem. *Non satis est, ad hæreticum nomen fugiendum, illa*

Esto autem. Dicat illud quispiam de Symbolo, quod de Jobi libro Hieronymus[c], singula verba plena esse sensibus. "Nulla profectò Vox Divina," ut prudenter Tertullianus[d], "ita dissoluta est et diffusa, ut verba tantum defendantur, et ratio verborum non constituatur." Sensus ille quisquis est Symboli genuinus, elici potest: addo etiam, (si unum illum de Christi ad inferos descensu, quem in Symbolis Romanis, sed et Orientalibus, frustra se quæsisse fatetur Ruffinus[e], exceperis,) utrisque in confessio est.

Neque tamen ulla beare nos potest concordiæ spes: ab istis enim communibus fidei principiis, hæreticæ pravitatis acumine, consecutiones quædam malesanæ vulgò derivari solent, quæ pertinaci tandem litigio in hæreses excrevere; ipsisque demum principiis et litem intentârunt, et penè mortem.

Hujuscemodi sunt plæraque Romanorum dogmatum, quæ nos libellulo hôc passim agitamus.

Sed ut, unanimi omnium consensu, verbis, sensui, principiis, conclusionibusque necessariis, sua utrinque sanitas constet, "Nulla tamen," Bellarminus inquit[f], "pax Lutheranis." Intelligat hoc nunc orbis universus, et obstupescat.

Rex noster (ut, æmulari quibus non licet, invideant; Deus bone, quantus et inter Principes Theologus, et Princeps Theologorum; Rex hominum, Regum stupor; quàm et sceptro potens et calamo!) hæreseos sibi maculam, vah quàm spurcâ manu adspersam, detersurus; profitetur[g] seriò sanctèque, quicquid vel Pagina Sacra, vel Symbola Tria, vel Concilia Quatuor in se complexa fuerint, illud se totum ulnis ambabus amplexari; illud profiteri; illud ore, calamo, gladio tueri se; illud denique, vel extremò migrantis animæ spiritu, defensurum.

Atqui verò istoc non sufficit, regerit magnus ille antagonista regum[h]: sunt et alia fidei dogmata, quibus jam serò auxit religio[i]; transubstantiatio, purgatorium, primatus Pontificius: nempe duodecim harum baccharum articulos creavit in hôc mundi senio Tridentum, ne impares viderentur Apostolis Patres Itali, Christo Pontifex; quorum quisquis vel minimam

recipere, quæ Rex Anglorum recipere atque admittere se dicit. p. 80. *Etiamsi novitia et nupera illa sint, si quis tamen ea neget, immunem ab hæresi non fore.* p. 98.

[i] Bulla Pii Quarti super For. Jur.

whosoever shall presume to call in question, is a heretic presently, and smells of the faggot.

And, how ordinarily is that laid in every dish, "That he cannot be a member of the Church, which withdraws his obedience from their Pope, the head of the Church."

Neither is that any whit milder, which Gratian cites from Pope Nicholas the Second; "Whosoever goes about to infringe the privilege of the Roman Church, or derogates from her authority, is a heretic."

But that is yet well worse, which the allowed Table of the Decree hath peremptorily broached: "Whosoever obeys not the Pope's commandment, incurs the sin of idolatry;" or, (as Gregory the Seventh, from whom Gratian would seem to borrow this, which yet is not to be found in his Epistles,) "of Paganism."

Whatsoever, therefore, Christ Jesus, whatsoever the Apostles, whatsoever the Councils and Fathers of the Primitive Church have commended to us to be believed, shall avail us little, neither can ever make us friends, unless we will be content to beslave our faith unto their Popeling.

And can they think we will look at peace, upon such a condition? That hope were bold and foolish, that could expect this. Neither do they more scornfully cast us out of the bosom of their Church, for spitting at these Articles of Straw, which their vanity hath devised; than we can confidently condemn and execrate their presumption, which have so imperiously obtruded such trash as this upon the Church of God.

CHAP. III.

FROM THE NATURE OF THE MATTERS CONTROVERTED.

SECT. 1. *From the Impuration, or Corruption, of the Roman Church.*

BUT, to leave this first head of our adversaries' indisposition to peace; say that the Papists could be content to hearken to an agreement, (which I can never hope to see, while Rome is itself;) say they should seek it: yet, as things now stand, while they will not, and we may not, stir one inch from our station of judgment, God forbids, the truth debars our reconciliation. We dare not, whatsoever some kind-hearted mediators may persuade us, either divide Christ, or betray him with a kiss. The truth is on high: "They may well ascend to us," as Leo said of old; "but for us to descend to them, is neither safe nor honest."

particulam in discrimen vocitaverit, illicò hæreticus est, olet faculam.

Illud verò quàm usque ad nauteam, "Ecclesiæ membrum esse non posse, qui capiti Ecclesiæ, Pontifici, obsequium detrectaverit[k]."

Nec quid olim mitius à Nicolao Secundo, Gratianus; "Qui Romanæ Ecclesiæ privilegium auferre conatur (vel authoritati ejus derogat) hæreticus est[l]."

Quin adhuc atrocius est, quod Tabula nobis Martiniana insusurrat[m]: "Qui præcepto Papæ non obedit, peccatum Idololatriæ incurrit;" vel, ut Gregorius ille Septimus, â quo mutuari ista voluit Gratianus[n], quæ tamen nusquam in ejus Epistolis occurrunt, "Paganitatis."

Quicquid ergo Christus, quicquid Apostoli, Concilia, sanctique nascentis Ecclesiæ Patres nobis credendum proposuerint, parùm profectò juverit, neque nos unà convenas facere potuerit, nisi hodierno etiam Pontificulo fidem nostram mancupio dederimus.

Istâc verò lege ut nos pacem mavelimus? Quidvis ilicet sperare ausit, qui hoc autumet. Neque illi nos fastidiosiùs ex Ecclesiæ suæ gremio ejecerint, qui Stramineos hosce Articulos usque conspuimus; quàm nos illos, Ecclesiæ Dei hæc talia tanto molimine plusquàm tyrannicè obtrudentes, fidentèr damnamus et execramur.

CAP. III.

EX NATURA RERUM CONTROVERSARUM.

SECT. 1. *Ex Impuratione, sive Corruptione, Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*

SED, ut Pontificii velint maximè (quod nullus equidem sperârim, ex quo in suum immigravit ingenium Roma) ambiantque concordiam: Deus ipse renuit, refragatur veritas; dummodo illis non placet, nobis non licet, vel latum unguem à statu discedere. Ilicet non audemus nos, quicquid boni mediatores suaserint, vel dividereChristum, vel osculo prodere. In sublimi veritas est: "Ascendere illis fas est," quod olim Leo[o] et Gelasius; "nobis descendere nec tutum, nec verò honestum."

[k] Bell. de Laicis. l. ii. c. 19. [l] Dist. 22. *Omnes.*
[m] Margaritæ Decret. In verbo, *Inobedientia.*
[n] Dist. 81. *Si qui.* [o] Epist. ad Euphem. cit. Bell. de Laicis. l. iii.

First of all, how too plain is it, that THE ROMAN CHURCH IS PALPABLY DECLINED FROM THAT ANCIENT PURITY OF RELIGION, WHICH SHE ONCE PROFESSED! It is not more certain and sensible, that the City of Rome is descended from her seven hills to the Martian plains, that lie below them; or, that the spiteful Heathens of old, as Eusebius reports, turned the sacred monument of the tomb of Christ into the temple of their Venus.

What a cloud of witnesses have we, of this noted decay of that Church! yea, witnesses of their own!

To begin with that other sex. Hildegardis, a nun and a famous prophetess of her time, accuses the Apostolical Order of the utter extinguishing of religion amongst them: Matilda or Maud, who lived in the same age, censures them with common apostasy from the Christian Faith: and both of them, by some extraordinary revelation, clearly and directly prophesied of this religious and holy restoration of the Church, which our days see accomplished. St. Bridget, the foundress of the Order of St. Saviour, which was canonized by Pope Urban, sticks not to teach openly in her writings, that the Pope doth "torment, yea, crucify the souls of the elect;" and boldly foretells, that all his followers and abettors and whole clergy shall be cut off, and that his See shall sink down into the bottom of hell: and this she doth so tartly and vehemently, that the Romanists of those times threatened and endeavoured to burn her alive. Robert, our Bishop of Lincoln, to whom the greatness of his head gave a homely but famous name, whom Illyricus mis-named Rupertus, a worthy and peerless man in his age, durst, before the Pope's own face, openly accuse the pastors of his time to be the spoilers of the earth, the dispersers and devourers of God's flock, the utter wasters of the holy vineyard of God. That Carthusian of Cologne, which is said to have gathered that Book of the Bundle of Times, complains that truth was then perished from the sons of men. Petrus de Aliaco, a Cardinal, confesses that the ancient Divines built up the Church, but the then present seducers destroyed it. And unto these agree John de Rupescissa, a monk; Picus, earl of Mirandula; Trithemius, the abbot; Laurence Valla; and those worthy lights of the Council of Basil, the Cardinal of Arles and Thomas de Corsellis. But Nicholas Clemangis, the Archdeacon of Bayeux, speaks nothing but stones and bullets; who, in a whole volume, hath freely painted out the corrupt estate of the Church: neither did Dominicus, Bishop of Brixia, speak any whit more sparingly; who, even in those times,

[p] Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 25. (Potiùs, Euseb. Vita Const. l. iii. c. 26.—A.)
[q] Anno 1170.
[r] Ex Loc. Com. Henr. Token. Illyric. (col. 1487. edit. 1608.)
[s] Proph. Rythmic. [t] Vita S. Brig. Præfixa Revel.

Quàm illud imprimis nimium constat, ECCLESIAM ROMANAM A PRIMIGENIA RELIGIONIS PURITATE LONGIUS DEFLEXISSE. Nihilo certius est Romam urbem à suis collibus ad vallem Martiam descendisse; aut Ethnicos olim, referente Eusebio[p], Veneris templo sacrum Christi tumulum polluisse.

Quanta hîc nubes testium, etiam suorum!

Vel à fœminis ordiamur. Hildegardis monacha, non obscuri nominis prophetissa[q], extinctæ religionis accusat Ordinem Apostolicum; coætanea huic Matilda[r], communis à fide Christianâ Apostasias; pientissimamque Ecclesiæ, nostro ævo, instaurationem, utraque, venturi præscia[s], clarissimè prænuntiavit. Sancta Brigida[t], fundatrix Ordinis S. Salvatoris, ab Urbano Papâ canone donata[u], Papam "cruciare, imo crucifigere, electorum animas," palàm docet[x]; omnesque sequaces ejus fautores ac clericos abscissum iri, sedemque in profundum inferni demersam prædicit[y]: tam acriter verò istud, ut rogum illi, jam tum superstiti, et minitati fuerint, et extruxerint Romulei nepotes. Robertus ille nostras Lincolniensis Episcopus[z], cui capitis moles nomen tribuit[a], quemque perplexè Rupertum appellavit Illyricus[b], (quantus vir!) seculi sui pastores desolatores terræ, gregis Dominici dispersores dilaceratoresque, vineæ depastores et demolitores[c], coram ipso Pontifice[d] palàm arguere ausus est. Carthusianus ille Coloniensis, qui Fasciculum congessisse Temporum dicitur[e], diminutas queritur veritates à filiis hominum. Petrus de Aliaco, Cardinalis, veteres Theologos Ecclesiam ædificâsse, præsentes seductores eam divastare, confitetur[f]. Concinunt hisce Joannes de Rupescissa, monachus[g], Joannes Picus Mirandulanus Comes[h], Tritemius Abbas, Laurentius Valla[i]; lumina Concilii Basiliensis, Cardinalis Arelatensis, et Thomas de Corsellis[k]. Lapides loquitur Nicolaus ille Clemangius, Archidiaconus Bajocensis[l], qui justo volumine corruptum Ecclesiæ statum liberè depinxit; neque multò hercle parciùs, Dominicus Episcopus Brixiensis[m],

[p] Anno 1370.
[q] Revel. Extravag. c. 8.
[r] Grosse-teste, in Manuscript.
[s] Revel. l. i. c. 41.
[t] Anno 1250.
[u] Jo. Trevisa, Mona. transtulit Anglicè.
[x] Habetur initio Polychron. Ranulphi, in Manuscript.
[y] Hussius citavit, et ex illo Illyr. (Catalogus Testium Veritatis. col. 1591. edit. 1608.—A.)
[z] De Statu Ecclesiæ: anno 900.
[a] Artic. in Concil. Constant. editi 1535.
[b] Anno 1350. lib. Vade-mecum. (Vide Oudini Comment. de Script. Eccles. tom. iii. col. 1014.—A.)
[c] Lib. Advers. Ement. Donat. Constant.
[d] In Epist. 1500.
[e] Ænæas Syl. de Gest. Concil.
[f] Anno 1416.
[g] Ad Pium II. Lib. Reform. Cur. Rom.

durst set before his book this title, "The Reformation of Rome." To say nothing of Joachim; of Peter, of Ferrara, the lawyer; of the three Theodoricks; of Lyra, Petrarch, Gerson, Everard the Bishop of Salisburg, Erasmus, Cassander, Espencæus, the Jury of Cardinals selected by Paul the Third, (amongst which, Gasper Contarini, James Sadolet, and our Cardinal Pole were, as they might, of eminent note;) Alvarus Pelagius, Savonarola of Florence; and whomsoever those times yielded at once both learned and good. Even Pope Adrian himself, the Sixth of that name, while he instructs his Legate in his message, censures the Church; and ingenuously complains, that all was gone to wreck and ruin.

What shall we then say to this? Can any man be so partial, as to think that so many saints of both sexes, prophets, prophetesses, monks, doctors, cardinals, popes, should, as Jerome speaks of the Luciferian heretics, merely devise these slanders to the disgrace of their holy mother? If any man be so mad, he is well worthy to be ever deceived.

Indeed, Rome was once *a holy city;* Matt. iv. 5: but now, as no less famous the other way, she is become *a city of blood;* Ezek. xxiv. 6; 9. This grape is grown a dry raisin. Neither did that good hermit, Antony, so justly say of his Alexandria, as we may now of Rome; "Woe to thee, thou strumpetly city, into which the devils out of all the rest of the world have assembled themselves."

Certainly, therefore, so shameful and general a deformity could not but be discerned by our latter Papists; and, to avoid all shifts, we have gently and lovingly laid our finger upon these spots. But, in the mean time, how heinously have they taken it! and, as Ruffinus speaks of Apollinaris the heretic, While they are transported with the vicious humour of contention, and will be crossing every thing that is spoken, out of the vain ostentation of a strong wit, they have improved their idle brabbles to heresies. Jerome said wittily; "They use to wink and deny, which believe not that to be done, which they would not have done."

Sect. 2. *From the wilful Fable of the Pope's Infallibility.*

It is therefore a most lamentable and fearful case, that a Church, which, of her own favourites, is justly acused of many and dangerous errors, should block up against herself the way whereby she should return into the truth; and, as Francis à

[n] Anno 1400. [o] Aventin. Annal. lib. vii.
[p] Osiand. Confut. Thes. Costeri. [q] Espenc. in Tit.
[r] Jo. Mirandula, Marsil. Ficinus et Comineus hunc prophetam nuncup.

qui etiam tum libello suo titulum ausus præfigere, "Romæ Reformationem." Taceo Joachimum[n], Petrum Ferrariensem jurisconsultum, Theodoricos tres[o], Lyranum, Petrarcham, Gersonem, Everhardum Episcopum Salisburgensem[p], Erasmum, Cassandrum, Espencæum[q], Cardinales à Paulo Tertio delectos, (inter quos Gaspar Contarenus, Jacobus Sadoletus, Polus nostras emicuerunt,) Alvarum Pelagium, Salvanarolam Florentinum[r]; et quem non, doctorum simul et bonorum? Sed et ipse Adrianus Sextus Papa, dum Legatos suos instruit, Ecclesiam criminatur, omnia in pessum demutata ingenuè quiritatus[s].

Quid vero? Eccui in mentem venire potest, tot Divos Divasque, (date veniam elegantiæ Lipsianæ, à Bellarmino malè mulctatæ,) prophetas ac prophetidas, pontifices, cardinales, monachos, doctores, ista in piæ matris contumeliam, quod de Luciferianis olim Hieronymus[t], temerè confinxisse? Dignus ille profecto est, cui sacer hic dolus usque obsit.

Fuit quidem olim Roma πόλις ἁγία, Matt. iv. 5; at jam, in aliam partem palmam possidens, עִיִּיךְ תִּדְמִים; Ezek. xxii. 2. Ἀσταφύλος σταφὶς ἔστι[u]. Neque tam nimio jure istud de suâ Alexandriâ prædicârit bonus eremita Antonius, quàm nos de Româ hodiernâ, "Væ tibi, civitas meretrix, in quam totius orbis dæmonia confluxêre[x]."

Quid ergo? Latere quidem nuperos Pontificiorum deformitas tanta non potuit; quin et nos digito modestè comitérque labes hasce monstravimus. Ipsi interim quantum indignati! quodque de Apollinari hæretico Ruffinus[y], Dum contentionis vitio nimis aguntur, et adversus omne, quod quisque dixerit, ire obvii delectantur, jactatione ingenii malè fortis, hæresin ex contentione generârunt. Pulchrè Hieronymus[z]: "Solent oculis clausis denegare, qui non credunt factum esse quod nolunt."

Sect. 2. *Ex pertinaci illâ Fabulâ Infallibilitatis Papisticæ.*

Illud igitur planè miserrimum est, ut quæ à suis fœdi ac multijugis erroris accusatur Ecclesia, viam sibi præcluserit ad veritatis metam redeundi; et, quod ingenuè queritur Franciscus

[n] Osiand. Papa non Papa. (seu, Papæ et Papicolarum de præcip. Christianæ doctrinæ partibus. Tubing. 1559.—A.)
[o] Hieron. advers. Luciferianos. *Ecclesia facta lupinar.* (tom. i. p. 164. edit. 1616.)
[p] Theocrit. Idyl. κη.
[q] Ruff. Hist. l. i. c. 20.
[r] Hier. de Vitâ Pauli.
[s] Hier. Advers. Luciferianos. (p. 169.)

Victoria honestly complains, should neither endure her own evils, nor their remedies. For, while she stands upon it, that she cannot err; and stubbornly challenges unto her chair a certain IMPECCANCY OF JUDGMENT, that we may borrow a word from Tertullian; what hope can now remain of recovering the truth? How are we now too saucy, that dare mutter ought against her! The first hope of health must needs be fetched from the sense and acknowledgment of the disease. That of the Epicure is common and true: "The beginning of recovery is the knowledge of the fault." "Thou must find thyself amiss," saith Seneca, "ere thou canst amend thyself." Rome brags that she cannot be sick: what do we now talk of medicines for her? These Doctrinal Principles, as our Stapleton calls them, are they, from which a certain fatal necessity of erring must needs follow.

For, to what purpose is all this we do? If, upon the sentence of this Romish Oracle (for in the closet, or prison rather, of his breast, as Jerome objected to John of Jerusalem, the Church is included) all things do so depend, that, whatsoever he shall determine must be received without all contradiction, and his decree can by no inferior means be repealed: in vain, do we wrangle for truth; in vain, have all those former Synods both met and defined; in vain, do we either teach or learn ought of any other master. Is it possible she should ever be drawn to remorse for her error, which eagerly defends that she cannot err? Either, therefore, let our Papists suffer this vain opinion of Infallibility to be pulled up by the very roots out of their breasts, or else there can be no hope so much as of a consultation of peace.

And do we think that our masters beyond the Alps will ever abide themselves stripped of this darling, which they have made so dainty of all this while? Why do we not as well demand St. Peter's throne, and his revenues; and, together with his patrimony, all the body of religion? For, what one tittle is there of the now Roman faith, that hangs not on this string? Let them give us this, and Rome falls alone, and lies shamefully in the dust. Let them deny it us, and she shall be still that great harlot, still an enemy to peace, still hateful to heaven. But, so far are their modern Doctors from an ingenuous rejection of Infallibility, that no age ever knew so well how to flatter a Pope. For not only have some yielded this unto him, without a Council; as Albert Pighius, Gretser, Bellarmin, and all

[a] Fr. à Victoria, Relect. 4; De Potestate Papæ et Concilii: Propos. 12; Sect. ult. *Proventum est ad hunc talem statum, ubi nec mala nostra, nec remedia pati possumus.*

[b] Senec. Ep. 28.

à Victoria[a], nec mala sua, nec remedia ferre possit. Dum enim errare se non posse contendit, et quandam JUDICII IMPECCANTIAM (detur Tertulliani verbo venia) Cathedræ suæ pertinaciùs vindicat, quæ nunc spes restat recuperandæ veritatis? Næ nos modò audaculi sumus, qui quid contra mussitare ausi! Prima sanitatis spes à morbi sensu et agnitione petatur necesse est. Celebre est illud Epicuri; "Initium salutis notitia peccati." "Deprehendas te oportet," inquit Seneca[b], "antequam emendes." Ægrotare se non posse Roma gloriatur; quid nos istic medicinam frustra meditamur? Principia hæc Doctrinalia, quæ vocat Stapletonus noster, illa sunt, à quibus fatalis quædam errandi necessitas necessariò consequetur.

Quid enim agimus? Si ab Oraculi Pontificii sententiâ (hujus enim non tam scrinio, quàm ergastulo, quod olim fastidiosè de Joanne Hierosolymitano Hieronymus[c], includitur Ecclesia) ita pendent omnia, ut quicquid ipse dictaverit, ἀναντιφωνήτως recipi debeat, nec ullâ unquam ratione δικῇ ἀνάδικος fieri possit: frustra mehercle litigamus; frustra convenêre tot Synodi, (ut verè Erasmus,) frustra definiêre; frustra nos vel docemus quid, vel discimus. Fierine potest, ut facti ducatur pœnitentiâ unquam, qui peccare se non posse solerter defendit? Aut ergo evelli sibi sinant Pontificii radicitus hanc futilem certè ἀπλανείας opinionem, aut nulla sperari potest ineundæ pacis consultatio.

Hanccine verè sibi Helenam (quam nimium usque delicatam habuerunt) facilè abreptam patientur Transalpini? Quin Petri non solium modò, sed et census unà omnes exposcimus, et integram cum vectigali religionem? Ecquis enim Romanæ (quæ nunc est) fidei apiculus non istinc pendet? Scilicet hoc dato ceciderit profectò Babylon, ceciderit, et in cineres turpiter abierit: negato autem, usque meretrix erit illa magna, usque gravis paci, usque infensa cœlo. Atqui tam longè absunt ab hac ingenuâ Infallibilitatis explosione doctores hodierni, ut nulla unquam tempora æque nôrint Pontificibus supparasitari. Neque enim modò hoc illi sine Concilio indulserunt Albertus Pighius[d], Gretserus, Bellarminus[e], et quotquot sunt uspiam

[c] Epist. ad Pammach. de Error. Joh. Hierosol. *An tu solus Ecclesia?* (Epist. 61. Cap. 16.)
[d] Hier. Eccl. l. iv. *Si maturè procedat.*
[e] Bell. de Pont. Rom. l. iv. c. 2.

Jesuits wheresoever: but some others; as Gregory of Valentia, have fastened this upon him, without any care or study required on his part. O happy chair of Peter, firm, eternal, full of prodigious virtue! which if we might imagine a wooden one, I should sure think were made of Irish oak: there is no spider of error can touch it, but presently dies. Behold, the tables, written with God's own hand, were soon broken and gone; but the bars of thy frame can feel no age, cannot incur the danger of any miscarriage. Sure I think Vibius Rufus is alive again; which, because he sat in the same seat wherein Julius Cæsar had sat, and married Cicero's wife, had wont to vaunt of both: as if he should sure be Cæsar, for his seat; or, for his wife, Cicero. Belike, all the virtue of it is from Peter. It is well, that his other successors conferred nothing towards it: lest, perhaps, Alexander the VIth., should have turned the succeeding popes into letchers; Clement, into sacrilegious church-robbers; Julius, into swaggerers; Benedict, Gregory, Sylvester, into simonists; Pascalis, into perjurers; Pope Joan of Mentz, into women; Martin, and that other Sylvester, into magicians; the two Johns, into devils incarnate.

Now, on the other part, can any man be so foolish, to hope that our Church will ever be so mad, as thus basely to bolster up the great bridge-maker of Tiber: as though we could be ignorant, how Christ never either performed or promised them any such privilege? For where is it written, as Luther jested well, unless perhaps at Rome, in St. Peter's, upon some chimney, with a coal? Christ said, indeed, *Thou art Peter:* Matt. xvi. 18; but, "Thou art Paul the Fifth," he never said. He said, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not:* Matt. xxvi. 32; so he said too, *Go behind me, Satan, thou savourest not the things of God:* Matt. xvi. 23. Now, let this Oracle of the Chair teach us, how he can, at once, make himself full heir of the promise, and yet shift off the censure at pleasure.

Yet, to tread in the steps of the times, as though we could not know that the following ages knew not of this; not Policrates and Irenæus, which resisted Victor the Pope; not Cyprian, which opposed Stephen; not the Fathers of Chalcedon, which would not yield to Leo; nor the Eastern Bishops, which would not yield to Julius; nor the Fathers of Constantinople, which refused to yield to Vigilius and Honorius: yea, of the latter days, those, which have had either sense or shame, as John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, Turrecremata, Almaine,

[f] G. Valentia. Analys. Fidei. l. viii. de Vi et Usu Auctorit. Romani Pontific. in Fide. Quæst. Sexta. *Respondeo, sive Pontifex in definiendo studium adhibeat, sive non adhibeat; modò tamen controversiam definiat, infallibiliter certè definiet, atque adeò re ipsâ utitur authoritate sibi à Christo concessâ.* Addit statim: *Eâdem fide credere debemus illum, quandò rem controversam definit, sufficientem adhibuisse diligentiam.*

Jesuitæ; sed et Greg. Valentianus[f], sine curâ et studio. Euge Cathedram Petri stabilem, æternam, plenam prodigiosæ virtutis! quam si mihi fas ligneam fingere, abietario non malo è quercu Hibernicâ proculdubio dolatam autumem; ita nulla illam tangit erroris aranea, quin occidit illicò. Ecce tabulæ, divinâ manu exaratæ, statim confractæ perierunt; asserculi verò tui ætatem non sentiunt, nec quo hæreseos vitio maculantur scilicet. Vibius profectò Rufus mihi nunc redivivus est, qui in sellâ semper sedebat, in quâ Julius Cæsar, uxoremque duxit Ciceronis, de utroque gloriari solitus, quasi aut propter sellam Cæsar, aut propter uxorem Orator futurus[g]. Omnis nempe hinc à Petro virtus. Bene est reliquos proavorum nihil quicquam contulisse: ne fortè Alexander Sextus successores suos in cinædos; Clemens in sacrilegos; Julius in sicarios; Benedictus, Gregorius, Sylvester in simoniacos; Pascalis in perjuros; Joanna Moguntina in fœminas; Martinus, et Sylvester alter, in magos; Joannes uterque in diabolos incarnatos, transmutâsset[h].

Ex alterâ autem parte, quenquamne hominum subire potest spes, eò unquam insaniæ pervenire posse Ecclesiam nostram, ut sublicium hoc demùm substernat Pontifici Tyberino? Quasi nos latere possit, quàm nusquam hoc illis Christus vel præstiterit, vel promiserit. Ubi enim hoc scriptum, ut meritò jocatur Lutherus[i]? An fortè Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, in camino quopiam? Dixit quidem, *Tu es Petrus:* Matt. xvi. 18; at, Tu es Paulus Quintus, nullus unquam dixerit: Dixit, *Rogavi pro te, ne deficeret tibi fides:* Matt. xxii. 32; dixit et, *Vade post me, Satana, non sapis quæ Dei sunt:* Matt. xvi. 23. Doceat nos nunc Oraculum illud Cathedralitium, quî tandem, hæres ex asse promissi, censuram abdicaverit.

Etiam, ut temporis vestigia premamus, quàm non nôrit hoc ætas succedanea; non Polycrates et Irenæus qui Victori, non Cyprianus qui Stephano, non Chalcedonenses qui Leoni, non Orientales Episcopi qui Julio, non Constantinopolitani Patres qui Vigilio et Honorio cedere noluerunt: sed et è nuperis, qui vel nasum habuêre, vel frontem, Joannes ille Cancellarius Parisiensis, Turrecremata, Almainius[k], Alphonsus de Castro[l],

[g] Xiphilin. Epit. Dionis. Tiberio. *Δίφρῳ τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐφ' οὗ ἀεὶ πότε ἐκαθίζετο, &c. σεμνυνόμενος ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ, ὥσπερ ἡ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ῥητωρ, ἡ διὰ τὸν δίφρον Καῖσαρ, ἰσόμενος.*

[h] Quær. Plat. de Vitis horum Pontif. Clem. VI. Jul. II. Ben. IX. Greg. VI. Sylvest. III. Mart. II. Sylvest. II. Joh. XXII. et XXIII.

[i] Luth. advers. falso nomine Episc.

[k] Alm. lib. de Potest. Eccles.

[l] Alphons. de Castro, contra Hæres. l. i. c. 2.

Alphonsus de Castro, Pope Adrian the VIth, Archbishop Catharinus, Cardinal Cajetan, Franciscus à Victoria; and who not, of the best rank of their Doctors, have not feared openly to deny and disclaim this fancy. And Alphonsus shall give a reason thereof, for all: "There are many unlearned Popes," saith he, "that know not so much as the rules of grammar: how then should they be able to interpret the Holy Scriptures?"

As though we knew not which of their Popes favoured Arius, which Montanus, which Nestorius, which Acacius, which the Monothelites, which the Sadducees, and which were in league with Devils; which of them have defined contrary to their fellows, and which contrary to God; and, that I may use Jerome's words, how silly a pilot hath ofttimes steered the leaking vessel of the Church!

As though every tapster and tinker, now-a-days, could not point their finger to the long bead-roll of Popes; and say, "Such and such were the monsters of men: such," as Platina, Lyra, Genebrard confess, "were Apotactical and Apostatical miscreants." I wis, their life hath been long the table-talk of the world, as Bernard speaks.

There can, therefore, be no peace possible, unless they will be content to be headless, or we can be content to be the slaves of Rome. Imagine they could be so ingenuous, as to confess that the same serpent, which insinuated himself of old into paradise, might perhaps creep closely into Peter's chair; yet there would be no less controversy *de facto*, than of the possibility of error.

SECT. 3. *From other Opinions of the Romanists.*

I. *Those which chiefly respect Men:—The Roman Heresy concerning* (1.) *Justification:* (2.) *Free-will:* (3.) *Merits:* (4.) *Satisfaction:* (5.) *Purgatory:* (6.) *Indulgences and Pardons:* (7.) *The Distinction of Mortal and Venial Sins.*

BESIDES, there are other Popish opinions of the same stamp, but more pragmatical; which are not more pernicious to the Church, than to Commonweals: as those of the power of both swords, of the deposition of princes, disposing of kingdoms, absolving of subjects, frustration of oaths (sufficiently canvassed of late, both by the Venetian Divines, and French, and ours) which are so palpably opposite to the liberty of Christian go-

[m] Adr. VI. in Quæst. de Confirmatione.
[n] Cathar. de Certit. Gratiæ. ass. 13.
[o] Relect. 4. de Potest. Papæ.
[p] Bellar. plerosque horum recenset. De Pontif. l. iv. c. 2.
[q] Alphons. de Castro, contra Hæres. lib. i. cap. 4.

Adrianus Sextus Papa[m], Archiepiscopus Catharinus[n], Cardinalis Cajetanus, Franciscus à Victoria[o], aliique passim complures non infimæ classis Theologi, palam istud negare non dubitârunt[p]. Instar omnium, rationem hujus rei reddiderit Alphonsus[q]: "Multi Papæ, adeò," inquit, "illiterati, ut Grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut Sacras Literas interpretari possint[r]?"

Quasi nos fugiat, quinam Pontificum Ario, qui Montano, qui Nestorio, qui Acacio, qui Monothelitis, qui Sadducæis, qui Dæmonibus favere non dedignati fuerint; quæ sibi contraria edixerint, quæ Deo; quàmque perforatam navim (Hieronymi verbis) debilis sæpe rexerit gubernator!

Quasi è tam longâ Pontificum serie, quæ portenta hominum, qui Apotactici, Apostaticique olim fuerint, (Platinæ[s] verbis, ac Genebrardi[t], sed et Lyrani[u] libenter utor) lippis jamdiu et tonsoribus non satis innotuerit. Scilicet horum vita fabula mundi, ut Bernardus[x].

Pax ergo hîc nulla, nisi aut illi ἀκεφάλοι, aut nos Romæ mancipia fieri mavelimus. Cedo mihi tamen candorem hunc Pontificium; Fateantur ingenui, ut qui se olim in Paradisum insinuaverit serpens, possit aliquando in Cathedram Petri callidè surrepere; non minor certè de facto, quàm de potentiâ lis erit.

Sect. 3. *Ex reliquis Romanæ Ecclesiæ Opinionibus.*

I. *Quæ ad homines præsertim:—Hæresis Romana,* (1.) *De Justificatione:* (2.) *De Libero Arbitrio:* (3.) *De Merito:* (4.) *De Satisfactionibus:* (5.) *De Purgatorio:* (6.) *De Indulgentiis et Absolutionibus:* (7.) *De Distinctione Peccati Mortalis et Venialis.*

Sed et hujus furfuris alia sunt, quæ πραγματείαν quandam sapiunt, Papistarum dogmata, non Ecclesiæ magis quàm Rebuspublicis perniciosa; de gladii utriusque jure, de abdicatione principum, regnorum dispositione, exautoratione subditorum, frustratione juramentorum; abundè satis à Venetis[y], à nostris jam pridem ventilata; quæ Christianæ administrationis

[r] Alii, à Cano, Loc. Com. lib. vi. cap. 8.
[s] Plat. in Vit. Bened. IV. et Christoph. I.
[t] Genebrard. lib. iv. sect. 10. [u] Lyra in Matt. xvi.
[x] Decret. Dist. 93. *Nulla.*
[y] Inter alios, Manual. Navar. 15. q. 6. c. 27.

vernment, that those princes and people, which can stoop to such a yoke, are well worthy of their servitude.

And can they hope, that the great commanders of the world will come to this bent? "We all," as the Comic Poet said truly, "would rather be free than serve;" but much more princes. Or, on the contrary, can we hope, that the tyrants of the Church will be content to leave this hold? What a foppery were this! For both those princes are grown more wise, and these tyrants more arrogant; and, as Ruffinus speaks of George the Arian gallant, they insolently govern an usurped bishopric; as if they thought they had the managing of a proud empire, and not of a religious priesthood.

But, let us be so liberal, as to grant this to ourselves, which certainly they will never grant us: for, this old grandam of cities thinks herself born to command; and will either fall, or rule. Neither doth that mitred moderator of the world affect any other emblem, than that which Julian jestingly ascribes to Julius Cæsar; *τὸ πρωτεύειν*: "to rule all:" or to Alexander the Great; *πάντα νικᾶν*: "to conquer all." It was a degenerating spirit of Adrian the Sixth, which caused to be written upon his tomb, in the Church of St. Peter; "That nothing, in all his life, fell out so unhappily to him, as that he governed." Let this, I say, be granted us.

There want not, I know, some milder spirits (Theodosians, that can play with both hands) which think, if these busy points were, by the moderation of both parts, quietly composed, it might be safe for any man, so it be without noise, to think what he list concerning the other differences of religion.

These are the ghosts of that heretic Apelles, whose speech it was, That it is sufficient to believe in Christ crucified, and that there should be no discussing of the particular warrants and reason of our faith: or the brood of Leonas, one of the courtiers of Constantius, and his deputy in the Seleucian Council; which, when the Fathers hotly contended, as there was good cause, for the consubstantiality of the Son; "Get you home;" said he, "and trouble not the Church still with these trifles."

St. Basil was of another mind from these men; who, as Theodoret reports, when the lieutenant of Valens, the Emperor, persuaded him to remit but one letter for peace sake, answered, "Those, that are nursed with the sincere milk of God's word, may not abide one syllable of his sacred truth to be corrupted; but rather than they will endure it, are ready to receive any kind of torment or death."

libertati ita palàm adversantur, ut qui huic jugo se ultro summiserint principes, populive, digni profectò sint qui serviant.

Istuc ut trahi posse sperent terræ dominos? Omnes mehercle liberi lubentius sumus, quàm servimus; nedum reges. Aut ex adverso, hoc qualecunque juris remissuros Ecclesiæ tyrannos? Nugæ! Nam et illi icti sapiunt; et hi jamdiu (quod de Georgio satrapâ Ariano Ruffinus[a]) procaciter vi raptum Episcopatum gerunt, ut qui magis sibi juris dicendi creditos fasces, quàm sacerdotium ministrandum religiosis officiis æstiment.

Largiamur tamen hæc nobis, quod ipsi profecto nunquam sunt concessuri: ad imperium enim se natam putat illa vetula urbium mater; et aut ruet, aut dominabitur. Neque mitratus ille moderator orbis aliud sibi mavult emblema, quàm quod Julio Cæsari jocosè appingit Julianus[a] (*τὸ πρωτεύειν*), vel quod Alexandro (*τὸ πάντα νικᾶν*): Apage autem Adrianum Sextum; cujus tumulo inscriptum in Basilicâ Sancti Petri, "Nihil sibi in vitâ infeliciùs accidisse, quàm quòd imperârit[b]."

Non desunt (sat scio) mitioris ingenii homines (*ἀμφιδέξιοι* Theodosiani[c]) qui existiment, modò ista partis utriusque moderatiore studio placidè componerentur, subinde tutum fore cuique, de reliquis fidei capitibus (modò id sine strepitu fiat) quidlibet opinari.

Manes puto hæretici illius Apellis, cujus illa vox circumfertur, Sat est credere in crucifixum: neque oportere omnino fidei discuti rationem[d]. Aut quales Leonas ille quondam, Constantii aulicus, et in Concilio Seleuciensi vicarius; qui Patribus, de *ὁμοουσιῷ* (vehementer, uti par erat) contendentibus, "Abite," inquit, "nec in Ecclesiâ nugas agite[e]."

Non sic olim Basilius, qui (referente Theodoreto[f]) Valentis Imperatoris præfecto, unius literulæ veniam suadenti, respondit, "Qui divinis innutriti sunt eloquiis, corrumpere de divinis dogmatibus ne unam quidem syllabam patiuntur, sed pro his, si contingat, omnes etiam mortis species amplectuntur."

[a] Ruff. l. i. c. 40. [a] Juliani Cæsares.
[b] Binius in Vitâ Adrian. (tom. iv. pars ii. p. 138. Ed. 1618.)
[c] Socrat. l. v. c. 20 et c. 14. [d] Euseb. l. v. c. 13. ex Rodone.
[e] Socrat. l. ii. c. 40. [f] Theodor. l. ii. c. 27.

Eleusius and Silvanus, which were orthodox Bishops; and those other worthy guardians, and, as Athanasius's title was, Champions of the Truth; were of another mind from these cool and indifferent mediators.

So far as the sacred truth will allow us, we will accompany them gladly: but, if they urge us farther, we stand still, or start back. And those two courses, which Epiphanius advised as the remedies of heresy, Heed and Avoidance, both those do we carefully use and perform. Great is the offence of discord, and unexpiable; and such, in the grave judgment of Cyprian, as is not purged with the blood of our passion. And justly do we think that fiend of Homer worthy of no place but hell. But yet, we cannot think concord a meet price of truth: which it is lawful for us to buy, at any rate; but, to sell upon any terms, is no less than piacular.

Let us, therefore, a little discuss the several differences; and, as it uses to be done when the house is too little for the stuff, let us pile up all close together. It shall be enough in this large harvest of matter, to gather some few ears out of every shock; and to make a compendious dispatch of so long a task.

The grossest of the Popish heresies, and, as Jerome objects to Origen, the most venomous opinions of Rome, which have bred so much trouble and danger, at this day, to the Church of God, are either such, AS DO CONCERN OURSELVES, NOT WITHOUT SOME RESPECT TO GOD; or such, as concern God, not without some respect to us.

Of the former sort, are those which, in a certain order (such as it is) of discourse, are conversant about Justification, Free-will, the Merit of our Works, Human Satisfaction, Indulgences, Purgatory, and the Differences of Mortal and Venial Sins.

These, therefore, first offer themselves to our examination.

(1.) That point of *Justification*, of all other, is exceeding important; insomuch as Calvin was fain to persuade, that if this one head might be yielded safe and entire, it would not quit the cost to make any great quarrel for the rest.

Would to God that word of Cassander might be made good, which doubted not to say, "That which is affirmed, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but that they are freely justified by faith, was always allowed and received in the Church of God, and is at this day approved by all Ecclesiastical writers."

Non sic Eleusius et Sylvanus, Episcopi orthodoxi; non reliqui illi, bone Deus! quàm fidi custodes, et (qui Athanasio titulus) *πεντάθλοι ἀληθείας*[g].

Quousque sacra permiserit veritas, comitabimur profecto alacres; si quid ultrà, consistimus, recedimus. Et quæ duo hæreseos remedia suasit olim Epiphanius[h], *τὸ προσέχειν, καὶ μὴ συναμιλλᾶσθαι*, ea nos utraque sedulò adhibemus. Inexpiabilis quidem et gravis culpa discordiæ (ut gravissimè Cyprianus[i]), nec passione purgatur. Et nos Aten illam Homericam uno inferno dignam arbitramur[k]. Neque tamen justum est veritatis pretium concordia; quam redimere quidem nobis fas est, vendere piaculo.

Age ergo, discutiamus singula; et, quod fieri solet, ubi impar est supellectili domus, coacervemus, et quasi arctè compingamus universa. Nempe sat nobis erit, in tantâ rerum messe (quod necesse est) *ἀκροθινιάζειν*, et ad compendium verba conferre.

Gravissimæ Pontificiorum hæreses, et, qualia Origeni olim objecit Hieronymus, venenata dogmata, quæ molestiam et periculum hodiè creant Ecclesiæ Dei, vel NOS IPSOS (NON TAMEN ABSQUE RATIONE DEI) vel Deum, (non sine ratione nostri), SPECTARE, mihi videri solent.

Primæ classis illa sunt, quæ circa Justificationem, Liberum Arbitrium, Operum nostrorum Meritum, Satisfactionem Humanam, Indulgentias, Purgatorium, Peccati Differentias, ordine quodam suo versantur.

Hæc mihi primulùm discutienda occurrunt.

(1.) Augustum quidem est (siquod aliud) *Justificationis* caput; ut coactus fuerit olim Calvinus operosè inculcare[l], uno hôc salvo, pretium operæ haud fore de reliquis pertinaciùs litigare.

Utinam obtineret illud Cassandri; cujus hæc sunt[m]: "Quod dicitur, homines non posse justificari coram Deo, propriis viribus, meritis, aut operibus, sed gratis justificari, per fidem, semper in Ecclesiâ probatum et retentum fuit, et hodie quoque ab omnibus Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus approbatur."

[g] Theodor. l. iii. c. 9. [h] Epiph. l. i. initio.
[i] Cypr. de Simplic. Prælat. (p. 143. Edit. Romæ, 1563.)
[k] Ἄτη, ἣ πάντας ἀᾶται. Il. τ. v. 91.
[l] Calvin. de Verâ Pacific. contra Interim (tom. vii. p. 315. Edit. Genev. 1617.)
[m] Consultat. de Justific. (Opera; p. 913. Edit. Par. 1616.)

Yea, I would they would be ruled by their Thomas Aquinas in this, who attributes Justification to works; not as Justification is taken for an infusion of grace, but as it is taken for an exercise, or manifestation, or consummation of justice. If this were all, in this point all would be peace.

But, whilst the Tridentine Fathers take upon them to forge the formal cause of our Justification to be our own inherent justice, and thrust faith out of office; what good man can choose but presently address himself to an opposition? Who would not rather die, than suffer the ancient faith of the Church to be depraved with these idle dreams?

Go, now, ye great Trent Divines, and brag of yourselves, as Ætius did of old, by Theodoret's report, that God hath now, at last, revealed to you those things, which he would have hitherto concealed from all the world.

In the mean time, we cannot but scorn to see the souls of men so shamefully deluded; while we hear the Spirit of God so often redoubling, *without works: not by works, but by faith: by their works no flesh shall be justified: being justified freely by his grace:* Rom. iv. 6; Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8; Rom. iii. 20, 24. By the power whereof, Arias Montanus, an ingenuous author (and, as Jerome said of Apollinarius, a man of approved labour, though in many things, as the times then were, faulty in opinion), being utterly convinced, "It follows," saith he, "that faith is reputed for righteousness, to him that works not in the Law; and that, according to the purpose of the grace of God."

If we cast our eyes back to the Ancient Fathers, they are all ours. "Not according to the worth of our works;" saith Basil. "Only to believe;" saith Nazianzen. "Faith alone is sufficient;" saith Jerome. "By believing are men justified;" saith Augustin. And, with these, consort the rest; Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Ambrose, Primasius, and that whole sacred Choir of Antiquity. But, to what purpose do I instance in these, when as the Expurgatory Index of Spain hath purposely wiped both out of the table and text of Chrysostom, Jerome, Cyril, most clear testimonies for the sole Justification by Faith? The book is everywhere abroad: it is needless to recite the severals. See now the Inquisitors guilty to themselves, both of error and fraud. To whom I must sing the same note, that Ambrose did, of old, to the

[n] In Galat. et in Jac. ii

[o] Concil. Trid. sess. 6. c. 7. Can. 9. *Si quis dixerit solâ fide, &c.*

[p] Epist. ad Pammach. et Oceanum. (Epist. 65. Ed. Col. Agrip. 1616.)

[q] In Rom. iv. 5.

[r] In Psal. cxiv. 1. Citat etiam Whitak. contra Duræum. l. i. s. 11.

[s] περὶ Εὐτακ. [t] Advers. Pelag. lib. i. et in iii. ad Galat.

Utinam illud Thomæ[n], qui Justificationem tribuit operibus non secundum quod Justificatio dicitur justitiæ infusio, sed secundum quod dicitur justitiæ exercitatio, vel ostensio, vel consummatio. Pax quidem nobis istic alta foret, verèque solida.

At dum Tridentini Patres inhærentem nobis justitiam, formalem Justificationis causam comminiscuntur, fidemque exturbant[o]; ecquis bonus non arma statim meditetur, mortemque oppetat potiùs, quàm ut avitam fidem inani somnio corrumpi patiatur?

Eant illi scilicet, et quod de se Ætius (referente Theodoreto) jactitare solitus est; sibi à Deo nunc revelari, quæ hactenus universis occulta esse ille voluisset; idem isti de se demùm glorientur.

Indignabimur nos interim orbem sic ludos fieri, qui toties ingeminantem audimus Spiritum, χώρις ἔργων; ἐαν μὴ διὰ πίστεως; *Ex operibus nulla caro justificabitur: Justificati gratis, ejus gratiâ:* Rom. iv. 6; Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8; Rom. iii. 20, 24. Quorum authoritate victus Arias Montanus, ingenuus author, et (quod de Apollinario Hieronymus[p]) probati laboris, licet dogmatis in plerisque (ut tunc ferebant tempora) fatui: "Consequitur," inquit[q], "fidem reputari ad justitiam ei, qui non operatur in lege, idque secundum propositum gratiæ Dei."

Veteres respicimus? Nostri sunt ad unum omnes. *Οὐ κατ' ὀφειλημάτων ἔργων*, Basilius[r]: Nazianzenus, *Τὸ πιστεύσαι μόνον*[s]: "Sola sufficit fides," Hieronymus[t]: "Homines credendo justificati," Augustinus[u]. Concinuntque istis reliqui; Epiphanius[x], Chrysostomus[y], Athanasius[z], Ambrosius[a], Primasius[b], chorusque ille sacer universus. Sed quid ego ista, cum Index Expurgatorius Hispanus clarissima quædam de solâ Fidei Justificatione testimonia, ex indicibus et textu Chrysostomi[c], Hieronymi[d], Cyrilli[e], obelisco suo deditâ operâ confixerit[f]? Frustrà recitârim; præ manibus liber est. Ecce Inquisitores, conscios sibi et erroris et fraudis. Quibus occinam ego meritò, quod Arianis quondam Ambrosius; "Literas quidem abolere potu-

[n] De Patient. c. 20, et in Psal. xxxi.
[o] In Rom. Hom. 17. et in 1 Cor. Hom. 11.
[p] De Offic. l. ii. c. 2.
[q] De Jacob. et Vitâ Beat. 2.
[r] In Anchorat.
[s] Orat. I. contra Arian.
[t] Chrys. Hom. in Rom. viii. de verbis Pauli: *Non solùm, sed gloriamur in affl.* tom. iii. p. 945. et in Epist. ad Tit. c. 2.
[u] Hier. in Epist. ad Rom. c. 10.
[x] Cyr. in Esai. l. iv. Orat. 5. *Habitat Jesus per fidem in cordibus nostris.*
[y] *Fides sola justificat*, deleatur; ad Gal. ii.

Arians: "Ye may blot out the letters; but the faith, you can never abolish: those blurs bewray you more; those blots condemn you more, than the writing."

But some, perhaps, may think this a mere strife of words, and not hard to be reconciled: for that which to the Papists is inherent justice, is no other to the Protestants than sanctification; both sides hold this equally necessary; both call for it equally. True; but do both require it in the same manner? do both to the same end? I think not. Yea, what can be more contrary, than these opinions to each other? The Papists make this inherent righteousness the cause of our justification; the Protestants, the effect thereof. The Protestants require it as the companion or page; the Papists, as the usher, yea, rather as the parent of justification.

"But what matters it," say they, "so both ascribe this whole work to God? As though it comes not all to one, to pay a sum for me, and to give it me to pay for myself?" I know not how these things seem so little dissonant to these men's ears, which the Spirit of God hath made utterly incompatible. *To him that worketh, the wages is not imputed of grace, but of debt;* Rom. iv. 4. *If by grace, now not of works; or else grace should be no more grace;* Rom. xi. 6. "For neither is it grace any way, if it be not free every way;" saith Augustin. But these men say, "Therefore of grace, because of works."

Not of works, lest any man should boast; saith the Spirit; Eph. ii. 9. "But of works; and yet a man shall boast in the Lord;" saith Bellarmin. And wherefore shall he boast? because he is just? because void of sin? Perhaps, some Isidore may say thus of himself, which voluntarily protested, that, for forty years' space, he found not in himself any sin; not so much as in his thought; not so much as any consent to anger or inordinate desire. Or, perhaps, some Baronius or Bellarmin may report this of their late St. Gonzaga: or the offal of the Schools may say so of Bonaventure; in whom, if we believe them, Adam sinned not: or Manicheus may say it of his elect masters: or, perhaps, Priscillian, Evagrius, Jovinian, the Messalians, may brag thus of themselves.

But far otherwise is that speech of Ambrose: "I will not boast, because I am just; but, because I am redeemed: I will boast, not because I am void of sin; but because my sins are forgiven me." Otherwise, we shall come to that point, which Innocentius condemned in the Pelagians: "What need have we now of God?"

istis, sed fidem non potuistis auferre: plus vos illa litura prodebat, quâm vos illa litera damnabat[g]."

Sed conciliari hæc forsan quidam autumant, meram verborum litem; etenim quæ Pontificiis inhærens justitia est, ipsa sanctificatio est Evangelicis; hanc æquè omnes necessariam statuunt, æquè inculcant omnes. Fatemur; sed numquid omnes eodem modo, aut ad eundem finem omnes? Non opinor. Imo, quid istis magis ex adverso? Hanc ut causam justificationis statuunt Pontificii, Evangelici ut effectum: ut comitem asseclamve Evangelici, Pontificii ut anteambulonem, imo potiùs ut parentem.

At quid interest (inquiunt[h]) dum utrique totum hoc Deo tribuant? Quasi non eodem planè recidat, solvere pro me pretium, et dare mihi in manus quo solvam? Nescio equidem quomodo hæc ita parum dissona horum auribus videantur, quæ Spiritus Dei prorsus *ἀσύστατα* definivit. *Ei qui operatur, merces non imputatur ex gratiâ, sed ex debito;* Rom. iv. 4. *Si per gratiam, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non esset gratia;* Rom. xi. 6. "Neque enim gratia est ullo modo, si non est gratuita omni modo;" ut Augustinus[i]. At isti; "Ideo ex gratiâ, quia ex operibus."

Non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur; inquit Spiritus: Eph. ii. 9. "At ex operibus, et tamen in Domino quis gloriabitur;" inquit Bellarminus. Quorsum vero gloriabitur? quia justus est? quia expers peccati? Prædicaverit hoc de se forsan Isidorus aliquis[k], qui per annos quadraginta peccatum vel in animo sensisse, et vel cupiditati vel iræ consensisse, ultrò dejeravit. Prædicaverit hoc de Gonzagâ aliquo[l] Baronius aut Bellarminus; aut de Bonaventurâ suo[m], fex scholæ; in quo ne Adamum quidem peccâsse ferunt: aut de suis electis Manichæus: vel de se denique Priscillianus[n], Evagrius, Jovinianus, Messaliani[o].

Paulò aliter Ambrosius; "Non gloriabor quia justus sum, sed quia redemptus sum: gloriabor, non quia vacuus peccati, sed quia remissa mihi sunt peccata[p]." Obtinebit alioqui quod in Pelagianis damnavit Innocentius[q]; "Quid mihi nunc opus est Deo?"

[g] Amb. de Spir. Sa. l. iii. c. 11.
[h] Exam. Pacif. de Justific.
[i] Aug. de Correp. et Grat.
[k] Socr. l. iv. c. 23.
[l] In Vitâ ejus.
[m] *In Bonaventurâ non peccavit Adam.* Vita S. Bona.
[n] Hier. advers. Pelag. ad Ctesiphontem. (p. 220.)
[o] Theod. l. iv. c. 11.
[p] Hier. in Dial. advers. Pelag. in procemio.
[q] Innoc. Patr. Milenio.

But thou sayest, "God hath given me this, whereby I am just." Indeed, this seems, at the first, a great and glorious praise of the grace of God; and, at the first hearing, sounds well to an ignorant ear: and yet, when it is better considered, under a pretence of piety, spoils Christ of his glory. Why dost thou not as well say, "He hath given me, wherewith I may redeem myself?" for, by the same, wherewith we are justified, we are redeemed: *Being justified by his blood;* Rom. v. 9. Behold, the blood of him, that is God and man, justifies us; and the same redeems us.

But, go on a little: God hath given thee this. But hath he given it thee, without thyself? Is this done, without the intervention, without the operation, of our free-will? Let the monks of Bourdeaux speak, in their Abjurations: let Andradius, let Bellarmin (the flower of the Popish School), let any Papist deny this, if he dare.

It is only Christ's, therefore, which is imputed: that which is inherent, is ours. "For all," saith Austin, "which are justified by Christ, are just, not in themselves, but in him. That which is Christ's, because it is his, is most perfect: that which is ours, because ours, is weak and imperfect. God hath made us men; not Gods. Our perfection is seasonable in heaven."

Justly doth Jerome deride Ctesiphon; we, the Papists: "O blessed, O happy men, if that justice, which is not thought to be anywhere but in heaven, may be found with you only upon earth!" In the mean time, it is sufficient for us, to mourn for our wants, to hate injustice. It is the very speech of Donatists, "I have nothing for thee to pardon."

Let Bernard now, to conclude, shut up this stage. "Not to sin," saith he, "is God's justice; but the justice of man, is the pardon of God."

To be imputed therefore, and to be inherent, differ no less than God and man, Trent and Heaven. Wherefore, let our Romanists confess that which both Scriptures, and Fathers, and all their modester Doctors have both thought and reported to be the common voice of the former Church in all times; and we are agreed: otherwise, what fellowship hath God with Belial, light with darkness?

(2.) Bordering upon this, is the point of *Free-will.*

To let pass all lighter quarrels of the nature of our will, let us enquire of the power of it. And that, not in natural, human, or moral things: (here is all peace and silence, save that the words jangle with themselves; and, when the matter is agreed

[r] Abjurat. Artic. 45. [s] Iren. de Ptolemæo. l. i. c. 9.
[t] Aug. Tr. 3 in Joann.
[u] Optat. Milen. l. ii. *Ipse solus perfectus est; cæteri omnes semi-perfecti sumus.*

Ais, "Dedit mihi, Deus quo justus sim." Et hoc quidem pulchrum videtur gratiæ divinæ elogium, primulùmque inscitis auribus allubescit; quod tamen, sub specie pietatis, Christum spoliat. Quin ais, "Dedit quo me redimam?" eodem enim, quo justificamur, redimimur; *Justificati ejus sanguine;* Rom. v. 9. Ecce, justificat nos, qui et redemit, sanguis *θεανθρώπου.*

Perge vero: Dedit hoc Deus. Numquid sine te? Istanè ut sine interventu, sine operatione, Liberi Arbitrii transigantur? Dicant mihi seriò Burdegalenses monachi[r], dicat Andradius, dicat ipsemet (flosculus Scholæ Pontificiæ) Bellarminus, dicat, qui volet, Pontificius[s].

Solius ergo Christi est, quod imputatur; quod inhæret, nostrum est. "Omnes enim," inquit Augustinus[t], "qui per Christum justificati, justi non in se, sed in illo: et illud, quia Christi, perfectissimum; et hoc, quia nostrum, debile et imperfectum[u]. Homines nos finxit Deus, non Deos. Matura satis in cœlis perfectio est."

Meritò ridet Ctesiphontem Hieronymus[x], nos Pontificium: "O te fœlicem, O nimiùm beatum, si justitia, quæ jam non nisi in cœlis creditur, apud te solum inveniatur in terris!" Sat nobis interea est, defectus nostros deflere, odisse injustitiam. Vera Donatistarum vox est, "Non habeo quod ignoscas[y]."

Claudet nunc scenam hanc Bernardus[z]. "Non peccare, Dei justitia est; hominis vero justitia, indulgentia Dei."

Imputari ergo, et inhærere, non minus distant, quàm ab homine Deus, à Cœlo Tridentum. Quocirca fateantur illi demum, quod Scriptura, quod Patres, quod modestiores suæ Ecclesiæ Doctores et senserunt, et veluti communem Ecclesiæ prioris vocem laudârunt; ecce, nos istîc unum sumus: alioqui quid Deo cum Beliale commercii est, quid luci cum tenebris?

(2.) Vicinus huic qui de *Libero Arbitrio* locus est.

Omittamus leviora quæque de voluntatis naturâ; de viribus quæratur. Neque illud in naturalibus, humanis, aut verò moralibus: (tuta satis hîc pax, silentiumque planè nocturnum, ni fortè verba inter se litigent; et, ubi res convenit, quis non

[x] Hier. advers. Pelag. lib. iii. (p. 248; edit. Col. Agrip. 1616.)
[y] Optat. l. ii. contr. Donat.
[z] Ser. in Cant. et Ser. 4. de Verbis Esa. *Rectam forsitan justitiam, sed non puram, &c.*

upon, who would not contemn words, as Augustin saith well?) but, in spiritual and divine matters.

We do will, indeed. We will freely: neither can we otherwise will any thing. Who denies it? Here is no physical determination, no violence: but, to will that which is good, or to will well, we cannot. We do freely believe; for faith is an act of the will: yea, and we do co-operate with grace: neither are we herein like to senseless stones, as Austin truly speaks.

But, whence is all this? Is it of ourselves, or of God? Is it of grace, or, which the Council of Arausica condemned, by the power of nature? This must be our question.

Both sides like well that speech of St. Augustin: "To will freely, is the work of nature; to will well, of grace; to will ill, of corruption:" but, when we come to the point, the Doctors of Trent are not more subtle, than the Jesuits inconstant.

It is yet good and safe, which Bellarmin cites from his Ruardus: "A good work, as it is a work, is from free-will; as it is good, from grace; as both a work and good, both from free-will and grace."

But that is exceeding ingenuous, and truly evangelical, which the same Bellarmin affirms, against some Semipelagian Catholics, in those things which pertain to piety and salvation, that man's will can do nothing without the help of God's grace. It is the voice of Jacob. If the Cardinal would hold him there, cursed be he that should oppose him.

I go on to hope and read: and see what stuff I meet with, soon after, in the same book; That our conversion is in the power of free-will; because it may be always converted, when it will: and, yet further; That, before all grace, we have free-will, even in the works of piety and supernatural things. Before all grace? what, before the grace of prevention? It were well the Cardinal would set forth some better recognitions.

Now, then, God doth not prevent us, as Austin said of old, that we might will; but we prevent God, because we will.

But, lest this should seem too gross, this liberty is tied up; and is altogether in the same state as the faculty of seeing, when a sensible *species* is absent: we can freely see, while the object is absent; we can freely will, in the absence of grace.

Let Bellarmin now tell me: are we any whit more free to evil, than he feigns us to good? Did ever Pelagius dote thus much? We can will evil; but yet, unless it be determined, under some false semblance, by the verdict of our practical judgment, we will it not.

But, if we should yield him thus much, what help is this, that God gives us? To prevent, inspire, excite, and help, is

[a] Aug. de Ordin. 2. [b] *Aliud est velle, aliud velle bonum.* Bern.
[c] Bell. de Grat. l. vi. c. 5. p. 10. [d] De Grat. l. vi. c. 4. in titulo.

verba contemnat, pulchrè Augustinus[a]?) sed in spiritualibus, et divinis.

Volumus quidem, volumus liberè; neque aliter quicquam velle possumus. Quis negat? Nulla heîc determinatio physica, vis nulla; sed velle bonum, bene velle, non possumus[b]. Liberè credimus; actus enim voluntatis fides: quin et cooperamur gratiæ: neque nos hîc ut lapides insensati, quod verè Augustinus.

Sed unde hoc? Ex nobisne, an ex Deo? Numquid ex gratiâ, an, quod damnat Arausicanum Concilium, per vigorem naturæ? Id demum quæritur.

Utrisque perplacet illud Augustini: "Liberè velle, opus naturæ est; benè velle, gratiæ; malè velle, corruptionis:" sed (miserum me!) non magis astuti sunt istîc Tridentini, quàm Jesuitæ inconstantes.

Adhuc tutum est, quod è Ruardo suo Bellarminus[c]: "Opus pium, quatenus opus, ab arbitrio esse; quatenus pium, à solâ gratiâ; quatenus opus pium, ab arbitrio et gratiâ."

Illud vero ingenuum, planèque evangelicum, quod contra suos Catholico-Pelagianos docet[d], in rebus quæ ad pietatem et salutem pertinent, nihil posse voluntatem humanam absque auxilio gratiæ Dei. Vox Jacobi est. Consta tibi modò, Bellarmine; dispereat qui contra ierit.

Pergo sperare et legere: en quid libro planè eodem deinceps occurrit[e]; Conversionem esse in potestate liberi arbitrii; quoniam potest semper converti, quando voluerit: sed et illud[f]; Ante omnem gratiam, habere nos liberum arbitrium, etiam ad opera pietatis et supernaturalia. Ante omnem? etiam prævenientem? Quin saniores edit recognitiones Cardinalis?

Non prævenit ergo nos nunc Deus, quod Augustinus olim[g], ut velimus; sed nos Deum prævertimus, quia volumus.

Sed, ne nimis crassè istud, ligata quidem est libertas; et sic se habet, ut potentia videndi, absente specie sensibili: liberè videre possumus, absente objecto; liberè velle possumus, absente gratiâ.

Dicat mihi nunc Bellarminus: numquid vel ad malum liberiores sumus? Adeóne deliravit unquam Pelagius? Malum velle possumus; neque, nisi à judicio practico sub falsâ specie determinatum, volumus tamen.

Sed faxo hoc illi indultum; quale verò est hoc Dei auxi-

[e] Resp. ad Secund. l. vi. c. 15. [f] De Grat. l. vi. c. ult. Sent. I.
[g] Aug. de Corr. et Grat. *Nolentem prævenit, ut velit; volentem subsequitur, ne frustrà velit.*

of God: to incline the will, is of ourselves. How are we not now more beholding to ourselves, than to God? What is this, but that Pelagian conceit, so oft condemned by Augustin, so to separate free-will from grace, as if, without it, we could do or think any thing answerable to the will of God?

That we are able, by the power of our will, to avoid sins; that we can overcome "the slighter motions of temptation," as Bellarmin speaks; that we can keep God's commandments, as Scotus and Durandus; that we can reject or receive the inspiration of the Spirit, as the Tridentine Fathers; that we can dispose ourselves to the receiving of grace, as Thomas and Suarez; that we do naturally co-operate with grace, and make our conversion effectual, as Tapperus: what is it else, but to steal glory from God, that we may prank up this carrion-nature of ours?

Yet it was modestly done of Tiberius, who, of those many buildings which he repaired and perfected, challenged not one to himself; but gave them still the names of those men, by whom they were begun to be built: but these men challenge the whole house, when as they have not laid so much as one tile upon the roof.

Far be this shameful sacrilege from us, when that truly jealous God challenges to himself, to work in us both the will and the deed: yea, that we can will to believe, is his work; as Austin rightly speaks. See, then, he doth not excite, but work in us; ἐνεργεῖ. He *works in us, both,* that which is first, *to will; and,* that which is last, *to work;* Phil. ii. 13.

Jerome says worthily, "To will, and to run, is mine: but, without God's continual help, it will not be mine." *Without me, ye can do nothing,* saith Christ; John xv. 5; no, *not think any thing,* saith Paul; 2 Cor. iii. 5. Alas, what can we do, who are not lame, but *dead in sins?* Eph. ii. 1. By the influence of God's Spirit, therefore, a new life must be created in us, that was not; and not the former life excited: Col. iii. 1. which is according to that of the Psalmist, *Create in me a clean heart;* Ps. li. 10. and not, stir up that clean one I have. Neither, indeed, is there, as yet, any place for this: the first heart must be taken out; another must be put in. *I will take away their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh,* saith God, by the mouth of Ezekiel; chap. xxxvi. 26.

"He will give it, but," thou sayest perhaps, "into their breasts, which have predisposed and prepared themselves for

[h] Aug. Epist. 46 et 47.

[i] Petr. Chrysol. Ser. 114. *Christus quicquid suarum virtutum est, refert ad gloriam Patris; et homo, cujus suum nihil est, sibi vindicare, quòd per Christum resurrexit, elaborat.*

lium? Prævenire, inspirare, excitare, adjuvare, Dei est: inclinare voluntatem, nostri est. Quomodo nunc non plus nobis debemus, quàm Deo? Quid hoc aliud est, quàm Pelagianum illud, toties ab Augustino damnatum[h], ita liberum arbitrium à Dei gratiâ separare, tanquam sine illâ vel cogitare aliquid, vel agere, secundum Deum ullâ ratione possimus[i].

Posse viribus nostræ voluntatis evitare peccata; "tentationum leviores quasque titillationes," ut cum Bellarmino loquar, superare; mandata Dei servare, quod Scotus[k] et Durandus[l]; inspirationem Spiritûs abjicere vel recipere, quod Tridentini[m]; disponere nos ad susceptionem gratiæ, quod Thomas et Suarez; co-operari gratiæ naturaliter, et conversionem facere efficacem, quod Tapperus[n]: quid est hoc aliud, quàm suffurari Deo, quo naturam hanc morticinam superbè decoremus?

Modestè Tiberius[o], è multis quæ restituisset perfecissetque ædificiis, nullum sibi vindicavit; sed nomina illorum indidit, à quibus ædificari cœpta: at isti sibi arrogant ædes, quibus ne tegulam quidem unam imposuerint.

Absit hoc à nobis turpe sacrilegium, cum vindicet id sibi Deus verè sanctèque zelotypus, operari in nobis et velle, et facere: ipsum velle credere, ut rectè Augustinus[p]. Ecce, non excitat, sed ἐνεργεῖ. *Operatur ergo*, et, quod primum est, *velle*; *et*, quod ultimum, (ἐνεργεῖν) *perficere;* Phil. ii. 13.

"Velle et currere, meum est: sed, absque Dei semper auxilio, non erit meum;" scitè Hieronymus[q]. *Sine me nihil potestis*, inquit Christus; Joh. xv. 5; immò, *ne cogitare quidem*, inquit Paulus; 2 Cor. iii. 5. Quid nos istic? non mutili, sed *mortui in peccatis?* Eph. ii. 1. Creanda ergo in nobis, influxu Spiritûs, vita nova, quæ non erat; non excitanda, quæ inerat: Col. iii. 1. juxta Psaltis illud, *Crea in me cor mundum;* non excita: Psal. li. 10. Sed neque huic adhuc locus: destruendum cor prius; indendum aliud. *Auferam cor lapideum, dabo carneum*, inquit, Ezechielis ore, Deus; cap. xxxvi. 26.

"At forsan," ais tu, "dispositis à se priùs paratisque:" immo

[h] Scot. 2. d. 28.
[i] Dur. ibid. qu. 4.
[m] Sess. 6. c. 5. et Can. 4.
[n] Citat. Bell. ibid.
[o] Xiphilin. Tiber. (l. 57. p. 608. edit. Hanov. 1606.)
[p] De Grat. et Lib. Arbit. c. 16.
[q] Hier. ad Ctesiphont. (p. 222.)

the gift:" yea, contrarily, to those, that do not a little resist him. The wisdom of the flesh is enmity: but there are some enmities more secret, and which do not outwardly bewray themselves; but, behold, here is public resistance: *οὐκ ὑποτάσσεται*; *It is not subject;* Rom. viii. 7.

"But, perhaps, it will once yield of itself:" *οὐ δύναται*; *It cannot*, saith the Spirit of God; Rom. viii. 7.

See in how rebellious an estate we are to God. What proneness is here, to will good; what ability, to perform it?

Let the Papists, if they will, sacrifice to themselves, as Sejanus had wont of old; or to their nets, as the Prophet speaketh. As for us, come what can come upon our opposition, we neither can nor dare arrogate unto ourselves those things, which, by a holy reservation and incommunicableness, are proper only to the Highest.

It is safe, indeed, for the Papists, when they will, to come up to us; but we cannot go down to them, without a fearful precipitation of our souls. Let Cassander witness this for us; let Bonaventure himself witness it for him: "This is the property of holy minds, to attribute nothing to themselves, but all to the grace of God: so that, how much soever a man ascribe to the grace of God, he swerveth not from true piety; though, by giving much to grace, he withdraw something from the power of nature or free-will: but, when any thing is withdrawn from the grace of God, and aught attributed to nature which is due to grace, there may be great danger to the soul." Thus far those two ingenuous Papists.

But, to infer; we give all to grace, the Papists something to nature; and what they give to nature, we give to God. Therefore, we do and say that which is fit for holy minds: they, if Bonaventure may be witness, that, which swerves from piety, and is joined with much danger of their soul.

(3.) The foundation of Popish Justification is the freedom of our will; and, upon the walls of justification, is *Merit* raised.

We will have no quarrel about the word. The holy Fathers of old, as we all grant, took the word in a good sense, which the latter Divines have miserably corrupted.

About the thing itself, we must strive eternally. We promise a reward to good works; yea, an everlasting one. It is a true word of the Jews, "He, that labours on the Even, shall eat on the Sabbath:" for God hath promised it, and will perform: who yet *crowneth us in mercy and compassion*, as the Psalmist speaks, Ps. ciii. 4; not, as the Papists, "in the rigour of justice;" not, as Andradius, "according to the due desert of our work:"

[r] Xiphil. Epit. Dionis.
[s] Bucer. cit. à Cassandr. (p. 922.)
[t] Cass. Consultat. cit. Bonavent.
[u] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 20.

verò, non parum reluctantibus. *Φρόνημα σαρκὸς ἐχθρά.* At sunt inimicitiæ quædam intestinæ, quæque se nunquam exerant; ecce vim publicam: *οὐκ ὑποτάσσεται*; Rom. viii. 7.

"At parebit fortassis aliquando:" nec illud; *οὐ δύναται*; Rom. viii. 7.

Ecce rebellem usque Deo conditionem. Quæ hîc ad bonum propensio est; quæ exequendi potestas?

Sacrificent sibimet, quod Sejanus[r] olim solitus est, si volunt, Pontificii. Ruat profectò cœlum; nos ista nobis arrogare, quæ Deo soli sacrâ quâdam *ἀκοινωνησιᾷ* competere deprehenduntur, nec audemus, nec possumus.

Tutum quidem est Pontificiis ad nos (ubi lubet) accedere: nobis ad illos descendere absque horrendo animarum præcipitio non licet. Testetur G. Cassander[s]; Testetur (ipso teste) Bonaventura: "Hoc (inquit) piarum mentium est, ut nil sibi tribuant, sed totum gratiæ Dei: unde quantumcunque aliquis det gratiæ Dei, à pietate non recedet; etiamsi multa tribuendo gratiæ Dei, aliquid subtrahit potestati naturæ, vel liberi arbitrii: cùm verò aliquid gratiæ Dei subtrahitur, et naturæ tribuitur quod gratiæ est, ibi potest periculum intervenire." Hæc ille.

Nos autem totum gratiæ tribuimus, Pontificii aliquid naturæ; et quod illi naturæ, nos Deo adscribimus. Quod ergo piarum mentium est, id nos facimus, dicimusque: illi quod à pietate recedit, et cum animarum periculo, vel Bonaventurâ teste, conjunctum est.

(3.) Basis justificationis Pontificiæ, libertas est voluntatis. Justificationis autem parietibus superstruitur *Meritum.*

De voce nulla lis erit[t]. Sanctis Ecclesiæ Patribus[u] non malè sonuit, nostris omnibus ultro suffragantibus, nomen, quod posteri miserè vitiârunt.

De re, lis erit æterna[x]. Pollicemur et nos quidem bonis operibus mercedem, quinimmo æternam. Verum illud verbum Judæorum, "Qui aboravit in Vesperâ, comedet in Sabbatho:" pollicitus enim est, præstabitque Deus: qui tamen *coronat nos in misericordiâ et miserationibus,* ut verè Psalmista, Ps. ciii. 4; non, uti Pontificii[y], "ex ipso rigore justitiæ;" non, ut Andradius[z], "secundum operis debitum:" "ex gratuito Dei dono, non

[x] Petr. Chrysolog. Ser. 43, 83, et 116. *Salutem per veniam, vitam per solam sperare gratiam, &c.*

[y] Conc. Trident. [z] Orthod. Expl. l. vi.

"by the free gift of God, and not our merits;" as Cajetan, wisely and worthily: or, if any man like that word better, "God doth it in justice, but in respect of his own promise; not the very dignity of our works."

"That a just man's work in the truth of the thing itself, is of a value worthy of the reward of heaven," which industrious and learned Morton cites out of the English Professor of Doway; "and hath a meet proportion both of equality and dignity, to the recompence of eternal life," as Pererius; "and that in itself, without any respect of the merits and death of Christ," which Suarez and Bayus shamed not to write; seems justly to us little less than blasphemy.

"But," say our modern Papists, "Christ hath merited this merit of ours:" "neither can any other works challenge this to themselves, but those, which are done in God," as Andradius speaks; "but those, which are dipped and dyed in the blood of Christ," as our latter Papists elegantly and emphatically speak. But, what is this, but to cozen the world, and to cast a mist before the eyes of the unskilful? Our sins are dyed in the blood of Christ; not our merits: or, if they also, hath Christ then deserved that our works should be perfect? how comes it about, that the works of the best men are so lame and defective? Hath he deserved, that, though they be imperfect, yet they might merit? What injury is this to God! what contradiction of terms!

Behold now, so many saviours, as good men! What I do, is mine; what I merit, is mine; whosoever gives me, either to do or to merit.

Whosoever rides on a lame horse, cannot but move unevenly, uneasily, uncertainly. What insolent over-weeners of their own works are these Papists, which proclaim the actions, which proceed from themselves, worthy of no less than heaven! To whom we may justly say, as Constantine said to Acesius the Novatian, "Set up ladders, O ye Papists, and climb up to heaven alone."

Who can abide that noted speech of Bellarmin, "A just man hath, by a double title, right to the same glory: one, by the merits of Christ imparted to him by grace; another, by his own merits?" contrary to that of the Spirit of God, *The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life.* Upon which words, another Cardinal, Cajetan, speaks in a holier fashion, thus; "He doth not say, that the wages of our righteousness is eternal life; but, *the gift of God is eternal life;* that we may understand and learn, that we attain eternal life, not by our own merits, but by the free gift of God: for which cause also

[a] Cajet. Com. in Galat.
[b] Weston. de Tripl. Hom. Offic. l. ii. Vid. Provoc. pro Test. l. ii. c. 11.

ex nostris meritis," cordatè Cajetanus[a]: "sed et ex justitiâ (si quis mavelit), ratione pollicitationis suæ, non ipsius operum dignitatis."

"Justi hominis opus, in rei veritate, valorem condignum habere præmio cœlesti," quod ex Professore illo Anglo-Duacensi[b] refert Philoponus noster Mortonius; "et convenientem habere proportionem æqualitatis et dignitatis cum præmio ipso vitæ æternæ," quod Pererius[c]; "idque in seipso, absque ullâ meritorum mortisve Christi ratione," quod non erubuêre Suarez[d] et Bayus[e]; nobis blasphemiæ proximum meritò videri solet.

"At vero," quod moderatiores Papistæ præ se ferunt, "meritum hoc nostrum meritus est Christus:" "nec alia quidem opera hoc sibi vindicare possunt, quàm quæ in Deo facta," ut loquitur Andradius; "quàm tincta Christi sanguine," ut paulo elegantiùs nuperi Pontificiorum. Quid est, nisi hoc sit, fucum facere, glaucomamve ob oculos objicere imperitis? Peccata nostra Christi sanguine tincta legimus; non merita. Meruitne verò Christus, ut perfecta sint quæ facimus? Quomodo ergo ita claudicant vel optimorum opera? Meruitne, ut, dum imperfecta sint, adhuc tamen mereantur? Quæ hæc Deo injuria est! quæ terminorum contradictio!

En modò tot servatores, quot bonos! Quæ facio, mea sunt; mea sunt, quæ mereor; quisquis vel facere dederit, vel mereri.

Claudo quisquis equo insederit, non potest non incertis impeditisque gressibus promoveri. Superbos verò suorum operum æstimatores, Pontificios, qui, quæ ipsi fecerint, condigna cœlo venditent! Quibus nos meritò, quod olim Acesio Novatiano Constantinus[f], "Erigite vobis scalas, Papistæ, et ad cœlum soli ascendite."

Quis ferat notatissimum illud Bellarmini, "Homo justus, duplici titulo, jus habet ad eandem gloriam: uno, ex meritis Christi, sibi per gratiam communicatis; altero, ex meritis propriis?" contra quàm Spiritus Sanctus, *Stipendia peccati mors; donum autem Dei vita æterna.* In quæ, paulò sanctiùs Cardinalis alter, Cajetanus; "Non dicit, quòd stipendia justitiæ vita æterna; sed *donum Dei vita æterna;* ut intelligamus non ex nostris meritis, sed ex gratuito Dei dono, assequi nos pro fine vitam æternam: propter quod et subdit, *in Christo Jesu, Domino*

[c] Com. in. Rom. vi.
[e] De Merit. Oper. l. i. c. 9.
[d] Tom. i. in Th. 3. d. 11.
[f] Socr. l. i. c. 10.

he adds, *by Jesus Christ, our Lord;* Rom. vi. 23. Behold the merit, behold the righteousness, whose wages is eternal life: but to us, in respect of Jesus Christ, it is a free gift." Thus Cajetan. What could either Luther, or Calvin, or any Protestant say more plainly?

How imperfect doth the Scripture everywhere proclaim both God's graces in us, and our works to him! And, though the graces of God were absolutely perfect, yet they are not ours: if our works were so, yet they are formerly due: and, if they be due to God, what recompence of transcendent glory is due to us? Behold, we are both servants, and unprofitable. *Not worthy*, saith God: "Worthy, and more," say the Papists. *By grace ye are saved through faith, and not of yourselves*, saith God; Eph. ii. 8: "By grace, indeed; but yet of ourselves," say the Papists. What insolency is this! Let our monks now go, and profess wilful poverty; while Hezekiah did never so boast of his heaps of treasure, as these of their spiritual wealth.

Jerome said truly; "It was more hard to be stripped of our pride, than of our gold and jewels; for even when those outward ornaments are gone, many times these inward rags swell up the soul."

Gregory Ariminensis, their old Schoolman, was ashamed of this wicked arrogance; and so was Durandus, and Pighius, and other their Divines of a more modest temper. I would the Jesuits could have had the grace to have been no less ashamed; and the Tridentine Doctors, together with their executioners, the Inquisitors.

But, what other men have holily and truly spoken, that they have perfidiously wiped out. Witness their Index of Madrid, in these words: "Out of the book which is entitled, The Order of Baptizing, together with the Manner of Visiting the Sick, printed at Venice, in the year 1575, let these words be blotted out; "Dost thou believe, that, not by thine own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt come to glory?" And, soon after, "Dost thou believe, that our Lord Jesus Christ died for our salvation; and that no man can be saved by his own merits, or any other means, but only by the merit of his passion?"

I wis, these are the scorpions and snakes of the ancient Divines; as Jerome termed the errors of Origen: amongst which the reader must needs have walked, had not the grave Senate of the Inquisition wisely provided for our safety.

What hope is there now of peace? unless they could be content, (which Bellarmin grants to be the safest way,) renouncing

[a] Cajet. Com. in Rom. vi.
[b] Hier. Epitaph. Fabiolæ.

nostro; Rom. vi. 23. Ecce meritum, ecce justitiam, cujus stipendium est vita æterna; nobis autem donum, ratione ipsius Jesu Christi." Hæc Cajetanus[g]. Quid planius vel Lutherus, vel Calvinus, vel quis alius Evangelicorum?

Quàm imperfecta in nobis, et munera Dei, et nostra opera, clamitat ubique Scriptura! Et sunto quidem illa gratiæ munera suis numeris absolutissima; at nostra non sunt: sunto opera; at nimium debita sunt: si vero debita Deo, quæ nobis inde merces debetur transcendentis gloriæ? Ecce, nos et servi, et inutiles. *Οὐκ ἄξια,* inquit Deus: "Sunt condigna," regerunt Pontificii. *Gratiâ servati estis per fidem, idque non ex vobis,* inquit Deus; Eph. ii. 8. "Gratiâ quidem; sed tamen ex nobismet," Pontificii. Quæ hæc insolentia est! Accersant nunc sibi scilicet ultroneam paupertatem monachi; qui spirituales divitias, supra quod Ezekias suos auri acervos, tam nimium ostentant.

Verè Hieronymus[h]; "Difficilius arrogantiâ, quàm auro caremus et gemmis: his enim abjectis, interdum gloriosis tumemus sordibus."

Puduit certè scelestæ hujus arrogantiæ Greg. Ariminensem; puduit Durandum, Pighium, aliosque modestioris ingenii Theologos. Utinam æquè puderet Jesuitas, æquè Tridentinos, horumque lictores Inquisitorios.

At illi, ab aliis piè ac veraciter dicta, perfidiosè expunxerunt. Consulatur Index Madriticus[i]: "Ex libro cui inscribitur, Ordo Baptizandi cum Modo Visitandi, impresso Venetiis, anno 1575, deleantur illa; "Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtute et merito, ad gloriam pervenire?" Et, paulò post[k], "Credis quòd Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nostrâ salute mortuus sit; et quòd ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus possit salvari, nisi in merito passionis ipsius?"

Nimirùm, quod de Origenis erroribus Hieronymus[l], his corpiones et colubri veterum; inter quos incedendum fuisset lectori, ni incolumitati nostræ studuisset probè Senatus Inquisitorius.

Quæ nunc spes istîc concordiæ? nisi ipsi, (quod tutissimum asseruit Bellarminus,) relictis, propter non tam incertitudinem,

[i] Ind. Expurg. Madriticus. p. 149. [k] Ex eod. libro, fol. 34. ad med.
[l] Hier. Lib. de Lib. Orig. Περὶ Ἀρχῶν. (Epist. 59. p. 171. edit. 1616.)

the merits of their works, not so much for their uncertainty, as the imperfection of their justice and danger of vain-glory, both to resolve and teach men, to repose their confidence in the mercy and bounty of God: which we can, at once, both wish, and not hope for.

(4.) *Satisfaction* hath near affinity with merit; and, indeed, is but as another twig, arising from the same root: than which, no opinion could be devised more injurious and reproachful to the merits of Christ.

The word was not displeasing to the ancient Fathers; nor, in their sense, to us. Only this let me touch, in passing by: That the heedless abuses of words, to the great wrong of the Church, hath bred confusion of things: as, contrarily, that of Tertullian is approved; "The assured sense of words is the safety of proprieties."

We have nothing to do here with Civil Satisfaction; nothing, with Ecclesiastical: whereof Luther not unfitly said, even in Cassander's own judgment, "Our mother, the Church, out of her good affection, desiring to prevent the hand of God, chastises her children with certain Satisfactions, lest they should fall under the scourges of God." This Canonical Satisfaction, as many call it, hath been too long out of use, on both sides.

Yea, more than this; in all our sermons to our people, we beat importunately upon the necessity of penitence, and all the wholesome exercises thereof, as fruits worthy of repentance: not, as Cassander well interprets it, as if we desired they should offer unto God a ransom worthy and sufficient for the clearing of the score of their sins; but, that we teach them, those offices must be performed by them, which God requires of those sinners on whom he will bestow the satisfaction of his Son.

Let them call these satisfactions, if they will: we give them leave. But, that, after the most absolute passion of Christ, there should be yet behind certain remainders of punishment to be discharged by us, either here or in purgatory, with a purpose thereby to satisfy the divine justice, whether they be imposed by God, or by the priest, or by ourselves, as the Tridentine distinction runs, we neither may, nor can endure.

For, how nicely soever these men distinguish, it cannot be, but this sacrilegious opinion must needs accuse the truly propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, of some imperfection. I know they say, that both satisfactions may well stand together; that of the Mediator, and this of man: whereof Bonaventure calls the one, perfect; the other, semi-perfect. But these are words. Let the sophisters tell me: doth not the full vessel contain in

[a] Tert. de Præscript. (potiùs, de Carne Christi. s. 13.—A.)
[b] Consult. c. de Satisfact. (potiùs, de Confess. p. 948.—A.)

quàm imperfectionem justitiæ, et periculum inanis gloriæ, suorum operum meritis, fiduciam totam in solâ Dei misericordiâ et benignitate reponere et velint et doceant.

(4.) Affinis est merito *Satisfactio;* et revera, quasi surculus quidam, ex eâdem radice suppullulat: quâ nihil unquam fingi potuit in Christi merita contumeliosius.

Nec displicuit Patribus vocabulum, nec, illorum sensu, nobis. Illud modò fas monuisse: Incautas καταχρήσεις vocum, magno Ecclesiæ malo, rerum induxisse confusionem: uti, è contrà, verè Tertullianus[m]; "Fides nominum salus proprietatum."

Nihil nobis istîc cum Civili Satisfactione; nihil, cum Ecclesiasticâ: de quâ Lutherus non incommodè, vel Cassandro judice[n]; "Ecclesia mater, pio affectu, præventura manum Dei, castigat filios suos Satisfactionibus quibusdam, ne incurrant flagella Dei." Canonica hæc quæ plærisque dicitur, nimis profectò jamdiu utrinque exolevit.

Quin et nos pœnitentiam à nostris necessariò requiri, et exercitia quæque salutaria, veluti fructus ἀξιοὺς τῆς μετανοίας, vel ad ravim usque ingeminamus: non quòd pretium aliquod dignum et sufficiens diluendis peccatis offerri postulemus, ut verè Cassander; sed quòd officia illa præstari debere doceamus, quæ Deus à peccatore, cui Filii sui satisfactionem impartiri velit, requirat[o].

Ista satisfactiones appellent, condonamus. Sed, post absolutissimam Christi passionem, remanere quasdam pœnarum reliquias, à nobis, seu istic seu in Purgatorio, eo animo luendas, ut justitiæ divinæ exhinc satisfiat, sive illæ à Deo, sive à sacerdote, seu denique à nobis, ut distinguunt Tridentini, imponantur, ferre nec debemus, nec possumus.

Quicquid enim illi operosè distinguant, fieri non potest, quin sacrilega horum opinio, verè ἱλάστικον Christi sacrificium, imperfectionis cujusdam insimulet. Consistere posse (sat scio) contendunt satisfactionem utramque, θεανθρωπίκην et humanam: quarum alteram Bonaventura plenam, semiplenam alteram appellavit[p]. Et hæc verba quidem sunt. Sed dicant mihi sophistæ: quod plenum est, annon continet in se quod semi-

[o] *Satisfactio pœnitentialis nihil aliud est, quàm conatus infectum reddendi quod factum est.* Alphons. Virvesius adv. Luther.
[p] Cit. Cass. Ibid.

itself the half? or what need the one half apart, when we have the whole? and, lastly, can any thing be added to that, which is perfect?

But, some of their heedfuller Divines will neither have these two opposite nor subordinate to each other. For, it is a shame to speak, what Suarez, what Durand, and other grosser Papists have discoursed of this point. Let them rather, if they will, hold (which opinion yet hath been controlled, not by the Cardinal only, but by three Popes before him) that men's satisfactions serve only to apply unto us that, which the satisfactions of Christ have promerited for us. Yet even this shift will not serve: for Christ's satisfaction, as they teach, respects eternal punishment, and not temporal. How, then, can it once be imagined, that we, by our satisfaction, should procure, that his suffering, which was destinated to the expiation of an eternal punishment, should serve to the discharge of a temporal? And, why should we do this, rather than Christ himself? Besides, how absurdly doth this sound, that He, whose bounty hath paid our pounds for us, hath yet left us, out of our poor stock, to pay some few farthings for ourselves!

Let me demand, then; Whether could not Christ undertake these temporal punishments for us, or would he not? That he could not, is impious; that he would not, is bold to say, and illiberal to do. For, where is there any restraint? or what are the limits of his mercy?

"The fault is remitted," saith the Conventicle of Trent: "the punishment is not pardoned." The Eastern Church would never have said so, which always stoutly opposed herself to this error. And, indeed, what a shameful reproach is this to the infinite mercy of the Forgiver! what a wrong to his justice! Whereto is the punishment due, but to the fault? Did ever God inflict punishments, that were not due? Many a time, hath he forgiven to sinners those plagues, which both they had deserved, and he threatened: but never did he call back for those arrearages, which he had forgiven.

God punishes us, indeed; or chastens us, rather; and that, sometimes, well and sharply; after the remission of our offence: not, that he may give himself satisfaction of us; for how can it be so pleasing to him, that it should be ill with us? but, that he may confirm us to himself; that he may amend us. He lays no stroke upon us with a revenging hand, but with a fatherly.

We suffer, therefore, now; but we satisfy not. This is proper only to that eternal Priest, and to his eternal Priesthood; and is no more communicable to saints and angels, than his own person. And, certainly, that, which was his part, he hath performed: he hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law; and part of the legal punishment is this temporal revenge.

[q] Bellarm. de Indulg. l. i. c. 4.

plenum? Aut quid hôc opus, ubi illud suppetit? quicquamne denique addi potest perfecto?

At hæc duo cautiores quidam nec opponi fortè volunt, nec subordinari. Pudet enim dicere quid Suarez, quid Durandus, et alii crassiores Pontificii, hâc de re disseruerint. Illud (si mavolunt) teneant (quæ tamen non à Cardinale[q] modo, sed et à tribus etiam Pontificibus[r] vapulat opinio;) hominum satisfactiones applicare solummodò, quod Christi promeruêre. Sed neque hoc illis effugium: Christi enim satisfactio (uti ipsi docent) æternam pœnam spectat, non temporalem. Quomodo igitur vel semel cogitari potest, nos satisfactionibus nostris efficere, ut quod ad æternæ pœnæ expiationem destinatum est, temporali diluendæ inserviat? Quare verò nos istud potiùs effecerimus, quàm ipse Christus? Sed et quàm istud absurdè, ut qui minas pro nobis largâ manu solverit, denariolos quosdam nobis è tam tenui peculio numerandos reliquerit!

Quæro autem; Nunquid aut non potuit, aut fortè noluit, Christus temporales hasce pro nobis pœnas subire? Non potuisse, impium est; noluisse, audax et illiberale. Ubi restrictio ulla est? aut qui fines hujus misericordiæ?

"Culpa remittitur," inquit Conciliabulum Tridentinum; "non condonatur pœna." Nunquam hoc dixerit Orientalis Ecclesia, quæ strenuè se semper huic errori opposuit. Quale vero hoc opprobrium est infinitæ condonantis miserationi! quale et justitiæ! Cui debetur pœna, nisi culpæ soli? Unquamne pœnas inflixit Deus indebitas? Sæpe quidem, quas meruere peccatores, quasque illis meritò interminatus est, remisit: nullus unquam, quas remisit, repetiisse comperitur.

Punit nos herclè Deus; castigat potiùs; sæpe etiam fortasse severiùs; vel post remissam delicti: non quò sibi de nobis satisfiat; nam quî illi ita cordi esse potest, nobis ut sit malè? sed, quò nos sibi conformes efficiat; quò emendatiores. Nihil nunc vindice manu nobis imponit Deus, sed paternâ.

Patimur nos istîc, ergo, non satisfacimus. Solius hoc æterni Sacerdotis est, Sacerdotii æterni; neque magis, quàm persona ipsius, angelis sanctisve communicabile. Et fecit ille quidem quod suum est; redemit nos ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου: legalis autem pœnæ pars ultio temporalis.

[r] Sc. Pio V. Greg. XIII. Clem. VI.

For us, therefore, to give hands to them in this, it were no better than perfidious, and shamefully traitorous. And, if it be more than manifest, that this cannot be done, either by our own torments inflicted, or good works performed (how penal soever), how much less shall it be effected by others'! There is none of the saints, which will not justly take up that answer of the wiser virgins, *There will not be enough for you and for us;* Matt. xxv. 9. But, as Jerome said well; "There is no need of any great conviction, where the opinion carries blasphemy in the face."

(5.) Upon this conceit of satisfactions, depend those other fables of *Purgatory* and Indulgences; pleasant ones both, and not unworthy of a satire: whereof so oft as I think, I cannot but remember the scornful frump of Luther, alluding to that of the Prophet: *Lord, I cannot eat man's dung;* Ezek. iv. 14.

Yet, if they had only doubtfully and problematically commended their Purgatory to the Church, we might easily have favoured them with a connivance: although you cannot say, whether it would have been more worthy to set the spleen on work for laughter, or the bowels for commiseration. But now, when Bellarmin teaches us that it pertains to the Catholic Faith, and our Fisher of Rochester will have it altogether necessary to be known and believed; we cannot entertain this presumptuous folly, without indignation.

How miserably the Scriptures are wrested to this purpose, if any schoolboy could not easily see, he were worthy of whipping. As Jerome said of the heretics of his time, "They frame some unfitting testimonies to their own sense: as if it were a worthy, and not rather an abominable, kind of teaching, to deprave sentences, and to drag the Scriptures perforce to their own bent."

Neither are the ancient Fathers better used in their citation: of which, Origen, Ambrose, Hilary, Lactantius, Nissen, Jerome, gave intimation of a quite other purgatory, from the Romish. Augustin speaks of it, at peradventure, waveringly, uncertainly. The rest never dreamed of any at all.

But, yet, I mistake it. Now I remember, St. Plato is cited by Austin and Eusebius, for the patron of this opinion; and, who knows not, that St. Homer and St. Virgil are flat for it?

Yet this fire never began to burn out, but in Gregory's time; and, since that, the authority of the Alcoran hath not a little mended it.

[s] Hier. advers. Ctesiphont.
[t] Hier. Paulin. (Epist. 103. p. 284. edit. Col. Agrip. 1616.)

Nobis, ergo, dextras istîc conjungere, perfidiosum hercle foret, planèque proditorium. Quòd si nostris seu cruciatibus, seu bonis operibus, quantumlibet etiam pœnalibus, hoc fieri non posse constet, quantò minùs aliorum! Nemo non sanctorum jure usurpârit illud virginum prudentiorum, *οὐκ ἀρκεσῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν*; Matt. xxv. 9. Sed "Non necesse habet convinci, quod suâ statim professione blasphemum est," pulchrè Hieronymus[s].

(5.) Ex satisfactionum opinione, pendent et *Purgatorii* fabulæ, et Indulgentiarum; lepidæ profectò ambæ, et iambis non indignæ: quo de utroque opportunè mihi succurrit illud Lutheri *σκῶμμα μαισώνικον*, è Prophetâ excerptum: *Domine, nonpossum vesci stercore humano;* Ezek. iv. 14.

Quòd si modò dubitanter et problematicè Purgatorium suum Ecclesiæ propinâssent, facile quidem nobis esset connivere: haud scio interibi, splenisne potius negotium esset, an viscerum; risune dignius, an miseratione. Sed cùm ad Catholicam fidem pertinere doceat Bellarminus, scituque omnino necessarium velit Roffensis, non possumus hercle non indignari.

Scripturæ quàm istuc miserè detorqueantur, dispeream nisi novennes pueri facilè possint persentiscere. Quod de sui temporis hæreticis Hieronymus[t], "Ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia: quasi grande sit, et non vitiosissimum, docendi genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem."

Nec aliâ certè fide Antiqui: e quibus Origenes, Ambrosius, Hilarius, Lactantius, Hieronymus purgatorium aliud; Augustinus incertum fluctuansque; reliqui prorsus nullum somniârunt.

Fallor: Platonem[u] sententiæ hujus patronum laudant Eusebius[x] et Augustinus[y]. Homerum verò et Virgilium quis nescit?

Gregorii demùm ævo flagrare cœpit hic sacer ignis: et, ex illo, Alcorani fide non parum auxit.

[u] Plato, in Phædone. *Itaque, quicunque in vitâ quodammodo medium tenuisse ita comperiuntur, ad Acherontem profecti vehiculis, quæ unicuique adsunt, in paludem perveniunt Acherusiam; ibique habitant; purganturque, pœnas dantes injuriarum: et cùm purificati, &c.*

[x] Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. i. c. ult.

[y] Aug. de Civitat. Dei. l. xxi. c. 13. qui et Virgil. ibid. citat.

This is it, that their Rochester ingenuously confessed of old, That this purgatory flame came but lately to the knowledge of the Church: but, for us, that of St. Paul shall never be wrung from our hands; *Ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος, If*, or *when, this earthly house shall be dissolved, we have a building, not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens;* 2 Cor. v. 1. And, when is this St. Paul's *ἐὰν*? St. John shall interpret it: *ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπάρτι, those that die, à modo, from henceforth;* Apoc. xiv. 13. And when is this *à modo? To-day, thou shalt be with me*, saith Christ; Luke xxiii. 43. even instantly, upon the egress of the soul. Let them *commend their souls to God*, saith St. Peter; 1 Pet. iv. 19.

But what of that? That which doth utterly quench out this fabulous fire, the counterfeit Solomon (though true to the Papists) adds, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them;" Wisd. iii. 1. Behold, then, either the souls without a purgatory, or a purgatory without pain.

But what stick we at this? Let the Popish Doctors together agree among themselves, of the fire of their purgatory, of the torments of the subject, of the duration, of the executioners, of the condition of the souls there detained; and then, afterwards, let them look for our assent.

In the mean time, why is it not as free for us, as for Suarez, not to believe the walking ghosts of the dead, but metaphorically? or, why may not we as well deny the ordinary common Purgatory, as Bellarmin may devise a new one, more noble and easeful than the first?

(6.) Purgatory is guilty of *Indulgences*, as their Rochester confesses. Both of them were bred by superstition, and nursed by covetousness. I touch these with a light hand only.

It is long, since all ingenuous clients of Rome were ashamed of this holy fraud.

I cannot but commend Cassander, which writes thus modestly and truly: "The abatement or relaxation of canonical punishments, was of old called Indulgence: which, at this day, is drawn to all private satisfactions; and the full right of bestowing them withdrawn from all other Bishops, to the Bishop of Rome alone. About the use and practice whereof, all good men have desired a correction and moderation; as of things, which, being hitherto ill handled, have given the chief occasion of this breach in the Church. Here, therefore, it were to be wished, that the Popes would yield something to the public peace." Thus far Cassander. With whom agrees Polydore Virgil: both of them more worthy of a black coal, than their honest Rochester, whom Gregory of Valence hath so foully branded. Neither hath there wanted some of their own, as

[1] Tom. 4. in Th. 9. d. 46.

Hoc illud est, quod Roffensis noster ingenuè, Flammam hanc serò Ecclesiæ cognitam fuisse: nobis verò extorqueri è manibus non potest illud Pauli; *Cùm terrena hæc domus fuerit dissoluta, habere nos in cœlis ædificium ἀχειροποίητον*; 2 Cor. v. 1. Quando autem illud (ἐὰν) Pauli? Joannes interpretabitur: *ἀπάρτι ἀποθνήσκοντες*; Apoc. xiv. 13. Quando demum illud *ἀπάρτι*? *Hodie*, inquit Christus; Luc. xxiii. 43. vel ab animæ egressu. *Commendent animas suas Deo*, inquit Petrus; 1 Pet. iv. 19.

Sed quid inde? Quod extinguet prorsus commentitium hunc ignem, commentitius ille Salomon (Pontificiis genuinus), *Δικαίων δὲ ψυχαὶ ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἅψηται αὐτῶν βάσανος*; Sap. iii. 1. Ecce, vel animas absque purgatione, vel purgationem absque dolore.

At quid nos ista moramur? Agedum: coeant in unum Pontificii doctores: conveniant inter se de situ sui purgatorii, de cruciatibus, de subjecto, de duratione, de tortoribus, de animarum inibi detentarum conditione; et dein nostrum post illa assensum præstolentur.

Interea temporis, quin liberum nobis sit, cum Suarez[z], vagis defunctorum manibus non credere, nisi metaphoricè? et non minus Purgatorium illud plebeium denegare, quàm Bellarmino[a] aliud novum admittere nobile ac senatorium?

(6.) Reum est *Indulgentiarum* Purgatorium, fatente Roffensi. Utrumque peperit superstitio, aluit avaritia. Leviore manu istas tango.

Diu est, ex quo ingenuos quosque Romæ alumnos puduit hujus piæ fraudis.

Amo hîc Cassandrum[b], qui sic modestè, et verè: "Pœnarum Canonicarum imminutio, et relaxatio, olim Indulgentia dicebatur: quæ hodie ad privatas quasque satisfactiones traducta est; et ab Episcopis, ad solum Romanum Pontificem, plenum Indulgentiarum tribuendarum jus delatum. Circa quarum usum et praxin, optimi quique correctionem et moderationem fieri desiderârunt; ut quæ, parùm dexterè tractatæ, hujus dilacerationis Ecclesiæ præcipuam occasionem dedêre. Hîc optandum esset, ut Pontifices publicæ paci aliquid concedant." Hactenus Cassander. Cui etiam concinit Polyd. Virgilius: nigro carbone dignior uterque, quàm bonus ille Roffensis, quem malè notavit Valentianus[c]. Nec defuêre è suis, Bellarmino[d] teste,

[a] Bellar. de Purg. l. ii. c. 7.
[b] Cap. de Indulg.
[c] Gr. Val. de Indulg. c. 4.
[d] De Indulg. l. iv. c. 4.

Bellarmin witnesseth, which have called both the treasure of the Church, and pardons, into question. Neither have there wanted those, which have boldly and flatly denied them, either to be of use, or to be at all.

And, indeed, who, that is not too much intoxicate with the potions of that harlot, can endure, that, whilst the imputation of Christ's merits to the justifying of a sinner, applied by God to us, is everywhere a common scoffing-stock to these men; yet, that the merits and sufferings of holy men, out of a certain common treasure, should by a man be imputed to men, for the deliverance of their souls from torment?

Who can abide, that any mortal man should over-satisfy God for his sins?

Who can abide the prodigal grants, and shameful marts, of their pardons?

Who can endure to hear, that to the careless mumbling over of some short prayers (for if we believe their Casuists, there is no great need of any intention of mind, of any special devotion) there should be granted, by John 22nd, a pardon for no less than a million of years.

Who can endure, since by their own confession this fire must last but till the conflagration of the world, that yet, in one little book, there should be tendered unto credulous poor souls, pardons of but eleven thousand thousand of years? What should we make many words of this? There is now lying by me a wormeaten manuscript, with fair rubrics, in which, beside other absurd and blasphemous promises, there is power given to one little prayer to change the pains of hell, due perhaps to him that says it, into purgatory; and, after that again, the pains of purgatory into the joys of heaven. Bellarmin had wisely respected his own credit, if he had given his voice according to that, which he confesseth to have been the judgment of some others; That theselike bulls were not given by the Popes, but lewdly devised by some of his base questuaries, for an advantage. But that, which he should excuse, he defends. What ingenuity or shame is to be expected of Jesuits? and how clean hath an old parrot, as he said of old, forgotten the wand!

Who may abide this unjust and inhuman acceptation of persons? that the wealthier sort may, by their purses, redeem this holy treasure of the Church; and, by money, deliver the souls of themselves and their friends from this horrible prison: while the needy soul must be still frying in that flame, without all hope of pardon, or mature relaxation, until the very last Judgment Day?

Lastly, who can endure, that, while it is in the power of Christ's Vicar to call miserable souls out of this tormenting fire,

[e] Horæ. B. Virg. [f] Stat. Rom. Rhythmic.

qui et Thesaurum Ecclesiæ, et Indulgentias, in discrimen vocârint. Nec defuerunt, qui vel esse, vel prodesse, audacter negare ausi.

Et sanè, quis, non nimium philtris illius meretricis ebriolatus, ferat, ut, cùm imputatio meritorum Christi ad peccatoris justitiam, nobis à Deo facta, passim inter illos deridiculo sit; merita tamen et passiones hominum sanctorum, è communi quodam thesauro, ad levandas animarum pœnas ab homine imputentur?

Quis ferat, ut mortalium aliquis satis superque faciat Deo?

Quis ferat prodigas indulgentiarum concessiones, et nundinationes turpissimas?

Quis ferat precularum quarundam supinæ obmurmurationi (neque enim opus est, si Casuistis credimus, vel intentione animi, vel devotione) concessam, à Joanne XXII, annorum decies centenorum millium Indulgentiam[e].

Quis ferat, cùm non ultra mundi conflagrationem sævire hanc flammam posse autument, uno tamen libello[f] paulò minùs quàm annorum undecies mille millenorum Indulgentiam, credulis devotisque animis offerri? Quid multis? Præ manibus mihi est liber manuscriptus[g], membranaceus, carie tineisque erosus, in quo, præter alias absurdissimas blasphemasque pollicitationes, uni perbrevi oratiunculæ facultas datur, infernales pœnas, recitanti forte debitas, in purgatorias commutandi; postmodùm verò purgatorias, in summa cœli gaudia. Consuluisset sibi probè Bellarminus, si, quod aliis quibusdam visum fatetur, ipse suo probâsset calculo[h], Bullas hasce non à Pontificibus datas, sed à quæstuariis potiùs αἰσχροκέρδως confictas. Sed quis candor Jesuitis? quámque senex psittacus, quod ille olim, nescit ferulam!

Quis ferat inhumanam hanc προσωπολημψίαν? ditiores ut loculis redimere possint sacrum hunc Ecclesiæ thesaurum; animasque suas et suorum è diro hôc carcere nummis liberare: dum indigentiores quique, absque omni spe veniæ, maturæve relaxationis, ad extremum usque diem torqueantur?

Denique, quis ferat, ut, cùm penes Christi Vicarium sit, miseras animulas ab igne cruciatorio, quem solâ æternitate superare

[e] Horæ B. Mar. Virg. ad usum Sarisb. [h] Lib. de Indulg.

which hell itself is said to exceed only in the continuance; yet, that he should suffer them to lie howling there, and most cruelly broiling still, and not mercifully bestow on them all the heaps of his treasure, as the spiritual ransom of so many distressed spirits? A wretched man is he, as Ambrose said of the rich man, which hath the power to deliver so many souls from death, and wants the will. Why hath God given him this faculty of Indulgences, if he would not have it beneficial to mankind? And, where the owner of the house will be bountiful, it is not for the steward to be niggardly. Let that Circe of Rome keep these husks for her hogs.

(7.) Pardons do both imply and presuppose that known distinction of *Mortal and Venial Sin;* which neither hath God ever allowed; neither, while he gainsays it, will ever the Protestants.

That there are certain degrees of evil, we both acknowledge and teach: so as we may here justly tax the dishonesty and shamelessness of Campion, Dureus, Coccius, and the Monks of Bourdeaux, who have upbraided us with the opinion of a certain Stoical and Jovinianish parity of sins: yea, Bellarmin himself hath already done this kind office for us.

Some offences are more heinous than other; yet all, in the malignity of their nature, deadly: as, of poisons, some kill more gently and lingeringly, others more violently and speedily; yet both kill.

Moreover, if we have respect unto the infinite mercy of God; and, to the object of this mercy, the penitent and faithful heart; there is no sin, which, to borrow the word of Prudentius, is not venial: but, in respect of the anomy or disorder, there is no sin which is not worthy of eternal death.

Every sin is a viper. There is no viper, if we regard the nature of the beast, but kills whom she bites: but, if one of them shall haply light upon the hand of Paul, she is shaked into the fire, without harm done. Let no man fear that harmful creature ever the less, because he sees the Apostle safe from that poison. So is sin to a faithful man.

St. John's word is, *All sin is ἀνομία, transgression of the Law;* 1 John iii. 4. St. Paul's word is, *The wages of sin is death;* Rom. vi. 23. Put these two together, and this conceit, of the natural pardonableness of sin, vanishes alone.

Our Rhemists, subtle men, can no more abide this proposition converted, than themselves. "All sin indeed," say they, "is *ἀνομία, a transgression of the Law;* but every transgression of the Law is not sin." The Apostle, therefore, himself turns it for us: *All unrighteousness,* saith he, *is sin;* 1 John v. 17. "But every *ἀνομία* is unrighteousness," saith Austin upon the

[i] Amb. de Nabothe. (s. 7.)

[k] Chrys. *vel, Auth. operis imperfect.*

dicitur infernus, evocare, sinat eas tamen usque ejulare, ac torreri crudelissimè; nec omnes thesauri sui cumulos, tot captivorum spirituum spirituale pretium, piâ manu profundat? Infelix, quod de divite Ambrosius[1], cujus in potestate est tantorum animas a morte defendere, et non est voluntas. Quorsum illi indulsisset Deus hanc Indulgentiarum potestatem, ni aliis beneficam voluisset? Et ubi paterfamilias largusest, dispensator non debet esse tenax[k]. Porrigat ilicet hasce siliquas porcis suis Circe illa Romana.

(7.) Præ se quidem ferunt Indulgentiæ notissimam *Peccati Mortalis et Venialis* discriminationem; quam nec Deus admittere unquam voluit; nec, ipso reclamante, Evangelici.

Gradus esse quosdam mali, agnoscimus nos æquè ac docemus: ut meritò hîc Campiani, Duræi, Coccii, Burdegalensium, qui Stoicæ cujusdam et Jovinianicæ paritatis opinionem nobis exprobrârint, et fidem et frontem desideremus: etiam desiderârit ante nos Bellarminus.

Atrociora quædam sunt aliis delicta; lætifera tamen naturæ suæ malignitate universa: ut, e venenis, quædam lentiùs mitiùsque, celeriùs quædam et impetuosiùs enecant; mortem tamen accersunt omnia.

Sed et ratione immensæ Dei misericordiæ, quin et subjecti verè fidelis ac pœnitentis, habitâ; nullum non peccatum, Prudentii verbo, veniabile: ipsius vero *ἀνομίας*, nullum non æternâ morte dignissimum.

Omne peccatum vipera est[1]. Nulla vipera non morsu interimit, modò ipsam bestiolæ naturam spectes: at si qua fortè in Pauli manum inciderit, in ignem inulta excutitur. Nemo minùs fugiat noxium animal, quòd incolumem Apostolum intuetur. Pariter se habet fideli peccatum.

Symbolum est Joannis, *Peccatum omne ἀνομία*; 1 Joh. iii. 4. Symbolum Pauli, *ὀψώνια peccati mors*; Rom. vi. 23. Conjiciantur hæc duo; naturalis peccati venia evanescit.

Rhemenses nostri[1], acuti homines, conversionem propositionis non magis ferunt, quàm suam. "Est quidem," inquiunt, "omne peccatum *ἀνομία*, sed non omnis *ἀνομία* peccatum." Convertit, ergo, ipsemet Apostolus: *πᾶσα ἀδικία ἐστιν ἁμαρτία*; 1 Joh. v. 17. "Omnis autem *ἀνομία*, *ἀδικία* est," teste Augustino[m];

[1] In 1 Johan. iii.

[m] Com. in locum.

" place; for the Law is the rule of righteousness: therefore, the prevarication of the Law is unrighteousness." Yea, their very own word shall stop their own mouth: for, how is sin univocally distinguished into venial and mortal, if the venial be no sin? And *the wages of* every *sin is death.*

That, therefore, which the Papists presume to say, That this kind of sin deserves pardon, in itself; unless they will take the word merit catachrestically, with Stapleton: and that, which Bellarmin and Navarrus add, That venial sins are not against, but beside the Law: and, lastly, that, which Franciscus à Victoria writes, That a Bishop's blessing, or a Lord's Prayer, or a knock on the breast, or a little holy-water, or any such like slight receipt, without any other good motion of the heart, is sufficient to remit venial sin: is so shamefully abhorring from all piety and justice, that these open panders, both of nature and sin, must be eternally defied of us. It is an old, and as true a rule, " Easiness of pardon gives encouragement to sin."

And, beside, what manner of sins do they put in the rank of venials? Drunkenness, adultery, angry curses or blasphemies, covetousness, yea, stealing, lying, cursing of parents, (horrible offences!) shroud themselves, with them, under this plausible title of venial. He must needs be shamelessly wicked, that abhors not this licentiousness.

Surely Socrates, the historian, prophesied, I think, of these men, " There are some," saith he, " that let go whoredom, as an indifferent matter; which yet strive for a holy-day, as for their life."

The ordinary, and not slight controversy, as Cassander thinketh, of the name, nature, condition, punishment of " the first sin," as Chrysostom calls it, I willingly omit. Neither do I meddle with their Evangelical perfection of vows; nor the dangerous servitude of their rash and impotent votaries; nor the inconveniences of their monkery: which yet are so great and many, that the elect Cardinals of Paul the Third doubted not, with joint consent, to affirm, " All the Orders of Convents we think fit to be abolished."

But, for the condition of that single and solitary life, let that be done, which Cassander and Clingius the Franciscan advise in this case: that is, let all false conceit and preposterous confidence be removed from it; that the trust, which should only be put in the merit of Christ, be not placed upon these courses: and, let no man think, that hereby he deserves righteousness, remission, grace: and, lastly, which I add, remove but idleness, superstition, necessity, from this kind of life, and we do not, we will not disallow it.

[n] Τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν. [o] Fr. à Vict. Summa Sacr. Pœnitentiæ. nu. 100. p. 63.

"regula enim justitiæ Lex: prævaricatio ergo Legis injustitia." Sed et ipsum nomen os illis planè obstruit: quomodo enim peccatum univocè vel veniale vel mortale est, si veniale peccatum non est? *Peccati* verò *stipendium mors.*

Quod ergo ogganniunt Pontificii, Mereri in se veniam peccatum hoc (nisi meritum καταχρηστικῶς solummodo consecutionem interpretemur[n], cum Stapletono): quod Bellarminus et Navarrus, Venialia non esse contra, sed præter Legem: quod Franciscus à Victoria[o], Benedictionem Episcopi, Orationem Dominicam, tunsionem pectoris, aquam benedictam, et similia, sine quocunque alio motu bono, sufficere ad venialia remittenda: ita nimium ab omni et pietate et justitiâ videtur abhorrere, ut nobis necessum sit, ab his naturæ, immo peccati, lenonibus æternùm dissentire. Vetus illa regula est, et æquè profectò vera: "Facilitas veniæ incentivum tribuit delinquendi[p]."

Sed et (bone Deus!) quæ illis audiunt vulgò venialia? Ebrietas, adulterium, irati hominis blasphemia, avaritia; quin et furari, mentiri, maledicere parentibus (quanta flagitia!) istuc accenseri solent[q]. Insignitè sit improbus oportet, qui istanc licentiam non perhorrescat.

De istis vaticinatum puto Socratem historicum, dum ait[r]; "Nonnulli scortationem rem quidem indifferentem arbitrantur, sed tamen de diebus festis tanquam de vitâ decertant."

Mitto quæ περὶ τῆς πρωτῆς ἁμαρτίας, ut appellat Chrysostomus, nomine, re, conditione, ac pœnâ, utrinque non levi verborum lite, ut Cassandro visum, disceptari solent. Nec attingo Evangelicam votorum perfectionem, nec periculosissimam temerè voventium servitutem, nec incommoda monachatûs; quæ tot ac tanta sunt, ut delecti illi à Paulo Tertio Cardinales unanimiter pronuntiârint, "Conventuales Ordines abolendos putamus esse omnes[s]."

Quod ad ipsam tamen vitæ conditionem attinet, fiat modò quod monent Cassander et Clingius ille Franciscanus: removeatur falsa opinio, et præpostera fiducia; ne in his operibus fiducia collocetur, quæ in solo Christi merito collocanda est: nec quis inde putet se promereri justitiam, et remissionem peccatorum, et gratiam: addo etiam, absit otium, superstitio, et necessarii ligaminis imperium, nos non adeò improbandam judicamus.

[p] Decr. 23. q. 4. *Est injusta, &c.*
[q] Peter Alagona. Comp. Manual. Navarri, p. 91. p. 267. p. 140. p. 191. p. 352. p. 400. *Adulteria, et alia leviora peccata.* Pontificale.
[r] Socr. l. v. c. 22. [s] Osiand. Papa non Papa.

Neither do we take our Colleges for any other, than certain sacred ἀσκητήρια, Monastical Academies; wherein, according to the precept of Pelagius the Pope, we may be maturely fitted for these holy services of God and his Church. Such were the Monasteries of the Ancients: insomuch as Possidonius can witness, that St. Austin, out of one little house, sent forth ten labourers into the Church.

II. *Those which principally respect God:—*

(1.) *Concerning Scripture:*—[1.] *Its Canon:* [2.] *Its Insufficiency:* [3.] *Its Authority.*

(2.) *Concerning the Person and Offices of Christ:*—[1.] *Against his Person, are* (a) *Transubstantiation:* (b) *The Multi-presence of his Body.* [2.] *Against his Priestly Office, are* (a) *The Sacrifice of the Mass:* (b) *The Number of Mediators, and the Invocation of Saints.*

(3.) *Concerning the Superstitious, Heathenish, and Ridiculous Worship of the Papists.*

Now, lest I be too tedious, it is time for me, from these points, which do directly concern ourselves; to hasten unto those, WHICH DO MORE CLOSELY TOUCH THE MAJESTY OF GOD, and do, as it were, send plain challenges into heaven.

And those do either respect the Scripture, which is his expressed word; or Christ, which is his natural and substantial Word; or, lastly, the Worship due unto his name.

(1.) And, first, *the Scripture* complains justly of three main wrongs offered to it. The first, of Addition to the Canon: the second, of Detraction from the Sufficiency of it: the third, of Hanging all the Authority thereof upon the Sleeve of the Church.

For, of that corrupt translation of Scripture, which the Trent Divines have made only and fully authentical, I forbear purposely to speak: although it were easy to shew, (that which Reuchlin, following the steps of Jerome, hath averred) "That the Hebrews drink of the well-head, the Greeks of the stream, and the Latins of the puddle." Neither will I so much as touch the injurious inhibition of those holy books to the laity.

[1.] Who can endure a piece of new cloth to be patched unto an old garment? or, what can follow hence, but that the rent should be worse? Who can abide, that, against the faithful information of the Hebrews; against the clear testimonies of Melito, Cyril, Athanasius, Origen, Hilary, Jerome, Ruffinus, Nazianzen; against their own Doctors, both of the middle and latest age; six whole books should, by their Fatherhoods of

[t] Possid. in Vitâ Aug.
[x] Ep. ad Ones. cit. ab Eus.
[u] Hier. advers. Helvidium.
[y] Cyr. cat. 4.

Nec alia putamus Collegia nostra, quàm sacratiora quædam ἀσκητήρια; in quibus, juxta Pelagii Papæ præceptum, sacris Dei ac Ecclesiæ muneribus obeundis maturè instrui et aptari possimus. Talia fuêre et Veterum monasteria: ut vel ex unâ ædiculâ decem in Clerum emisisse Augustinum, author sit Possidonius[t].

II. *Quæ pricipuè ad Deum:—*

(1.) *De Scripturæ*—[1.] *Canone:* [2.] *Insufficientiâ:* [3.] *Authoritate.*

(2.) *De Personâ et Officiis Christi:*—[1.] *Contra Personam, sunt* (a) *Transubstantiatio:* (b) *Multi-præsentia Corporis.* [2.] *Contra Sacerdotale officium, sunt* (a) *Sacrificium Missæ:* (b) *Numerus Mediatorum, et Sanctorum Invocatio.*

(3.) *De Cultu Superstitioso, Ethnico, Ridiculo, Pontificiorum.*

NUNC demum (ne nimius sim) ab his, quæ nosmetipsos non obliquè spectare mihi visa sunt, festino ad ea, QUÆ DEUM IPSUM PROPIUS ATTINGUNT, hastamque in cœli terminos minaciter conjiciunt.

Ea verò sive Scripturam, verbum Dei προφόρικον; seu Christum, Verbum ἔμφυτον; seu denique Cultum divinæ majestati debitum, respiciunt.

(1.) Et *Scripturæ* quidem dica triplex impingi solet, eaque profecto gravis grandisque. Prima, Aucti Canonis: secunda, Negatæ αὐταρκείας: tertia, Suspensæ ab Ecclesiâ Authoritatis.

Corruptissimam enim Sacrarum Literarum versionem, Tridentinis unicè authenticam, (de quâ, jure bono Reuchlinus, Hieronymi[u] vestigia premens, "Hebræi fontes, Græci rivos, Latini paludes bibunt"), sciens prudensque prætereo.

[1.] Inprimis quis ferat ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου adsui panno veteri? aut quid hinc, nisi χείρον σχίσμα? Quis ferat, ut, contra Hebræorum fidem; contra Melitonis[x], Cyrilli[y], Athanasii[z], Origenis[a], Hilarii[b], Hieronymi[c], Ruffini[d], Nazianzeni[e] clarissima testimonia; contra Doctores medioxumos nuperosque, vel suos[f]; sex integri libri, sub anathematis pœnâ, Deo ipsi

[z] Ath. in Synops.
[b] Lib. 6. et Præf. in Ps.
[d] Ruf. Symb.
[a] Orig. cit. ab Eus.
[c] Hier. Prol. in Gal.
[e] Naz. in Carm.
[f] Recensuimus hæc largiùs, Præf. ad Pacem Romæ.

Trent, be, under pain of a curse, imperiously obtruded upon God and his Church? whereof yet some propose to their readers no better than magical jugglings; others, bloody self-murders; others, lying fables; and others, heathenish rites; not without a public applause in the relation.

These indeed, Cajetan, ingenuously, as his fashion is, according to that he had learned of Jerome, would persuade us to have been admitted only by the Ancients, into the Canon of Manners, not of Faith.

And, surely, there be many precepts in Syracides, the counterfeit Solomon, and Esdras, which savour of excellent wisdom: but I wonder what kind of good manners can be learned from suchlike histories, even by those Novices, to whom Athanasius bequeaths these books! Well may I say of these, as that Chian servant of his master, which sold his wine, and drank his lees, While they have good they seek for naught.

But, let these books, how questionable soever to Epiphanius, be all sacred; let them be (according to the meaning of the Council of Carthage, and of Austin, so oft cited to this purpose) after-Canonical: yet what man or angel dare presume to undertake to make them divine? We know full well, how great impiety it is, to father upon the God of Heaven the weak conceptions of a human wit: neither can we be any whit moved with the idle crack of the Tridentine curse, while we hear God thundering in our ears, *If any man add unto these words, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book;* Apoc. xxii. 18.

[2.] Neither know I, whether it be more wickedly audacious, to fasten on God those things, which he never wrote; or, to weaken the authority, and deny the sufficiency, of what he hath written.

The Papists do both.

"We affirm," saith Bellarmin, "that there is not expressly contained in Scriptures all necessary doctrine, either concerning faith or manners." And the Tridentine Fathers gave charge, that Traditions be received "with no less piety and veneration," than the books of Scripture. "Unwritten truths," saith our witty Chancellor, More, "are equivalent to the word of God."

What place is there for peace?

There are, we confess, certain things of a middle nature, indifferent rites, wherein much must be yielded to the Church, much to Traditions: but, that those things, which are simply necessary to salvation, whether to be known or to be done,

[g] Sess. 4. Decr. de Sacr. Scr. promulg. 8 Aprilis, &c.
[h] In fin. Com. Vet. Test.
[i] Epiph. l. i. sect. 5.

ejusque Ecclesiæ à Tridentinis Paterculis[g] imperiosiùs obtrudantur? quorum etiam aliqui magicas præstigias, alii *αὐτοφονείας*, mendaces planè fabulas alii, alii ritus ethnicos, alii denique crudelia facinora, non sine publico quodam applausu, lectoribus propinent.

Istos quidem candidè, ut sæpe solet, Cajetanus, Hieronymum secutus[h], in Canonem voluit à Veteribus adscitos, non Fidei, sed Morum.

Et certè Syracidis, fictitiique Salomonis, et Esdræ præcepta plæraque non parum redolent sapientiæ: at quales, obsecro, ab historiis hisce mores, vel à Catechumenis, ad quos relegabat istos Athanasius, edisci imbibique possunt? Verè ego de istis dixerim, quod Chius ille servus de domino suo, vinum vendente aliis, epotante vappam; Cum adsunt bona, quærunt mala.

Sint verò hi, quantumvis, olim fatente Epiphanio[i], *ἐν ἀμφιλεκτῷ*, sacri omnes; sint, quod voluit Carthaginensis Synodus, totiesque provocatus istîc Augustinus, *δεύτερο-κανόνικοι*; divini tamen ut sint, quis hominum vel Angelorum præstare unquam poterit? Novimus nos quidem satis, quantæ impietatis sit, Deo Cœli supponere humani ingenii fœtus: nec quid movere nos potest Anathematis Tridentini inanis crepitatiuncula[k], cùm tonantem audimus Deum, *Si quis apposuerit ad hæc, apponet Deus illi plagas scriptas in hoc libro;* Apoc. xxii. 18.

[2.] Nec scio certè iniquiorisne audaciæ sit, affingere Deo, quæ non scripserit; an eorum, quæ verè scripsit, authoritatem enervare, tollere sufficientiam.

Palàm faciunt Papistæ.

"Nos asserimus," inquit Bellarminus[l], "non expressè in Scripturis contineri totam doctrinam necessariam, sive de fide, sive de moribus." Et Tridentini, "pari pietatis affectu, pari veneratione," suscipi jubent Traditiones, cum ipsis Scripturarum libris. "Non scriptæ veritates," inquit Morus nostras[m], "æquipollent verbo Dei."

Quis hîc concordiæ locus?

Sunt res quædam mediæ, ritus adiaphori (non inficiamur), in quibus aliquid Ecclesiæ, Traditionibus aliquid tribuendum: sed quæ ad salutem simpliciter necessaria sunt, seu factu, seu

[k] *Si quis libr. Hester., Dan., Baruc., Eccl., Sap., Judith, Tob., Maccab. pro Canonicis non receperit, Anathema sit.* Sess. 4.

[l] Bellar. de Verbo non Scripto. l. iv. c. 30. sect. 1.

[m] Contr. Præf. Tyndalli. Nec dissim. Roff. Art. 37. contr. Luth.

should not be found in the Holy Scriptures, "either in their words, or in their sense," as Aquinas distinguishes, we justly hold absurd; and, with Erasmus, contrary to all true divinity.

Some constitutions for public order are from the Church: but all necessary determinations of faith are to be fetched from the voice of God.

This is, as Nissen truly commends it, "the right and even rule of life." *The Law of God is perfect*, saith David; Ps. xix. 7; yea, and *makes perfect*, saith Paul; 2 Tim. iii. 17. And what can be added to that, which is already perfect? or what perfection can there be, where some necessary points are wanting; yea, if we may believe Hosius, the greatest part?

How much is the Spirit of God mistaken! He wrote these things, that we might believe; and, in believing, be saved. But now, if Trent may be judge, although we believe what he hath written, yet we cannot be saved, unless we do also receive and believe what he hath not written.

How ill was Constantine taught of old! how ill advised, in that public speech! for which yet we do not find that any of those worthies of Nice did so much as jog him on the elbow, in a mild reproof, while he said, "The books of the Evangelists and Apostles, as also the Oracles of the Ancient Prophets, do plainly instruct us in the message and meaning of God."

How miserably were every one of the learned Fathers of the Church blinded, that they could never either see or acknowledge any other rule of faith!

And, what shall we say? Did God envy unto mankind the full revelation of his will, in the perpetual monuments of his written word? Or, did he not think it expedient to lay up all necessary doctrines in the common store-house of truths, as Rochester calls it? Or, is that perhaps more uncertain, which is faithfully committed to writing; than that, which is carried about by the flying rumours of men, and by this airy conveyance derived unto posterity?

What a thing is it, as Irenæus wisely said, that we should leave the voice of the Lord and his Apostles, and attend to these idle tatlers, that talk never a true word!

Or, if this be fitting, how vainly have you spent your labours, O all ye Registers of God, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists! And, as he said of the ointment, *to what purpose was all this waste?* Matt. xxvi. 9.

These paradoxes are pernicious to the Church; and shamefully derogatory from the glory, both of the wisdom and good-

[n] In Can. Nicen. Græc. codex Pisan. Binii Conc. tom. i. (p. 325. edit. 1618.)

[o] Theod. l. i. c. 7.

[p] Tert. de Præscr. et Lib. contr. Her.—Orig. in Rom. xvi.—Atha. in Synops.—Ambr. Hex. l. iii. c. 3.—Aug. *Ego solis Scripturis, &c.* De Nat. et Gr.

scitu, ea, "vel per verba, vel per sensum," ut Aquinas distinguit, in Sacris Scripturis non reperiri, meritò quidem *ἀθεόλογον*, cum Erasmo, definimus.

Διατυπώσεις quædam, publici ordinis ergo, ab Ecclesiâ sunt[n]: at *ὅροι* quique necessarii à Dei voce petendi.

Verè hic Nisseno *κάνων ὄρθος καὶ ἀδιάστροφος. Lex Domini perfecta est*, ait David; Ps. xix. 7; quin et *perfectum facit*, inquit Paulus; 2 Tim. iii. 17. Quid vero addi potest perfecto? aut quæ perfectio, ubi desit necessarium; immo ubi, verbis Hosii, pars maxima?

Quàm nunc frustra est Spiritus! Scripsit hæc, ut crederemus; ut credendo salvaremur. Atqui jam, Tridento judice, credamus quæ scripserit licet, salvi non sumus tamen, ni quæ non scripserit pariter amplexemur.

O malè edoctum! malè locutum Constantinum! cui tamen nemo ex heroïbus illis Nicenis facili reprehensione vel aurem tetigerit, dum ait[o], "Evangelici et Apostolici libri, necnon Antiquorum Prophetarum Oracula, planè instruunt nos sensu numinis."

O miserè occæcatos Patres ad unum omnes[p], qui nullam aliam fidei regulam, aut agnoverint unquam, aut viderint!

Inviditne verò humano generi Deus plenariam hanc voluntatis suæ perpetuis literarum monumentis consignationem? Aut non expedire censuit, in hôc communi veritatum conclavi, ut Roffensis appellat, necessaria quæque reponere? Aut num fortè incertius est, quod literis fideliter mandamus; quàm quod vagis hominum rumoribus circumgestari, et aëreo hoc fluxu ad sera nepotum secula derivari, solet?

Quale est, ut sapienter Irenæus[q], et Prophetarum Domini et Apostolorum relinquentes nos vocem, attendere his, nihil sani garrientibus!

Vel, si istud expedit, quàm mihi nunc frustra estis, *ὀαρίσται Θεοῦ*, Prophetæ, Apostoli, Evangelistæ! Et, quod ille olim de unguento, *εἰς τι ἡ ἀπολεία αὕτη*? Matt. xxvi. 9.

Perniciosa sunt hæc quidem Ecclesiæ; et à divinæ tum sapientiæ tum bonitatis gloriâ, non parum abhorrentia para-

c. 61.—Opt. Milev. l. v.—Tho. in Mag. l. iii. d. 3. q. 1. art. 1. Citat ex Hieron. *Non mihi credas, si quid tibi dixero, quod ex Novo Testamento vel Veteri haberi non possit.*—Decr. caus. 11. q. 3. c. 101. *Is qui præest, &c.*

[q] Iren. l. 2. c. 1.

ness of God. Hold these, who dare. Surely, we can never abide, that those two marks of heretics, which Irenæus long since set down, (namely, not to rest in the bare authority of Scripture, and to vaunt of other Traditions) should both of them be justly branded on our sides.

[3.] But, this is yet most shamefully injurious, to deny unto the word of God credit of itself; and so to hang the Scriptures upon the Church, that they must needs beg all their authority from the voices of men.

Honest Eckius, in his revised and corrected Enchiridion, "The Scripture," saith he, "is not authentical, without the authority of the Church:" to which, as some golden and oracular sentence, there is added, in the margin, a glorious and insulting applause, "An Achilles for the Catholics."

I let pass the blasphemies of Hermannus and Hosius; perhaps, as Junius construes it, in the name of Swinkfeldius. I pass over the horrible impiety of that shameless gloss, which teaches, that Solomon's text borrows his credit from the Pope's canonization.

Bellarmin alone shall speak for all; who, going about to support the number of Seven Sacraments by the authority of the Tridentine Council, (for this ever is their last hold,) "The strength," saith he, "of all the ancient Councils, and of all opinions, depends upon the authority of the present Church." And, a little before, "If we take away the authority of the present Church, and of the present Council, (of Trent,) the decrees of all other Councils, and the whole Christian Faith, may be called into doubt and question."

O miserable, and miserably staggering souls of the Papists! How many, not persons only, but whole kingdoms, and those, as the Romanists themselves confess and bewail, mighty and flourishing, amongst themselves, do yet still resolutely reject all the authority of that Tridentine Council! "The whole Christian Faith?" "All doctrines and opinions?" What, even those, which are written by the finger of God? those, that are indited by the Holy Ghost? What is this else, but to make God a slave to men; and to arraign the Maker of Heaven and Earth at the bar of human judgment? God will be God; the Scripture of God will be itself; in spite of Rome, Trent, Hell. And, unless we hold this, we can have no peace with God: unless we deny it, no peace with the Romanists.

(2.) These errors concern the Scriptures. Those, which follow, concern *either Christ's Person, or his Offices.*

[1.] I let pass that idle brabble, as Bellarmin himself judges

[r] Iren. l. iii.
[s] Eckii Enchir. recognitum ann. 1586. fol. 8.
[t] Jun. Animadvers. in Bellar. de Verbo Dei.

doxa. Teneant ergo ista, qui ausint. Nos profectò nunquam committemus, ut quæ duæ hæreticorum notæ ab Irenæo quondam assignatæ sunt[r], in Scripturæ simplicis authoritate non acquiescere, Traditiones alias jactitare, eæ nobis ambæ meritò inurantur.

[3.] Sed illud adhuc longè iniquissimum est, *αὐτοπιστίαν* verbo Dei denegare; et ita suspendere ab Ecclesiâ Scripturas, ut necesse illis sit authoritatem suam omnem ab humanis suffragiis emendicare.

Bonus ille Eckius, in repurgato a se demùm Enchiridio, "Scriptura," inquit,[s] "non est authentica, sine authoritate Ecclesiæ:" cui sententiæ, ut verè aureæ ac nobili, adjicitur, in margine, gratulantis ovantisque calami plausus; "Achilles pro Catholicis."

Mitto Hermanni ac Hosii, sub Swinckfeldii fortassis nomine[t], blasphemias. Mitto horrendam glossematis illius turpissimi[u] impietatem, quod Salomonis textum à Papæ canonizatione fidem suam mutuari docet.

Instar omnium erit ipse Bellarminus; qui, Septenarium Sacramentorum numerum Concilii Tridentini authoritate (hæc enim illis *ἱέρα ἀγκύρα*) suffulturus; "Omnium," inquit[x], "Conciliorum veterum, et omnium dogmatum firmitas pendet ab authoritate præsentis Ecclesiæ." Et, paulò antè, "Si tollamus authoritatem præsentis Ecclesiæ, et præsentis (Tridentini scilicet) Concilii; in dubium revocari poterunt omnium aliorum Conciliorum decreta, et tota fides Christiana."

O instabiles, miserèque vacillantes Pontificiorum animas! Quot non capita modò, set et regna integra, eaque profectò florentissima, fatentibus ingemiscentibusque Romanis, Tridentini Concilii authoritatem omnem etiamnum pertinaciter rejiciunt! Quæ illis fidei certitudo? quæ spes salutis? Ain' verò, "Tota fides Christiana?" "Dogmata omnia?" Etiam quæ digito Dei exarata? etiam quæ a Spiritu Sancto dictata? Quid hoc aliud est, nisi Deum ipsum hominibus emancipare; humanoque tribunali sistere Cœli Fabricatorem? Deus erit Deus; erit quæ est Dei Scriptura; quantùmlibet reclamantibus Româ, Tridento, Orco. Et, ni nos istud arctissimè teneamus, nulla nobis cum Deo pax erit; ni denegemus, nulla cum Pontificiis.

(2.) Hæc quidem Scripturas: quæ sequuntur, *Christi* spectant *seu Personam, seu Munera.*

[1.] Mitto quam *πέρι τῆς αὐτοθεότητος* meram profectò, ju-

[s] Gloss. in Decretal. l. ii. tit. 23.
[x] Bellar. de Num. et Effect. Sacr. l. ii. c. 25. p. 300.

it, which the Popish Censors have unjustly raised about the Son's Godhead of himself; and insist upon weightier quarrels.

(a.) I would that exploded opinion of Transubstantiation, and, which is the root of it, the multi-presence of Christ's body, did not utterly overthrow the truth of his Humanity.

Good God! Is it possible, as Averroes jested of old, that Christians should make themselves a God of bread? that any reasonable man can believe, that Christ carried his own body in one of his hands? that he reached it forth to be eaten by those holy guests of his, which saw him present with them, and heard him speaking to them; both while they were eating him, and when they had eaten the sacred morsel? that the self-same Son of Man should, at once, both devour his whole self, and yet should sit whole and entire at the table with them? that the glorious body of Christ should be carried through the unclean passages of our maws: and either be there turned into the substance of our body; or, contrary to that the Spirit said of old, *Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption;* Ps. xvi. 10. should be subject to putrefaction, or vanish to nothing, or return into that heaven wherein it was, ere it returned, while it returned: or, lastly, should be eaten with mice, (devout and holy vermin!) or, perhaps, mixed with poison, to the receiver?

What monsters of follies are these! How mad, yea, how impious is this obstinacy of foolish men, that they will overturn the very principles of nature, the order of things, the Humanity of their Saviour, the truth of the Sacrament, the constant judgment of Scripture, and, lastly, the very foundations of all Divinity; and confusedly jumble heaven and earth together, rather than they will, where necessity requires, admit but of a tropical kind of speech in our Saviour's consecration; while, in the mean time, the whole reverend senate of the Fathers cries out, and redoubles the names of symbols, types, signs, representation, similitude, figures, and whatever word may import a borrowed sense; notwithstanding all the indignation of heaven, all the scorn of pagans, all the reluctation of the Church!

This letter killeth; as Origen truly speaks. Now, what likelihood is there, here, of agreement?

That the true body of Christ is truly offered and truly received in the Sacrament, which of us hath not ever constantly taught and defended? But, how is this? not by any bodily touch, as Cyril and Ambrose say well; but, by our faith. That it should be corporally, carnally, orally present; and torn in

y Genebrard. de Trin. l. i.—Lindan. Dial. 2.—Canisius in Præf. Lib. de Jo. Bapt.—Bell. de Chron. l. ii. c. 19. *Calvinus, sine dubio, in modo loquendi erravit; sed, dum rem ipsam discutio, non facilè audeo pronuntiare illum in hôc errore fuisse.*

dice Bellarmino, λογομαχίαν instituerunt Censores Pontificii [y]: gravioribus insisto.

(a.) Utinam certè humani corporis veritatem non prorsus destrueret explosissimum illud μετουσίας dogma, et, quæ illius radix est, πολυπαρουσίας.

Bone Deus! fierine potest, quod Averroes olim lusit, ut panaceum sibi Deum fingant Christiani? ut quis hominum credat, Christum suum ipsius corpus alterâ manu gestâsse? porrexisse deglutiendum sanctis hospitibus, qui illum, et inter manducandum, et post sacrum illud frustulum piè devoratum, præsentem intuiti sunt, alloquentem audierunt? ut ipse Filius Hominis se totum simul devorârit, integer tamen et incolumis interea discubuerit? ut gloriosum corpus Christi in rancidulos ventriculorum meatus deferatur: ut vel in corporis nostri substantiam inibi demùm convertatur; vel, contrà quàm Spiritus olim, *Nec sines Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem;* Ps. xvi. 10. putredini obnoxium sit, vel in nihilum evanescat, vel redeat in cœlum illud, in quo erat antequàm rediit, dum rediit; vel a muribus (piis animalculis!) corrodi, vel venenis denique misceri possit?

Quæ hæc ineptiarum portenta sunt! Quàm hæc insana, quàm impia fatuorum hominum pertinacia est, ipsa naturæ principia, rerum ordinem, Servatoris Humanitatem, veritatem Sacramenti, constantem Scripturarum sententiam, fundamenta Theologiæ, convellere, ac susque deque habere; cœlum terræ miscere denique, potiùs quàm ut tropicam loquendi rationem (ubi necesse est) admittere velint; clamante interim omni Patrum senatu[z] Symbola ἀντίτυπα, signa, exemplar, similitudinem, figuras; indignante cœlo, ridentibus Ethnicis, reluctante Ecclesiâ!

Occidit hæc litera, cordatè (quod non semper solet) Origenes. Quæ nunc istîc concordiæ spes?

Verè hic offerri, verèque percipi, verum Christi corpus, quis nostrûm non constanti fide docuit usque, et defendit[a]? At quî demum istud? non corporeo tactu, ut Cyrillus et Ambrosius, sed fide. Illud verò corporaliter, carnaliter, oraliter adesse;

[z] Tertull. contra Marcion. l. iv.—Beatus Rhenanus fatetur hunc errorem Tertull. in Berengario refutatum.—Aug. Psal. iii.—Epist. 162.—Ps. xcviii.—De Doct. Christ. l. iii. c. 16.—Chrys. Hom. 46. in Joh.—Theod. Dial. 1. et 2.—Naz. Epit. Cæ.

[a] Bell. de Euchar. l. i. c. 1.

pieces with our teeth, as good Pope Nicholas caused Berengarius to say, and our Allen hath followed him unbidden; hath ever seemed impious to us, and, as Austin judges it, no less than flagitious.

We like well yet the ingenuity of Arius Montanus, in this point; who, upon Luke xxii. 19. *This is my body*, saith he, "That is, my body is sacramentally contained in this sacrament of bread:" and, straight he adds, like another Nicodemus, Christ's nightly disciple, "The secret and most mystical manner whereof, God will once vouchsafe more clearly to unfold to his Christian Church."

Thus he. In the mean time, for us, this prodigious conceit of Transubstantiation, which alone contains in it as many absurd errors, as there have been minutes of time, from the first forming of it, that is, from the Council of Lateran, until this hour, can look to be entertained no otherwise at our hand, than as such a devilish fancy deserveth, with hatred and execration.

(b.) But this sleeveless tale of transubstantiation, was surely brought both into the world and upon the stage, by that other fable of the Multi-presence of Christ's Body. Neither know I, whether I should prefer, for madness and sophistical cozenage.

That the same body of Christ should be in a thousand places, at once, of this sublunary world; while yet it is, in the mean time, entire in heaven: that the whole body of Christ should lie hid in a little thin wafer; yet so, that the parts and members thereof should not one run into another, but continue distinct, and severally disposed among themselves, and have a shape and order agreeable to a man's body; which are Bellarmin's own words: it doth not only exceed reason, but faith.

Neither do they say now, as of old, *Behold, here is Christ, or there;* Matt. xxiv. 23; but, which is much worse, "Behold, Christ is both here and there."

That received axiom of the Schools is of an eternal truth: "The numerical unity of a finite thing cannot stand without continuity."

Who can choose, but be ashamed of the Jesuits here? The very places, in which Christ's body is, saith Bellarmin, are discontinued: yea, and the body of Christ itself is divided from itself, in respect of place; but not in respect of his proper substance, or quantity. As if there could be any division of a material substance, but by bounds of place: as if quantity were not both bounded and measured by place alone: as if there were not an undoubted relation of the place to the thing placed.

[b] De Doct. Christ. l. iii.
[c] Montan. in Luc. xxii. 19.
[d] In vers. 18.

et (quæ Berengario præivit bonus ille Papa Nicolaus, illumque secutus, Alanus noster) dentibus teri dilaniarique; impium nobis semper videbitur, et, Augustino judice[b], flagitiosum.

Placet hîc Ariæ Montani candor, qui in Lucæ xxii. 19[c]. *Hoc est corpus meum;* "Id est, verum corpus meum in hôc Sacramento panis continetur sacramentaliter:" subditque[d], uti Nicodemus alter, nocturnus Christi alumnus, "Cujus arcanam et mysteriis refertissimam rationem ut explicatiorem habeant Christiani, dabit aliquando Dominus."

Hæc ille. Interea nos prodigiosum Transubstantiationis dogma, quod unum tot in se absurdos errores continet, quot momenta temporis ab ejus primâ efformatione, id est, à Concilio Lateranensi[e], ad hanc usque horam intercesserunt, ut insomnium planè diabolicum, execrabimur[f].

(b.) Istud verò *ἀκέφαλον μυθὸς* edidit certè illa altera, quæ de *πολυτοπίᾳ* Christi corporis fabula est, et in scenam produxit. Nec scio utri primas deferam fatuitatis, fraudisque sophisticæ.

Ut mille in locis sublunaris hujusce mundi sit idem Christi corpus; quod tamen interea totum in cœlis est: ut integrum corpus Christi in minutâ quâdam placentulâ ita delitescat, membra ut se non penetrent, sed distincta et inter se disposita sint, habeantque figuram et ordinem humano corpori convenientem, (quæ Bellarmini verba sunt,) non rationem modò exsuperat, sed fidem.

Neque jam, ut olim, *Ecce, hîc Christus, aut illîc;* Matt. xxiv. 23; sed, quod longè turpius, "Ecce et hîc Christus, et illîc."

Æternæ veritatis illud est receptissimum in Scholis axioma: "Unitas numerica rei finitæ consistere non potest absque continuitate[g]."

Quem non pudeat hîc Jesuitarum? Loca ipsa, in quibus Christi corpus est, inquit Bellarminus, discontinua sunt: sed et Christi corpus divisum est a se, respectu loci; sed non respectu propriæ substantiæ, sive quantitatis. Quasi ulla esset divisio substantiæ, nisi per terminos: quasi solo loco non et terminari soleat quantitas, et commensurari: quasi certissima non esset loci ad locatum relatio[h].

[e] *Antea enim libera erat cuique sua hâc de re sententia.* Tonst. de Verit. Corp. et Sang —Idem, Scot. et Biel. ut citantur à Suarez.—Scot. in 4. d. 11. q. 2.

[f] Dicendum quòd Ecclesia declaravit istum intellectum esse de veritate fidei in illo Symbolo, edito sub Innoc. 3, in Concil. Lateranensi.

[g] Conr. Vorst. Epitrib.—Jul. Scal. Exercit. in Card.

[h] Aug. Epist. 57. *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt.*

But now, this doth not belong to Christ only. St. Xavier, in our age, one of Loyola's brood, was seen, at once, both in the ship and in the boat: Turselline reports it. Unto this fabulous saint, and his fellow-fabuler the reporter, I cannot devise to set a better match, than that Plautine Amphitrio: "Darest thou say, thou fond slave, that which never man yet saw, nor indeed can be done, that one man should, at the same time, be in two places at once?"

How far wide is Aquinas, the honour of the Schools, which saith, "By the same ground or reason, that an angel might be in two places, he might be in as many as you will!" See now; either Xavier is everywhere, or else the carcase of a friar is more subtle than the nature of an angel. To conclude, either Aquinas is false, or the Papists ubiquitaries.

How over-bold are the Jesuits, the patrons of this multipresence! Bellarmin, scorning the modesty of Thomas, Egidius, Carthusian, Capreolus; "Because," saith he, "we think that the body of Christ may be in many places at once, locally and visibly, therefore we say and hold, that the same body may be circumscriptively and definitively in more places at once. For, that a body may be circumscriptively in any place, nothing is required, but that it be fitly measured unto that place; so as the bounds of the place and the thing placed, be both together: but it is not required, that it should not be elsewhere, as in another place." Thus he. What an absurd opposition is this! To be circumscribed in one place, and yet to be other-where! that the bounds of the place and the thing placed should be but one, and yet be in almost infinite! that another remote place should less hinder circumscription, than a part of the next place! What is to be mad, if this be to be wise? Who cannot but laugh at "the wise folly" of these men; as Iræneus said of the Valentinians?

But, I willingly hear that of Chrysostom: "To conceive of divine things by philosophy, is no other, than to take out a red-hot iron with our fingers, and not with tongs:" and that of Augustin: "Yield God able to do something, which thou art not able to understand." It is reported, that Aristotle misled Ætius the heretic into that filthy error of Arius: and Tertullian hath taught us, that all heresies are suborned by philosophy. What hath Athens to do with Jerusalem; the Academy, with the Church? Away with arguments, where faith is in question; as Thomas ingenuously says out of Ambrose.

But, what is all this to us? It is well yet, and I do heartily

[i] Citat Matth. Sutclivius, Resp. ad Bell. de Euchar.
[k] Plaut. Amphitr. Act. 2.
[l] Tho. in Mag. l. i. d. 32. q. 1. art. 1.
[m] Bell. de Euchar. l. iii. c. 4. p. 297. in 8.

Atqui hoc non jam soli competit Christo. Sanctus ille Xavierius nostro ævo (unus ex pullis Loioliticis[j]) et in navi simul visus est, et in scaphâ: retulit Tursellinus. Ego divo ludicro, et parili fabulatori, Plautinum Amphitruonem committo:

Tun' id dicere audes, (verbero,) *quod nemo unquam homo antehac*
Vidit, nec potest fieri, tempore uno
Homo idem duobus ut locis simul sit[k]*?*

Quàm nunc frustra est decus scholæ, Aquinas; qui, "Ejusdem est rationis," inquit[l], "angelis simul esse in duobus locis, et in quibuscunque pluribus!" Ecce nunc vel ubique Xavierium, vel fraterculi corpusculum angelicâ naturâ subtilius: denique, vel falsum Aquinatem, vel Papistas ubiquitarios.

Quàm nimium audaces sunt hodie multi-præsentiæ hujus patroni, Jesuitæ! Scilicet Bellarminus, contemptâ Thomæ, Ægidii, Carthusiani, Capreoli modestiâ; "Quia existimamus," inquit[m], "posse corpus Christi esse in pluribus locis, etiam localiter et visibiliter, ideo dicimus corpus idem posse esse, circumscriptivè, et etiam definitivè, in pluribus locis. Nam ut corpus sit circumscriptivè in aliquo loco, tantùm requiritur, ut commensuretur illi loco; ita ut termini loci et locati sint simul: non autem requiritur, ut non sit alibi, tanquam in alio loco." Absurdam verò *ἀντίθεσιν*! Circumscribi loco, et esse alibi! ut termini præsentis locati et loci sint adæquati, et tamen locatum unum numero sit, loca mille! ut hoc loco commensuretur quid, quod in aliis est ferè infinitis! ut locus alius remotus minùs impediat circumscriptionem, quàm pars alterius proximi! Quid delirare est, si hoc sit sapere! Quis non rideat horum "sapientem stultitiam;" quod de Valentinianis Irenæus[n]?

Sed lubens audio illud Chrysostomi; "Ex philosophiâ res divinas intelligere, est candens ferrum non forcipe, sed digitis contrectare:" quin et Augustini: "Da Deum aliquid posse, quod tu non possis intelligere." Ætium hæreticum in errorem illum Arii putidissimum seduxisse fertur Aristoteles[o]: quin et omnes hæreses a philosophiâ subornari docuit nos Tertullianus[p]. Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid Academiæ et Ecclesiæ? Tolle argumenta, ubi quæritur fides; ut candidè ex Ambrosio Thomas[q].

Sed, quid hæc illi nobis? Bene est, idque ex animo nostris

[n] Iræn. l. i. c. 9.
[o] Socrat. l. ii. c. 35.
[p] Tert. Lib. de Præscript. (s. 7.)
[q] Tho. in Mag. l. i. q. 3. art. 1.

congratulate it to our men, that the idle tale of Surius, concerning Melancthon, and Carolostadius, and other Protestants, abandoning of all philosophy, wherewith yet Binius pleased himself of late, is thus hissed out of countenance, and vanished. Belike now, the Reformed Doctors are Philosophers, but too much.

For us, we do easily grant, that many things are done, which we cannot understand: but these things, we grant not; because we understand they cannot be done.

God hath absolute power, as Thomas speaks truly, over the whole nature of the creature; but not so, as that he should cause it to be, and not to be, at once. This, as Sadeel says wittily, *Deus potenter non potest.* The object of God's power, as the Jesuits' School willingly confesses, is, whatsoever implies not a contradiction in itself. Now, that the self-same body should sit down, and yet not sit down; should be visible, and invisible; divisible and continued, and yet discontinued and indivisible; to be all here, to be all elsewhere; to be here greater, there less; to be one, and many; the same, and divers; to depart, and not to depart; to be contained in heaven, and not to be contained; to be a quantity, without space; to be measured by and fitted to a place, and not to take up any place; to be accidents, and yet not to be inherent; to be formerly, yet to be made; to be otherwise in places, than in a place; to be a true body, and yet to be spiritually: that boy were well worthy of whipping, that cannot discern and confess manifest contradictions.

But, what do I spend time in this thorny discourse? This one word shall shut and sum up all: That this wicked pair of opinions offers plain violence to the true Humanity of Christ; neither can ever, *salvâ fide,* be reconciled with the Evangelical Truth.

[2.] The Priestly Office of Christ is not a little impeached by the daily Oblation of the Missal Sacrifice, and Number of Mediators.

(a.) For the first; That in this Sacred Supper there is a sacrifice, in that sense wherein the Fathers spake, none of us ever doubted: but that is then, either latreutical, as Bellarmin distinguishes it not ill; or eucharistical: that is here, as Chrysostom speaks, "a remembrance of a sacrifice;" that is, as Augustin interprets it, a memorial of Christ's passion, celebrated in the Church. And, from this sweet commemoration of our redemption, there arises another sacrifice, the sacrifice of praise; and, from thence, a true peace-offering of the Christian soul.

[r] Binius in Vitâ Adrian. VI. (tom. iv. pars 2. p. 138. edit. 1618.)
[s] Petr. Mart. Dial. de Omni-præs.

gratulari libet, quòd, omnium sibilis excepta, evanuerit illa Surii (memoratui non illepida) de Carolostadio et Melancthone philosophiam exterminantibus, fabella; quæ tamen Binio[r] pridem complacuit. Ecce jam nimis profectò philosophos, homines Evangelicos.

Atqui nos facilè quidem concedimus, multa fieri, quæ nos intelligere non possumus: ista tamen non concedimus, quia fieri non posse intelligimus[s].

In totam Entis naturam (ut verè Thomas) absolutam habet potestatem Deus; sed non ut in non ens redigat, et tamen interim esse faciat. Hoc sanè (ingeniosè Sadeel) *Deus potenter non potest.* Objectum potentiæ divinæ est (fatente etiam ultrò Jesuitarum Scholâ) quicquid in se non implicat contradictionem. Jam verò, idem numero corpus, eodem tempore, discumbere et non discumbere; visibile esse et invisibile; divisibile et continuum, discontinuum et indivisibile; esse hîc totum, esse totum alibi; majus esse hîc, minus illîc; esse unum et plura; *τἀυτὸ καὶ ἕτερον*; recedere non recedere; cœlo capi, non capi cœlo; esse quantum, absque spatio; commensurari et adæquari loco, locum non occupare; accidentia esse, et non inhærere; esse, et tamen fieri; fieri, et non fieri; aliter esse in locis, quàm in loco; esse *ὅλως ὅλον*, et tamen corpus; esse verum corpus, et esse spiritualiter ad modum Dei; vapulet (me quidem censore) quisquis puerorum contradictoria non agnoverit.

Sed quid ego spinosioribus hisce immoror? Scenæ totius illud est: Impium hoc par dogmatum veræ Christi humanitati vim palàm inferre; neque unquam posse, *salvâ fide,* cum veritate Evangelicâ conciliari.

[2.] Munus Christi Sacerdotale non leviter impetunt quotidiana Sacrificii Missalis Oblatio, et Numerus Mediatorum.

(a.) Quod ad primum; Esse quidem in Sacrâ hâc Cœnâ, quo sensu Patres olim locuti sunt, sacrificium, nemo nostrûm est, qui unquam dubitârit[t]: illud nempe sive *λατρεύτικον* (ut Bellarminus non malè distinguit), sive *εὐχαρίστικον*: est hîc (ut Chrysostomus) *ἀνάμνησις τῆς θυσίας*[u]; id est, interprete Augustino, memoria Dominicæ passionis, in Ecclesiâ celebrata. Et ex hâc suavi redemptionis nostræ commemoratione, aliud emergit sacrificium, *θυσία αἰνεσέως*; et ex illo denique, pacificum.

[t] Vid. Valent. Vannii de Miss. cit. ab. Luc. Osiandr. Confut. Thes. Costeri.

[u] Hom. in Heb. xvii.

These three sacrifices offer themselves to us here; but, for any propitiatory sacrifice, unless it be, as the Gloss interprets it, representively, I find none: none, essential; none, as the Tridentines labour to persuade, true and proper.

Neither, indeed, can there be. For, what? Doth the priest offer the same, that Christ hath offered? or another?

If another, then not propitiatory; for only Christ is our propitiation.

If the same, then not an unbloody sacrifice; for Christ's sacrifice was a bloody one: then, the natural being of Christ should again be destroyed: then, the blood of the Mediator, which I abhor to imagine, must be of a finite value and power. Yea, Christ himself did not sacrifice on the table, but on the cross: for, if the sacrifice which he offered in his supper were perfect and fully propitiatory, what needed he to die afterward? wherefore was his blood shed upon the cross, which, by his transubstantiated blood, not yet shed, had formerly redeemed the world?

But if it be unbloody, then it is not propitiatory: for, *without shedding of blood*, saith the Apostle, *is no remission;* Heb. ix. 22.

Or, what opposition is there betwixt the order of Melchisedec and Aaron, betwixt Christ and the priests of the old Law, if this office do equally pass and descend in a long pedigree of mortal successors? Or, why were the legal sacrifices of the Jewish Synagogue so oft repeated, but because they were not perfect? and how can, or why should, that, which is most absolutely perfect, be reiterated?

To conclude; what can either be spoken or conceived more plain, than those words of God, *once offered, one sacrifice, one oblation?* Heb. ix. 28. and x. 12; 14. And yet these Popish shavelings, devout men! take upon them to crucify and sacrifice Christ again; and, while they solemnly offer the Son of God up unto his Father, they humbly beseech him, in a religious blasphemy, that he would be pleased to bless and accept that oblation. It is not for us, I confess, to be so devout. We will remember this holy sacrifice of Christ, as Cassander well advises; and celebrate it with a thankful heart: we will not repeat it. We will gladly receive our Saviour, offered by himself to his Father, and offered to us by his Father: we will not offer him to his Father. Which one point while we stick at, as we needs must, we are strait stricken with the thunderbolt of the Anathema of Trent. Here can be, therefore, no possibility of peace.

(b.) It doth not more belong to the priesthood of Christ, that

x Trid. Conc. Sess. 22.

y *Hostiam, Domine, suscipe benignus oblatam.* Et statim; *Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, ac-*

Tria ergo cùm hîc se offerant sacrificia; propitiatorium certè, nisi fortè (ut Glossa interpretatur) repræsentativè, nullum est: nullum essentiale; nullum (quod Tridentini[x] contendunt) verum ac proprium.

Immo, nec esse potest. Quid enim? Idemne offert sacerdos, quod Christus obtulit? an aliud?

Si aliud, non ergo propitiatorium; solus enim Christus ἵλασμος.

Sin idem, tum non ἀναίμακτος; cruentum enim erat Christi sacrificium: tum esse Christi naturale denuò destrueretur: tum finiti valoris foret (animus horret cogitare) sanguis Mediatoris. Immo, Christus ipse non in mensâ sacrificavit, sed in cruce: etenim si perfectum in cœnâ suâ sacrificium obtulit, plenèque propitiatorium, quid opus illi erat mori postmodùm? quorsum illi in cruce effusus cruor, qui, transubstantiato illo necdum emisso sanguine, mundum priùs redemisset?

Quod si incruentum, tum non propitiatorium: *nulla enim*, inquit Apostolus, *χώρις αἱματεκχυσίας remissio;* Heb. ix. 22.

Aut quæ demum oppositio est inter Melchisedechi ordinem et Aaronis, Christum et veteris Legis Sacerdotes, si munus istud per longam mortalium successorum seriem transeat æquè, ac descendat? Aut quorsum iterata sunt toties legalia veterum sacrificia, nisi quòd parum perfecta extiterint? quî verò potest, aut quorsum debet, quod perfectissimum est, iterari?

Denique, quid planius vel dici vel cogitari potest? *ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς, μία θυσία, μία προσφόρα*; Heb. ix. 28: x. 12; 14. Et tamen adhuc sacrificuli Pontificii, sacerrimi homines, Christum crucifigunt immolantque; dumque Filium Dei Patri suo piè offerunt, rogant supplices, religiosâ planè blasphemiâ, ut hostiam illam benedicere et acceptam habere velit[y]. Nobis non licet esse tam devotis. Commemorabimus nos quidem sanctissimum Christi sacrificium, quod Cassander benè monuit; gratoque animo recolemus: non iterabimus. Accipiemus oblatum à se Patri, oblatumque nobis à Patre Servatorem: non Patri offeremus. Quod unum dum (uti par est) recusamus, anathemate Tridentino statim percellimur. Pax ergo hîc nulla.

(b.) Ad sacerdotium Christi non magis spectat, ipsum se

ceptibilem, facere digneris, &c. Munera, quæsumus, Domine, oblata sanctifica, &c. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, &c. Canon. Miss. Consult de Sacrif.

he offered himself once for us, a spotless sacrifice, upon the altar of his cross; than that he daily offers to his Father the incense of our prayers, on the altar of heaven. As, therefore, many sacrifices, so many Mediators plainly seem to put Christ out of office.

Neither indeed hath the number of intercessors more increased in this old age of the world, than the impiety of implorring them. For the modester judgment of the former Schools so framed to itself a distinction of mediation, that it challenged one kind thereof as proper only to Christ, thinking the other might be imparted to saints: but our late Doctors, wilfully breaking the bars both of logic and divinity, have rashly encroached upon all the offices of a Mediator; and, whatsoever might by any right belong to an agent for peace, all that, if not more, have they attributed to the saints.

Hereupon, one says to the Blessed Virgin, "O Saviouress, save me:" another, "Obtain thou pardon, apply grace, prepare glory for me:" others, if we may believe Cassander, famous Divines, have said, that "God hath translated one half of his kingdom, which consists of mercy, to the Blessed Virgin Mary; reserving the other half, of justice, to himself:" others, that "we may appeal from the bar of God's justice, to Mary's court of mercy." Others have so compared their Francis with Christ, that, I tremble to speak it, whether of these was the typical Jesus, might seem questionable to the reader. Hear the holy muse of Turselline:

> Francis that was, shall now be Christ to thee:

And, soon after,

> And Christ that was, Saint Francis now shall be.

O tongue, worthy to be cut out of that blasphemous mouth, as Jerome said of his Vigilantius, and made into gobbets!

Neither hath this impious parasite, or his Sedulius done more for their stigmatical Francis, than the holy Archbishop Antonius hath done for his Dominick, in an emulation of blasphemy. There wants nothing, that I can see, but "that Everlasting Gospel of the Friars:" and it wanted not much, if histories say true, of prevailing:

> Oh, what mad gowns have swayed the Roman state!

as their poet said of old.

Others have sacrilegiously turned Litanies, Creeds, Psalters, and whatever God meant to honour himself by, unto the name of the Holy Virgin. And, I would to God, this were only the private misdevotion of some superstitious old wife, or some idle

z Lib. Conform. Sedul.
a Tursell. cit. à Possevin. Bibliothec. Select. p. 295.
b Hier. advers. Vigilant. (Epist. 53. p. 158.)

victimam ἄμεμπτον in arâ crucis pro nobis semel immolare; quàm precum nostrarum thymiama, (ὀσμὴν εὐώδιας,) in arâ cœli, Patri suo jugiter offerre. Ut ergo infinita ferè sacrificia, sic et innumeri Mediatores Christum planè exautorare nobis videri solent.

Neque certè magis in hôc mundi senio crevit intercessorum numerus, quàm impietas invocandi. Enimvero modestius Scholæ prioris acumen ita finxit sibi mediationis distinctionem, ut alteram ejus speciem Christo propriam vindicârit, alteram sanctis participandam censuerit: succedanei autem Doctores, ruptis non tam Logicarum, quàm Theologicarum legum repagulis, in omnia Mediatoris officia temerè involârunt; et quicquid cuiquam sequestri quovis jure competere potuit, totum illud sanctis suis tribuerunt.

Hinc alius Beatissimæ Virgini, "O Servatrix, salva me:" alius, "Impetra veniam, applica gratiam, præpara gloriam:" alii, si Cassandro credimus, celebres viri, dixerunt, "Deum regni sui, quod constat ex justitiâ et misericordiâ, dimidium (hoc est, misericordiæ) in B. Mariam transtulisse:" alii, "exhinc à foro justitiæ Dei posse ad curiam B. Mariæ provocari." Alii sic Franciscum cum Christo comparârunt, ut uter horum, horreo dicere, Jesus typicus fuerit, planè dubium lectori videatur[a]. Ecce ἐνθουσίασμον Tursellini:

Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit.

Et statim,

Jam Franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat[a].

O! præcidendam linguam, quod Vigilantio Hieronymus[b], et per partes ac frusta dilacerandam!

Idemque Dominico præstitit (pari blasphemiâ) pius Archiepiscopus Antoninus. Nihil hîc, quantum video, defit, præter "æternum illud Fraterculorum Evangelium:" parùm verò abfuit, si credimus historiis[c], quin obtinuisset:

O, quàm perfatuæ sunt tibi, Roma, togæ[d]*!*

Alii Litanias, Psalteria, et quicquid ad Dei gloriam Spiritus accommodavit, ad Sanctæ Virginis nomen ore sacrilego traduxerunt. Et utinam profectò ista privata foret superstitiosuli alicujus malèque feriati homuncionis δεισιδαιμονία. Lubenter

[c] Henr. Steph. Apolog. Herodot. (p. 517. ed. 1579.) et Fox in Martyr. (v. ii. p. 520. edit. 1837.)
[d] Martial.

and silly cloisterer. Fain would our charity conceive so, which is still credulous, and, as the Apostle commands, *thinks not evil;* 1 Cor. xiii. 5. if Cassander did not directly tell us, that they publicly sing in their very churches this devout Anthem,

> O happy Mother of that Son,
> Which hast all our sins foredone:
> Out of a Mother's right, we pray thee,
> Bid our Redeemer to obey thee:

if all these were not openly approved by the holy censors of the Roman Church, severe controllers of manners! yea, by the voices of their own Popes: if, at this day, (witness the muses of Bencius and Bonarcius,) the Jesuits did not both speak and write thus.

But, let us leave these bold impieties, if you will, to their Bernardines, Antonines, Bartholemews of Pisa, Tursellines. Bring us forth their more sober Divines, Polydores, Cassanders Vives: even their opinions will not down with us, which teach that the saints are, in any wise, to be prayed unto.

Indeed, the Protestants say, as, Bellarmin grants, that the saints pray for us; but, only in a generality. Bucer said truly, that the saints have great love to their militant brethren, great desire of their salvation; and so, doubtless, have the angels. But, must we therefore single out any one of those blessed spirits to aid us, to sue for us in the court of heaven? God forbid! for, upon what faith must these prayers of ours be grounded? unless perhaps, as Hosius saith, we must believe in the saints also.

Yea, how sure are we, that none of the saints can either search the heart, the fountain of our prayers; or, at once hear ten thousand of their suppliants, distant in place from each other! Yea, further, if, as there should be no limits set to religion, all the world over, devout clients should, at once, jointly commend and prostrate themselves humbly to some one saint; it is not a swiftness of nature, as Jerome contends, that would serve the turn: a true ubiquity, as Bellarmin confesses, must be required to the hearing of all those prayers.

What hinders now, but that they, which, of sinful men, have made saints; should, of their saints, make gods also?

Besides, which of the Prophets, which of the Apostles ever commanded this? which of the Saints of the former world hath ever done it? Or, what other, if credit may be given to Theodorit, did St. Paul forbid, under the worship of angels, to his Colossians? Or, what was the heresy of the Collyridians, if this must go for piety?

[e] Lib. de Beatit. Sanct. c. 15.

[f] Cit. Cass. in Consult. de Invocat. Sanct. (p. 968.) Idem fatentur Luther. Œcol. Melancth. Brentius.—Quære Mort. Appell. Protest. l. 2. c. 12. s. 1.

quidem fovere vellet opinionem hanc charitas nostra, credula illa certè, et quæ, Apostoli jussu, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακὸν: 1 Cor. xiii. 5. ni etiam in Ecclesiis quibusdam publicè decantari moneat Cassander, istud (bone Deus) quale carmen!

O fœlix puerpera,
Nostra pians scelera,
Jure matris impera
Redemptori:

ni hæc omnia a piissimis Ecclesiæ Romanæ censoribus, rigidis morum magistris! ipsorumque Pontificum suffragiis, palàm comprobata essent: nisi eadem hodie (testor Bencii et Bonarscii musas) et dicerent et scriberent Jesuitæ.

Sed relegentur tamen ista (si quis mavelit) ad suos Bernardinos, Antoninos, Bartolomæos Pisanos, Tursellinos. Prodeant qui magis sobriè sapere visi sunt, Polidori, Cassandri, Ludovici; ne horum quidem sententia nobis unquam arridebit, qui quovis modo sanctos invocandos esse docuerint.

Verè (quod Bellarminus[e]) Protestantes dicunt, sanctos pro nobis orare; sed tantùm in genere. Verè Bucerus[f], inesse sanctis summam nostri charitatem, nostræque salutis voluntatem: quin eadem proculdubio et angelis εὐδόκια est. Hinc tamen ut nos quemlibet beatorum spirituum, ad auxilium nostrî, ad intercessionis cœlicæ munus evocemus? Absit! Etenim quâ demum fide nitentur hæ preculæ? nisi fortè, quod Hosius, credere et in sanctos debeamus?

Quàm nobis certò constat, neminem posse sanctorum, vel fontem orationum corda lustrare, vel mille supplicum vota, locis à se totidem dissitorum, unà inaudire! Quin, uti nulli mihi videntur poni debere religioni termini, ubique (si placet) terrarum, uni alicui sanctorum devoti clientes se unanimiter commendent, prosternantque; non celeritas naturæ, ut Hieronymus[g], sed vera ubiquitas, ut fatetur Bellarminus[h], istîc, ad preces hasce percipiendas, requireretur.

Quid nunc obstat, quò minùs qui sanctorum animas in divos, divorum spiritus in Deos aliquando transmutent?

Deinde verò, quis Prophetarum, quis Apostolorum jussit? quis fecit sanctorum prisci ævi? Aut quid denique aliud, si qua Theodoreto fides, sub θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγελῶν Colossensibus suis interdixit Paulus? Aut quæ Collyridianorum hæresis fuit, si hæc pietas habenda sit?

[g] Contr. Vigil. l. i.
[h] Bell. de Beat. Sanc. l. 1. c. 20.

That rule of Epiphanius shall be ever a safe course for us: "Let Mary be honoured; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost worshipped." Here is no fear of danger, but that we may go safely to that God which calls us to him; and prostrate ourselves to his Christ, our gracious Saviour. None of the saints can envy God this honour: none of them ever did, either arrogate it to himself, or suffer it to be given him. Neither is there any of them, whom God ever allowed, either to take it to himself, or to impart it to others, or to accept it quietly being imparted to him by others.

The Papists, therefore, may come to us when they will, with safety and advantage: we may not yield to them, without manifest danger of idolatrous dotage.

(3.) But, if any good-natured Reconciler shall be so indifferent, as to think these weighty points of difference not to be so heinous, but that every one might secretly maintain what opinion he list; yet so, that, as Constantine said to Alexander and Arius, while the minds differ, the outward peace may be preserved; let him further understand, that *the continual practice of the religious worship and service of God*, will ever both raise and proclaim no less hostility, than matter of judgment.

In our devotions, and public exercises of piety, and places consecrated to this use, there is nothing, that can offend either the eye or the mind of a Papist, except the bareness of our walls, and the apostolical simplicity of ceremonies: an easy fault; and such, as it is no praise of their ingenuity to wink at: for, long since have those clauses of our Public Liturgy been purposely blotted out, which, in our grandfathers' days, did but lightly touch this galled sore of Popery.

But, contrariwise, in the Popish churches there is scarce any thing either said or done, whereof we can, with a clear and unwounded conscience, be either partakers or witnesses. Their very walls kill us dead: but their ridiculous or demoniacal service, who can endure?

We honour, as we ought, the dear and happy memory of the saints; and, chiefly, the leader of that heavenly choir, the Blessed Virgin, "the Mother of God:" and whatsoever she can think not too dishonourable to herself and her Lord and Saviour, we will most gladly give it her to the full.

Neither will we only glorify God in his saints, as Augustin hath taught Durand to speak; but we will magnify the saints, as opportunity serves, for their excellent graces and worthy acts, both in God and in themselves: we will admire, extol,

[h] Epiph. Hæres. 79.

[i] Socrat. l. i. c. 7.

[j] Θεότοκος, a title assigned by the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431) to the

Tutissimum ergo nobis illud erit semper Epiphanii: *Ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία· ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ, καὶ Ὑιὸς, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω*[h]. Nihil hîc periculi est, quin tutò liceat adire, qui nos ad se vocat, Deum; ejusque Christo, benignissimo Servatori, provolvi. Nullus sanctorum, honorem hunc invidit Deo: nullus sibi aut arrogavit, aut passus est unquam exhiberi. Nec quis omnium est, cui permisit Deus, aut arripere hoc sibi, aut aliis communicare, aut, ab aliis sibi fortè communicatum, serenâ fronte, animo æquo, suscipere.

In nostram ergo sententiam pedibus eant Pontificii, licet hercle, et juvat; nos cum illis sentire absque manifesto Idolomanias discrimine non possumus.

(3.) Quòd si quis facilioris ingenii Conciliator, ejusmodi contendat esse gravissima hæc differentiarum capita, ut, quam quisque velit opinionem, tacitè fovere possit; ita quidem, quod olim Alexandro et Ario Constantinus[i], ut animorum dissidentium pax interea conservetur; intelligat is demum, *religiosi cultûs πράξιν continuam* nihilò inimicitiarum minus et serere et propalare.

In cultu nostro, publicisque pietatis exercitiis, locisve sacris, nihil est quod oculum animumve Pontificium offendat; præter nuditatem, simplicitatemque, verè Apostolicam: facile vero vitium; et cui vix ulla candoris laus est, ultro connivere: jamdiu enim in lituras abierunt illæ (quotquot erant) Precum Publicarum clausulæ, quæ, avorum nostrorum seculo, religionis Pontificiæ ulcus vel leviter tetigisse visæ sunt.

In templis contrà Pontificiis, vix quicquam vel dici vel peragi solet, cujus nos, illæsâ mente, aut participes, aut verò testes fieri possimus. Enecant nos ipsi quidem parietes. Cultum vero sive ridiculum, sive dæmoniacum quis ferat?

Honoramus nos, uti condecet, felicissimam sanctorum memoriam; imprimis verò, præcipuam cœlicolarum, meritòque beatissimam, "Virginem Deiparam[j]:" et quicquid illa sibi, Dominoque suo, non planè dedecori fore autumârit, id illi lubentissimè totum largiemur.

Neque modò Deum in sanctis suis, quod monet, edoctus ab Augustino, Durandus, glorificabimus; sed et sanctos in Deo seque ipsis, propter eximias virtutes, ac res præclarissimè gestas, summâ laude, uti opus erit, efferemus: horum singularem constantiam, fidem, robur animi, sanctimoniam mirabi-

Virgin Mary, in opposition to the heresy of Nestorius, may perhaps be fairly translated *Deipara;* but whether *Deipara* can be as fairly rendered *Mother of God*, is by no means equally clear. See Pearson on the Creed; Art. 3.—H.

and, what we may, imitate their singular constancy, faith, sanctity; as Sidonius said of his Claudian,

No tomb can either soul or glory shroud.

But, to dig up their holy bones, that I may borrow Luther's word, out of their quiet graves; and to fall down before these worm-eaten monuments of the saints; to expect from them a divine power, whether of cure, or of sanctification; equally to respect Francis's cowl, Anna's comb, Joseph's breeches, Thomas's shoe, as Erasmus complains, with the Son of God himself; can seem no better to us, than a horrible impiety.

Neither can we abide, either to deify men, or to canonize beasts. It seems, that Cardinal could abide it well, in whose garden is yet to be seen this epitaph, which he wrote upon his too-dearly-beloved bitch:

This tomb for thee, dear bitch, I builded have,
That worthier wert of heaven, than a grave.

We, profane Huguenots, cannot skill of worshipping Martin's boots; or, George's scabbard; or, Crispin's paring-knife; or, (which they say is kept in a certain town of Liguria,) the tail of that ass which Christ rode upon; or, Roche's dog; or, Antony's swine: and surely, he had need of a very thick hide, that can do this.

But, in earnest, say we should yield these adorations to be lawful and godly; what Macarius, amongst so many woods of counterfeit trees, can shew us the true cross? or, what Helena, amongst such heaps, yea hills of iron, can shew us the true nails? Assuredly, both these jugglers smile one upon another, while they shew these relics to their people: and now, even the silly vulgar begins, not without indignation, to descry this cozenage.

To omit, therefore, these ridiculous tricks and knavish conveyances of their shavelings, let us, in this case, appeal even to Cassander's own moderation; who, having first honestly acknowledged the ancient complaints of Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, about the business of these abuses, goes on thus: "It appears," saith he, "that, in the latter times, there hath been too much given to the relics and monuments of the saints: so as even good men, and those which were zealously devout, were grown to that pass, that they placed the sum of all religion in gathering together the relics of the saints, and in garnishing them richly with gold and pearls, and building sumptuous chapels and temples to them: and, again, those, that were lewd and godless, put all their confidence, though vain and false, in the foolish and superstitious worship of relics. Wherefore, in the Council of Cabilon, those are reproved, who, in a pretence of devotion, go on pilgrimage to Rome, or Turon, or

mur, prædicabimus, et, quantum possumus, imitabimur: scilicet horum, quod de Claudiano suo Sidonius,

Mens et gloria non queunt humari[k].

Sed, ut sancta illorum ossa (venia sit Lutheri verbo) ex quietis jamdiu sepulchris effodiamus; ut ante hæc semesa piorum monumenta supplices procumbamus; ut divinam ab illis virtutem, sive sanationum, sive sanctificationis expectemus; ut æquè suspiciamus Francisci cucullum, Annæ pectinem, caligam Josephi, Thomæ calceum, (quod Erasmus queritur,) ac ipsum Dei filium; vix ullo nobis piaculo luendum videri solet.

Neque nobis, aut homines inter Deos, aut bestias inter divos referre, placebit unquam. Placuit certè Cardinali illi, cujus in hortis videre est hoc, cani suæ, (vah, quàm nimiùm dilectæ!) Epitaphium:

Quod potui, posui tibi, fida Catella, sepulchrum,
Digna magis cœli munere, quàm tumuli[l].

Nos, profanum vulgus scilicet, ocreas Martini; Georgii vaginam; cultrum Crispini calcearium; aut (quæ in quâdam Liguriæ urbe asservari dicitur[m]) caudam asini, cui insedit Christus; aut Rochi canem; aut Antonii suem, colere nescimus: næ, ille Elephanti corio circumtectus est, non suo, qui istoc fecerit.

Seriò vero, ut geniculationes hasce legitimas demus ac pias; quis mihi Macarius, inter tot densas arborum sylvas, veram crucem dabit? aut, quæ Helena, e tot ferreis montibus, clavos? Et ipsi aruspices arrident sibi, dum hæc populo ostentant; sed et subolet nunc ipsi plebeculæ, quod isti machinati sunt, neque hercle sine deducto rictu.

Mittamus ergo hîc ridendas sacrificulorum artes, fraudemque insignitam; appellemusque, hâc quidem in causâ, unam Cassandri ἐπιεικειαν; qui, post Basilii, Ambrosii, Augustini non dissimulatas hâc de re querimonias; "Constat," inquit[n], "posterioribus temporibus, nimiùm reliquiis et memoriis sanctorum indultum et tributum fuisse: sic ut a bonis quoque viris, pio zelo præditis, summa quasi religionis in hujusmodi reliquiis conquirendis, auro et gemmis exornandis, et memoriis, seu templis, sumptuosissimis ædificandis posita putaretur: et ab improbis quoque hominibus, falsa fiducia in cultu inepto et superfluo reliquiarum collocaretur. Quare in Concilio Cabilonensi reprehenduntur, qui Romam aut Turonum, sub prætextu ora-

[k] Sidon. in Epita. Claud. Mamert.
[l] Poem. Illust. Poetar. Italorum.
[m] Moresin. Scot. Orig. Papist.
[n] Cass. Consult. de Reliq. Sanct. (p. 973.)

any other like places; as if they thought, that the frequenting of these holy shrines could both purge them from sin, and license them to sin with impunity. And, unto this, yet another mischief hath been added; that, for covetousness' sake, to entice the simple people, false relics have been devised, and feigned miracles reported; and, by those miracles, the superstition of the multitude was so fed, that they were rather taken up with an admiration of the wonders, than drawn to a holy imitation of the saints. And, many times, by the subtlety and illusion of the Devil, abusing the superstition of men, new relics were, by dreams and visions, revealed to the world; and, by the operation of the same Devil, miracles seemed to be wrought for the confirmation thereof." Thus saith Cassander; like a true German, shall I say, or like a true Israelite?

But, we, that have been better taught, dare freely and confidently say of ourselves, as Jerome professed of old, in the name of all Christians, "So far are we from adoring the relics of martyrs, that we worship neither sun, nor moon, nor angels, nor archangels, cherubin, nor seraphin, nor any name that is named either in the present world, or in the future; lest we should serve the creature, rather than the Creator which is blessed for ever."

Then, that from relics we may descend to images; is it possible, that we should not be ever displeased with that frantic superstition of the Romish Church? that, against the tables of God's Law, against the institutions of the Apostles, against the practice of the Ancient Church, against the manifest decrees of Councils, against the clear testimonies of Fathers, in defiance of God and men, the churches of Christians should be no less pestered with idols, than the temples of the Heathen? that, as Jerome complained of old, the native beauty of the Church should be polluted with the filth of Paganism? that, which Eusebius justly taxeth of madness, there should be a visible and bodily image or representation made of the Invisible and Spiritual God? that we should put our confidence in *Agnus Dei*, grains, tapers, roses, swords, ensigns, bells; ridiculously, after their manner, enchanted? that, by certain magical exorcisms, the Devil should be driven out of those creatures, wherein he never was? Nay, let us even enter into league with Satan himself, if we shall give either allowance or connivance to such diabolical practices of will-worship.

I do purposely forbear to speak of that profane paradox of the sufficiency of the outward work done, without good inward dispositions; the idle mumbling up of prayers, in a foreign tongue; the number and virtue of sacraments; the sacrilegious mutilation of the eucharist; and a thousand other monsters, both opinions and ceremonies.

* Hier. ad Riparium, advers. Vigilant. (Epist. 53. p. 157.)

tionis peragrant; putantes frequentatione horum locorum se a peccatis purgari, et impunè peccare. Accesserunt et alia mala; quòd, avaritiæ causâ, ad simplicem populum illiciendum, falsæ reliquiæ supponebantur, et ficta prædicabantur miracula; iisque miraculis populi superstitio alebatur, ut magis in admiratione miraculorum raperetur, quàm ad sanctorum imitationem provocaretur. Nonnunquam autem astu et illusione Dæmonis, hominum superstitione abutentis, per insomnia et visa, novæ reliquiæ revelabantur, et, ejusdem operatione miracula edi videbantur." Hæc ille; verè Germanusne, an Israelita?

At nos, edocti meliùs, liberè de nobis fidenterque prædicare audemus, quod, Christianorum omnium nomine, professus est olim Hieronymus [o], "Nos, non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem et lunam, non angelos, non archangelos, non cherubim, non seraphim, et omne nomen quod nominatur, et in præsenti seculo, et in futuro, colimus et adoramus; ne serviamus creaturæ magis, quàm Creatori, qui est benedictus in secula."

Deinde verò, ut a reliquiis ad imagines descendamus; fierine potest, ut nobis aliquando non displiceat insana Romanæ Synagogæ superstitio? ut, contra sacras Dei tabulas, contra Apostolorum instituta, contra veteris Ecclesiæ morem, contra manifestissima Conciliorum decreta, contra Patrum clarissimas ubique refragationes, Deo et hominibus planè renitentibus, Christianorum basilicæ nihilò seciùs, ac Gentilium templa, simulachris undique repleantur? ut, quod olim questus est Hieronymus [p], candor Ecclesiæ Ethnicorum sordibus polluatur? ut, quod Eusebius amentiæ meritò insimulat, Deo Invisibili et Incorporeo imago visibilis et corporea statuatur? ut in Agnis Dei, granis, luminibus, rosis, gladiis, insignibus, campanulis, ridiculo more incantatis [q], fiducia collocetur? ut magicis quibusdam exorcizationibus, ab illis Dei creaturis arceatur Diabolus, quas nullus unquam occupârat? Inibimus profectò cum Satanâ ipso fœdus, ubi Diabolicis hisce ἐθελοθρησκείαις viam semel aut veniam concesserimus.

Profanum illud operis operati παράδοξον; otiosas peregrinarum precum submurmurationes; sacramentorum et numerum et virtutem; sacrilegam eucharistiæ mutilationem; et mille alia cùm opinionum, tum ceremoniarum prodigia, videns prudensque prætereo.

[p] Hier. Magno Oratori Rom. (Epist. 84.)
[q] Lib. Sacr. Cerem. (p. 80–83. edit. Col. Agrip. 1557.)

These, that I have reckoned, are errors more than enough. And, I would to God, those, which we have here particularized, were not such, that there is no remedy, but that we must eternally fall out, either with God or with Rome.

Since, therefore, neither truth can ever yield, nor obstinacy will yield; let us serve cheerfully under the colours of our Heavenly Leader; and both proclaim and maintain an unreconcileable war with these Romish Heresies.

II. OF THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE MEANS OF RECONCILIATION.

And now, since no wise man can suspect of us, that we will ever grow to that height of madness, as to run perfidiously from the standard of God to the tents of that Roman Antichrist; is there any hope, that the Papists will ever be drawn back to the sound and pure judgment of the Primitive Antiquity? Oh, that God would vouchsafe this grace to the Christian World! that we could but comfort ourselves with the hope of so great happiness!

What a sight were this, how pleasant, how worthy of God and his angels; that, as it is said of the Novatian faction and the orthodox of old, men, women, children of both parts, without all guile and close harbours of discontentment, should mutually bring stones and matter to the building up of this temple of another, yet true, Resurrection!

We will gladly speak unto them (and, if need be, upon our knees) in Cyprian's words: "Since we may not come forth of the sound and true Church of God, and come unto you; let us beseech and entreat you, by whatsoever should be most dear unto you, that you would return to our fraternity, and into the bosom of that Mother Church whence ye are revolted:" and, as he said in Theocritus, "yet, at last, be persuaded. We are both brothers of one blood. Why will you needs fight more against yourselves, than your brethren?"

But, alas, sooner may God create a new Rome, than reform the old. Yea, needs must that Church put off itself, and cease to be what it is, ere it can begin to be once again what it was: for, as the Comic Poet said in the like; "Both substance, credit, fame, virtue, honour, have at once forsaken her; and by long disuse have left her worse than nought: neither do I see how these houses can be repaired, but they must be pulled down to the very foundations, and then built from the ground."

[r] Socr. l. ii. c. 38.
[s] Cypr. Lib. iii. Ep. 2.

Satis nunc superque errorum est. Et utinam profectò hæc, quæ diximus, ejusmodi non essent, ut necesse nobis sit, in hisce omnibus, vel Deo vel Romæ æternùm disconvenire.

Dum igitur flecti nec possit veritas, nec velit erroris pertinacia; nos sub Imperatore Cœlesti merebimus usque alacres; et Hæresibus Pontificiis *ἄσπονδον πόλεμον* et indicemus meritò, et inferemus.

II. DE MEDIORUM RECONCILIATIONIS IMPOSSIBILITATE.

JAM verò, cùm nemo sanus illud de nobis suspicari unquam possit, fore, eò uti insaniæ diveniamus aliquando, ut, relictis Dei signis, ad Antichristi illius Romani castra perfidè transfugiamus; ecqua spes est, posse demum Pontificios ad sanam mentem Primævæ Antiquitatis revocari? O, si indulgeret illud Deus Orbi Christiano! si liceret nos tantæ felicitatis vel omine solo consolari!

Quàm jucundum foret illud, dignumque Deo spectaculum; ut, quod de Novatianis et Orthodoxis fertur[r], viri, mulieres, pueri, patris utriusque, procul omni simultate, lapides cæmentumque ad *Ἀνάστατικον* verè templum comportaremus!

Compellabimus nos quidem illos, lubentes, (idque, si opus erit, sum missis genibus,) Cypriani verbis[s]: "Quia nos, Ecclesiâ, sanâ scilicet, derelictâ, foras exire et ad vos venire non possumus; ut vos magis ad Ecclesiam Matrem, et ad nostram fraternitatem revertamini, quibus possumus hortamentis petimus et precamur:"

Ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
Πείθεσθ' · ἄμφω δ' ἄμμιν ἀνεψιὼ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐστόν·
Δαιμόνιοι, τί μάχης ἱμείρετε[t]*;*

At, at, citiùs Romam novam creârit Deus, quàm reformârit veterem. Immo necesse est se prorsus exuat Ecclesia illa retexatque, quæque modo est esse desinat, priùs quàm ut, quæ olim fuit, esse nunc denuò incipiat:

Simul enim res, fides, fama, virtus,
Decusque deseruerunt: atque ipsa inusu
Facta est nimio nequior: nec videor mihi
Sarciri posse ædes hasce, quin totæ
Perpetuæ ruant, quin cum fundamento
Perierint, nec quisquam esse auxilio queat[u].

[t] Theocr. Idyl. κβ'. (Διοσκούροι, v. 169, 170; 145.)
[u] Plaut. Mostellar.

But, if there be any likelihood of remedy yet to be hoped for, surely, it must needs come either from herself or from others.

Can it be first from herself, which obstinately defends her errors, not only with tongue and pen, but with fire and sword too? which will not yield so much, as that she can err? which refused to amend those notorious abuses, which, by the moderate verdict of her elect Cardinals, were condemned? and, lastly, which, by the palpable flatteries of her last and worst parasites, the Jesuits, is grown, not secure only, but prouder than ever she was?

Can it be then from others? How oft hath this been endeavoured, in vain! Rome may be sacked and battered, as it hath often been, by military forces; but, purged by admonitions, convictions, censures, it will never be. I remember, on this occasion, what Sisinnius the lector advised Bishop Nectarius in the like case: That he had ever found disputations so far from reconciling of schisms, that they are still wont to inflame the minds of heretics to suffer contention.

What then? can it be from herself and others? Alas, how should it; unless either others had power, or herself had will, to be redressed? For, certainly, if there be any one spark of good hope yet alive, it must be in the aid and determination of a General Council: and such a Synod is no less impossible, than reconciliation itself. For, who shall call it? who shall sit president in it? who shall be present, and give their voices? what shall be the rule of the decisions? what the order of execution?

Let them bring forth, if they will, the sister or the daughter of that their Tridentine Assembly: who can hold from smiles and scorn? Forsooth, they would deal with us (as Luther wittily jested of the summoning of this Council by Paul the Third) much like unto them, that mock a hungry dog with a crust and a knife; who, instead of giving him the bread, let him feel the haft. Well may we resolve, with Nazianzen, to avoid all such meetings of Bishops; for that no such Synod ever did good, but tended rather to the decay than advantage of the Church.

I remember Isidore derives the Latin word *Concilium, à ciliis oculorum;* for that all direct the sight of their minds into one centre. There can, therefore, be no Council held by those, which profess a general and public disagreement of judgment. In vain should we endeavour any such course, unless every one of them would resolve to think of peace at home; and would persuade his heart, laying aside all prejudice and wilful re-

[x] Socr. l. v. c. 10.

[y] *Poterúntne verò pacem esse pati pacis dissolutores?* Synod. Ariminens. ad Constant. apud Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 29. (Labbe; tom. ii. p. 797.)

Quòd si ullum vel remedii specimen etiamnum à nobis sperari possit, illud certè vel a se, vel ab aliis, necessariò adhibebitur.

Nunquid à se; quæ suos errores pertinaciter, non calamo et linguâ modò, sed flammâ et ferro defendit? quæ vel errare se posse nunquam elargietur? quæ à moderatissimo selectorum Cardinalium judicio damnatas *κακοηθείας* emendare pridem recusârit? quam denique novissimi pessimique parasitorum, Jesuitæ, blandis suppalpationibus non securam modò, sed et solito superbiorem præstiterint?

Nunquid ab aliis? Quoties hoc frustra tentatum! Expugnari quidem potest Roma, quod sæpius factitatum est, militum manu; monitis verò, criminumque et errorum convictionibus, censuris, literis expurgari non poterit. Succurrit mihi istic, quod olim Sisinnius lector Nectarium Episcopum monuisse dicitur[x]: Exploratum habere se, disceptationes non solùm non reconciliare schismata, sed hæreticos præterea ad contentionem multò magis accendere.

Denique, numquid à se et aliis? Nugæ, nisi aut alii possint, aut velint ipsi! Certè enim, si quid bonæ spei adhuc reliquum sit, illud totum in Concilii Œcumenici vindiciis decernendis situm est: talis autem Synodus non minùs quàm pax ipsa, impossibilis est[y]. Quis etenim convocabit? quis præsidebit? qui intererunt, ferentque suffragia? quæ definiendi regula erit? quæ ratio exsequendi?

Ostentent nobis Tridentinæ seu sororem, seu filiam: quis non rideat simul et indignetur? Actum scilicet nobiscum erit, (quod ingeniosè Lutherus de indictione Concilii à Paulo 3,) ac ab illis solet, qui famelico cani illudunt frustulo et cultello. Quin stet nobis, cum Nazianzeno[z], ejusmodi *πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν Ἐπισκόπων· ὅτι μηδεμίας* (*τοιαύτης*, nimirum) *Συνόδου τέλος χρῆστον· μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μάλλον ἐσχηκυίας ἢ προσθήκην.*

Concilium, à ciliis oculorum, memini dictum Isidoro[a]; quòd in unum omnes dirigant mentis obtutum. Concilium ergo agere non possunt, qui publicam usquequàque dissidentiam profitentur. Frustra nos hoc tentabimus, nisi illorum quisque apud se domi pacem meditari occœperit; animumque induxerit, abjecto omni præjudicio, ac pertinaci partium studio, veritati (ubi

[x] (Epist. 42 ad. Procop. apud Whitaker. Respons. ad Campian. 1583, 4to. —A.)

[a] Isid. in Præfat. Concil. Binii. (tom. i. p. 3. edit. Col. Agrip. 1618.)

spects of faction, ingenuously to submit himself to the truth, when it once appears, and more to regard their souls than their estates.

For can we think it equal, as things now stand, that the same parties should be allowed, witnesses, plaintiffs, defendants, judges in their own cause? Or, shall we perhaps hope, that those privileges, which have hitherto been treacherously and tyrannically usurped by Papists, will now, upon better advisement, be ingenuously given up by them, and renounced? or, that they will now, at last, thunder and lighten Anathemas against their own heads? Some fools may hope for this, which are unacquainted with that old verse, so common in the mouth and pen of Lipsius,

Moribus antiquis Res stat Romana, virisque.

But, for us; unless He, that doth wonders alone, by his stretched-out arm from heaven, should mightily, beyond all hope, effect this; we know too well that it cannot be done.

Only this one thing, which God hath promised, we do verily expect; to see the day, when the Lord Jesus shall, with the breath of his mouth, destroy this *lawless man*, 2 Thess. ii. 8. long since revealed to his Church; and, by the brightness of his glorious coming, fully discover, and dispatch him. Not only in the means and way, but in the end also, is Rome opposite to heaven. The heaven shall pass away by a change of quality, not an utter destruction of substance: Rome, by destruction, not by change. Of us, therefore, and them, shall that old Bucolick verse be verified:

Out of each others' breast their swords they drew;
Nor would they rest, till one the other slew.

GLORY TO GOD!
VICTORY TO THE TRUTH!
WAR WITH HERESY!
PEACE TO THE CHURCH!
AMEN.

illa semel affulserit) ingenuè assentiri, animisque demum suis consulere potiùs, quàm fortunis.

Æquumne enim fortè videbitur, quæ nunc rerum conditio est, ut in eâdem causâ iidem testes, rei, actores, judices admittantur[c]? Aut, numquid fortasse sperabimus, quæ, pessimâ jamdiu fide, ac apertâ tyrannide, privilegia hactenus usurpârint Pontificii, illis, actâ nunc demum pœnitentiâ, homines ingenuos candidè abrenuntiaturos? aut, contra sua ipsorum capita Anathematum suorum fulmina vibraturos? Speret hoc ilicet, quisquis fatuorum nescit vetus illud, toties a Lipsio decantatum,

Moribus antiquis Res stat Romana, virisque.

Nos ista, nisi solus Ille miraculorum Architectus, exertâ e cœlis dextrâ, potentissimè istud præter spem omnem effecerit, fieri non posse satis utique novimus.

Illud modò unum, quod pollicitus est Deus, fideliter expectamus; fore, ut *τόν ἄνομον*, 2 Thess. ii. 8. jam olim Ecclesiæ suæ revelatum, Dominus Jesus oris sui spiritu interficiat; et gloriosi adventus sui *ἐπιφανείᾳ* plenè detegat, ac deturbet. Ilicet non mediis solum, sed et fine, adversa est cœlo Roma. Cœlum transibit immutatione sui, non abolitione[d]; abolitione, non immutatione sui, Roma. De nobis ergo, atque illis, illud olim cantabitur Theocriteum:

Τὼ δ' ἄορ' ἐκ κολεοῖιν ἐρυσσαμένω, φόνον ἄντις
Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλάλοισι· μάχης δ' οὐ γίγνετ' ἐρωή[e].

LAUS DEO!
VICTORIA VERITATI!
HÆRESI BELLUM!
PAX ECCLESIÆ!
AMEN.

c Optat. Milev. l. vii. Decr. 2. (caus. 2. q. 1. s. 18.) *Multi.*
d Hier. in Matt. xxiv.
e Theocr. Idyl. κβ'. (Διοσκουροι, v. 191, 192.)

TO THE READER; GREETING[a].

I WOULD wish you, Reader, to understand, that the Second Part of our Polemics (entitled "the Anti-Jesuit Society") has long been lying by me, a sacrifice to darkness and silence: pleading indeed neither modesty nor fear; but deeming it perhaps more prudent (as is the way with busy speculations such as this!) to be handled by friends and acquaintance, than to pass, vaguely and promiscuously, before the eyes of all. Several persons, and those among the best and highest, have not only examined it, but kindly sanctioned it (so far as was necessary) by their judgments. Should it ever be called forth at their command, it will fly wherever it pleases, through the crowd, and provoke the Jesuits (a supercilious sort of men, and more than sufficiently quarrelsome) to anger. Meantime, in a fit of foolish confidence, I have suffered one copy to get out of my possession. Into whose hands it may have come, I neither know nor suspect; but whosoever he may be, I recommend him, if he would escape the Laws against Plagiarism, to avoid, like myself, the danger of publication; and so to keep his own secret, that no one shall ever know when he was either born or buried.

[a] This Address, not being inserted in the English copies, is here translated by the Editor. Will it be thought unreasonable to hope, that some more fortunate book-hunter may even yet succeed in finding (whether in print or MS.) the *single copy* of the "Societas Anti-Jesuitica," of which the Bishop so pleasantly bewails the abduction?—H.

[b] Sigalion, the name given, in the Egyptian mythology, to the god of Silence: as in Ausonius,

Aut tua Sigalion Ægyptius oscula signet.

Epist. xxv. 27.—H.

*** It was a common practice in our Author's time, to place notes and references in the side margin, which being supposed to be opposite to the parts of the text with which they were connected, few or no marks were introduced to determine this connection. When, therefore, the notes and references were so numerous that they could not be placed opposite to the corresponding parts of the text, great confusion would often arise. The reader may form some opinion of the difficulty of disembarrassing this confusion in the preceding Treatise, when he reviews the multitude of notes and references which accompany it, and understands that the preceding editions contain,

LECTORI S.

QUOD te monitum volui, Lector, Polemices nostræ Pars Altera (quæ "Societas Anti-Jesuitica" inscribitur) diu apud me latuit, litavitque Nocti ac Silentio: non modestiam quidem causata, non metum; sed consultius fortè rata (quod negotiosi istius cœpti ingenium est) privatis nostrorum manibus teri, quàm passim ac promiscuè per ora hominum volitare. Non desunt ex optimis maximisque, qui illam et oculis usurpârint, et calculis etiam suis (quantum sat erat) benignè comprobârint. Quorum si quando jussu evocata fuerit, evolabit illa (quò lubet) in vulgus illico, Jesuitasque (superciliosum genus hominum, et nimiò quàm turbulentum) ultro irritabit. Excidit mihi interea, homini credulo, exemplar unum. Quod quidem cujus in manus devenerit, nec scio, nec suspicor; quicunque is demùm fuerit, moneo, si à lege sibi Plagiariâ cautum velit, ut Sigalionem[b] mecum sedulò colat; sicque latere pergat, ut fallat usque natus, moriensque.

throughout the whole, but one single asterisk. In some passages, even the order in which the notes are placed varies from the order in which the corresponding matter occurs in the text. No certain way was left of removing all obscurity, but that of verifying the respective references and quotations; which, however, would be wholly impracticable, as many of the books are not now to be met with: and I am, besides, obliged to say, that, in some other instances, in which I have attempted this course, I have found the references so inaccurate, whether from the author's having used editions differently divided from those which I employed, or from his own errors, or those of the press, that I have been obliged to desist. After close attention, however, to the preceding Treatise, I think I have succeeded in establishing, in most cases, the connection between the text and the notes; but on several obscure or doubtful references, the reader may try his own skill.—PRATT.

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†‡† Here followed, in Mr. Pratt's edition, a list of about twenty passages, which that gentleman had been unable to verify. The possession of the Latin copy has enabled the present editor not only to supply this defect, but to add many other references, not retained in the English translation. In this part of his labour he has again to acknowledge the valuable assistance of the Rev. J. Allport, of Birmingham, whose notes are marked "A.;" as well as that of the Rev. Joseph Mendham, Rector of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, and author of several works of the highest interest in controversy with the Church of Rome.—H.

REVERENDISSIMO VIRO,

D°. MARCO ANTONIO DE DOMINIS,

ARCHIEPISCOPO SPALATENSI,

EPISTOLA

DISCESSUS SUI AD ROMAM DISSUASORIA.

TO THE MOST REVEREND

MARK ANTHONY DE DOMINIS,

ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATO,

A LETTER

DISSUASIVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR ROME.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE

REV. PETER HALL, M. A.

*** Mark Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, in Dalmatia, was born at Arba, in the Gulf of Quarnero, about the year 1561. He wrote a variety of treatises on philosophical and theological matters, both in the Italian and Latin languages, including several that relate to the subject of the ensuing letter; among the rest, "De Pace Religionis, Epistola ad Josephum Hallum, Archipresb. Vigorn." On his departure from England, the Archbishop was kindly entertained at Rome by Pope Gregory XV.; at whose decease, however, he was thrown into prison, and died soon after, not without suspicion of poison. Some days afterward, his body was disinterred, and, with his work "De Respublicâ Ecclesiasticâ," burnt, by sentence of the Inquisition.—H.

ARCHIEPISCOPO SPALATENSI

EPISTOLA.

Noli gravatè ferre, Reverendissime Præsul, candidam hanc, et animi et calami, devotissimi tibi utriusque, libertatem. Sanè expressit mihi, vel renitenti, verba hæc priùs sincerus quidam et religionis zelus, et tui.

Fama est, te discessum à nobis meditari; neque tam loco cedere velle, quàm fide.

Strenuâ profectò suspicione non caret hoc ipsum proficisci. Neque enim cujusquam subire mentem potest, hominem senem velle animi causâ peregrinari. Deferbuit, proculdubio, jamdiu juvenilis ille ardor relictas pridem oras curiosè revisendi: nec ita crassi sumus insulares, ut credere possimus cœlum te mutare velle, nisi animum priùs quadamtenus mutare decrevisses; multò verò minùs Septem illos, invisos Cœlo, totiésque tuo fulmine ictos, Colles repetere.

Novimus et nos sat benè ingenium Romæ. Ecquem latere potest, nedum hominem cordatum, quàm infida sit illa statio superbæ Hierarchiæ expugnatori? Moneat te olim vester Fulgentius, quàm nihil ita tutum sit Pontificiæ Majestatis tantillo violatori; etiam post fidem, si qua famæ fides, sanctè datam, post promissa munera, post benignissimæ invitationis blanditias. Viderit tua prudentia, ut te vel propudiosissima palinodia, tactæque, quas dejerasti priùs, aræ liberaverint.

O tuam, si, quem modò profiteris, sanus et orthodoxus Romam remeare audeas, miram animi confidentiam, piámque martyrii sitim, dignam stupore nostro, dignam immortalitate! Quin nobis istic liceret, et hanc tibi gloriam invidere, et gratulari fœlicitatem; sed quàm te parùm provehat ambitio, est quod non immeritò timeamus.

A LETTER

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATO.

Be not displeased, most Reverend Prelate, with the honest liberty assumed both by my mind and by my pen, which are both devoted to your service. The truth is, an unaffected zeal for religion, as well as for yourself, has extorted from me expressions which I was otherwise reluctant to utter.

There is a report abroad, that you think of leaving us; and that it is not so much from your situation, as from your faith, that you wish to retire.

Certainly, the very circumstance of your journey affords no slender ground of suspicion. No one can suppose that a person of your age would choose to travel, merely for recreation. The desire of exploring once more, with labour and research, the countries which you left in youth, has doubtless ceased long since to glow within your bosom: nor are we islanders so simple as to imagine, that you would wish to change your climate, unless you had first seen fit, in some degree, to change your mind; much less to pay another visit to the City of the Seven Hills, abhorred of heaven, and struck so often by your lightning.

We likewise know too well the disposition of Rome. Who is there that knows not, particularly if he be a man of observation, how dangerous a place it is for one, who attacks her haughty Hierarchy, to dwell in? Let the example of your countryman Fulgentius remind you, how little safety is to be expected there for one who has impugned, to the smallest extent, the dignity of the Pope; and that too, after a solemn pledge of honour, (if honour may be identified with report,) after a promise of gifts, after the persuasives of a most friendly invitation. Let your prudence take due notice, that a recantation, however shameful, and a return to the altars which you once abjured, must constitute your only hope of escape.

O, should you dare revisit Rome, the sound and orthodox divine you still profess yourself, most wonderful must be your confidence of mind, most pious your thirst of martyrdom; worthy indeed of our astonishment, worthy of immortality! Well might we envy you your honour, and wish you joy of your happiness; but that we cannot help fearing your ambition may tend but moderately to your advantage.

Quid, ergo? Ægrè profectò monuerim, opus esse novas profectionis tuæ rationes exponat Reverentia vestra. Quas verò tandem illas? Si ex fassis liceat, uti plebeis semper licuit, conjectari, sanctum quoddam uniendæ Ecclesiæ studium te Romam, discordiæ hujusce sacerrimam sedem, propellit; machinaturum demum aliquid, quo funestissimæ Christiani Orbis lites aliquando sopiantur: ad quod quidem opus instructiorem te aliis omnibus produxisse visus est ille Pacis Author.

Animus certè quàm non desit, memini te alicubi palam profiteri. Alicubi inquis; "A primis clericatûs mei annis, in me innatum penè desiderium videndæ unionis omnium Christi Ecclesiarum. Separationem Occidentis ab Oriente, in rebus fidei, Austri ab Aquilone, æquo animo ferre nunquam poteram. Cupiebam anxiè tot tantorúmque schismatum causam agnoscere ac perspicere; num possit aliqua excogitari via, omnes Christi Ecclesias ad veram antiquam unionem componendi. Idque videndi ardebam desiderio; dolore interno animi, ex tot dissidiis inter Christianæ Religionis professores, ex odiis acerrimis inter nobilissimas Ecclesias inflammatis, ex tunicâ Christi fœdè scissâ et laceratâ, concepto, excruciabar. Qui me dolor et nimia tristitia mirum in modum conficiebat, (et indies magis conficit!) indeque ad fervens studium invitabat."

Dignam sanè piissimo Præsule, lapsóque è cœlis, pacis φιλοτιμίαν! Quis non hunc unà et animi candorem et ardorem zeli pronus exosculetur? Pereat certè, quisquis est; pereat pessumè, qui discerptissimæ Ecclesiæ redintegrationem suo ipsius sanguine redemptam iri noluerit!

Sed parce, si me audis, colendissime Præsul, parce huic labori. Novimus nos istic, quid possint humanæ vires. Votis nos unà tecum, si lubet, usque contendemus, ut, Dei beneficio, beet aliquando Christianam Rempublicam pax alma; respiciénsque ab alto, dissipet tandem omnes errorum inimicitiarúmque procellas, quibus hodierno die miserrimè conflictamur.

Sed mortalium quisquis se hoc effectum dare posse sperat, nimiò quàm frustrà est! Aut enim exuat se prorsùs oportet

What, then? Unwillingly should I venture to suggest, that your Reverence must needs assign new reasons for your excursion. Yet what may one presume them to be? If it be lawful, as it ever has been lawful for common men, to deduce conjectures from acknowledgments, it is some righteous scheme for effecting the unity of the Church that carries you to Rome, the detestable seat of the very discord you deplore; where, however, you meditate a plan for composing at length the deadly strifes of Christendom: a work for which the Author of Peace appears to have provided you with more ample qualifications than any other.

That you lack not the inclination to attempt this object, I remember that you somewhere openly profess. "From the first years of my ministry," you observe, "I felt a desire, that seemed almost to have been naturally engendered, of beholding an union of all the Churches of Christ. I never could patiently endure a separation of East from West, and of North from South, in matters of faith. I anxiously desired to investigate and comprehend the cause of so many and so great divisions; whether any way could be devised, for settling all the Churches of Christ on the true and ancient principles of union. And while I burnt with a desire to witness this result, I was tormented inwardly with the sorrow which I had at heart, while contemplating so great a multitude of dissentions among professors of the Christian religion, animosities so fiercely blazing between the noblest Churches, the robe of Christ so miserably cut and torn. And this my grief, and this the abundance of my sorrow, began at that time, and now continues daily, to prey upon me in a remarkable manner, and to urge me on to fervent anxiety for the accomplishment of my desires."

An ambition for peace, well worthy of a Bishop, the most pious of his order, sent down from heaven! Who would not stoop to kiss such openness of mind, united with such earnestness of zeal? Evil betide him, whosoever he may be; evil betide him to the uttermost, who would not hail the restoration of a rent and wounded Church, though purchased at the cost of his own blood!

Yet spare yourself, if you have any regard, most honoured Prelate, for my advice, spare yourself this trouble. We have learnt, on this point, what the strength of man can accomplish. We will strive with you, if you like, in prayers, that, through the kindness of God, sweet peace may one day bless the Commonwealth of Christ; and looking down from above, may scatter at length the storms of error and hostility, by which we are so sadly dashed about at the present day.

But whoever be the man on earth, that hopes to give effect to this desire, how is his labour lost! For either the Roman Church must utterly renounce herself, (and who is he that ima-

Romana Ecclesia, (quod quis hominum suadere se posse autumet?) aut hoc profectò nullo modo fieri potest.

Non negârim equidem, (dedimus enim et nos strenuè, quantum potuimus, operam huic instituto) penes utramque litigantium partem esse sacra pacis limina, quæ aliquanto propiùs liceret, absque ullo fidei damno, salutare. Nam et leviculæ quædam sunt, quæ tutò liceret alterutri, si opus foret, indulgere; neque quid impedit, quò minùs in tractandarum, quæ necessariò obveniunt, controversiarum modo, plus utrinque moderationis Christianæ possit adhiberi. Sed, ut unanimem in summis religionis capitibus (quæ nunc est Romæ indoles) concordiam ineamus, dolens edico, haud minùs impossibile est, quàm lucem tenebris, Beliali Deum consociari.

Quàm infamis audit hodie Johannis Sturmii media, non secus ac lata illa, quæ ad imum usque Barathrum deducit, via! Quàm vapulat etiamnum bonus ille Cassander; Friciúsque; et quisquis moderatioris ingenii Theologus pacis ausus est meminisse! Quin et tepidos hæreticis suis connumerandos censuit pridem, nec nemo Gallicanorum Patrum, Gualterus. Quis verò te meliùs novit, quàm mordicùs olim tenuerunt Tridentini Patres vel minimas quasque quisquilias; stipulamque suæ, quam vocant, fidei? quibus Orbem Christianum penitùs conflagrare maluerunt Romani rerum domini, quàm ut tantillum suo qualicunque jure cedere viderentur.

Ecqua nunc spes est, post tot annorum pertinaciam, profusiores veri Pontificios charissimis erroribus ultro renunciaturos? Nimiâ profectò fide sit oportet, qui istud crediderit.

Eat nunc quis probus monitor, et suggerat ista, cujus in pectore conclusa delitescit Ecclesia, Pontifici Summo. "Sine me modò suadere tibi, obsecro, Sancte Pater, ut fastuosum hunc Papatum, Monarchicumque in Ecclesias Dei Imperium, abdicare velis. Noli cathedram tuam, quod soles, ἀναμάρτητον venditare. Desine tibi, post tam apertam tuorum hominum erubescentiam, arrogare gladium illum alterum potestatis secularis. Cave tui ipsius præcepta divinis æquiparanda censeas edicâsque. Insigne illud commentum Transubstantiationis, Sacrificii Missatici, Purgatorii Ignis, fatere tandem et exsibila. Noli Ecclesiam Christianam deinceps ludos facere lucrosis In-

gines he can persuade us this?) or the object can by no means be achieved.

For my own part I would not deny, (for I too have devoted all the pains and labour I was able to the same project,) that, within reach of either of the contending parties, there are sacred lines of peace, which, without any damage to their faith, they might approach somewhat nearer, and salute. For not only are there trifles, which one or other of them, if need were, might safely venture to forego; but no reason can be assigned, why, in the manner of conducting controversies which arise inevitably, a larger measure of Christian moderation should not be employed on both sides. But that, while Rome continues in her present mood, we should enter an engagement of unanimity on the chief heads of religion, I say (though I say it weeping) is a thing no less impossible, than that light should be associated with darkness, God with Belial.

How vile a reputation has that middle way (a middle and a broad one!) of Johannes Sturmius obtained now-a-days, which leads down to the lowest depth of Hell! How sorely to this hour is worthy Cassander lashed; and Fricius too; and every other Divine, of a more moderate spirit, who has dared put in a word for peace! Nay, Gualter (and he no mean one among the Fathers of the Gallican Church) decided, not long since, that lukewarm men were to be included in his list of heretics. And who knows better than yourself, how tenaciously the Fathers of Trent held fast, in latter times, the veriest refuse of the schools; the husks and straws of what they designate their creed? with which our lords and masters at Rome would rather that the Christian world should burn till it was consumed, than that they should appear to bate one jot or tittle from the authority they make so much of.

Now, then, what is our hope, that, after the stubbornness of so many years, Papists, more lavish than ever of the truth, will voluntarily renounce their dearest errors? The man must have indeed an exuberance of faith, who can believe this.

Come; let some honest counsellor go and tender these suggestions to the Pope; within whose breast the Church lies shut up. "I pray you, Holy Father, allow me just to assure you, that you had better abdicate this pompous Popedom of yours, and this Monarchical Supremacy over the Churches of God. Tell us no more, as you were wont, of your infallible chair. Assert your claim no longer to the sword of secular power, after the conviction and exposure of your partisans. Beware how you esteem and pronounce your own commands of equal veneration with those of God. Confess and reject that notable device of Transubstantiation, of the Sacrifice of the Mass, of the Fire of Purgatory. Suffer not the Church of Christ henceforth to chuckle over the gains she gets

dulgentiarum nundinationibus. Jubeas ne sanctorum effigies reliquiæve in idola convertantur." Quid, quæso, aliud, à magno Romuli nepote, nisi facem crucémve reportabit?

Quid, ergo? ubi steterit palam errorum parentibus simul et patronis, quidvis aut agere aut pati potiùs, quàm ut à sententiâ suâ, quamlibet impiâ ac prodigiosâ, discedere velint; quid à nobis tandem putat Paternitas vestra, primævæ veritatis asseclis, posse expectari, ut conclamatissimis erroribus dare manus, et plus quàm servili jugo Pontificiæ Tyrannidis colla subdere, jam serò animum inducamus? Non ita sanè et Deum et hominem exuere possumus, ut hâc tam insanâ lege pacem colere mavelimus. Alterum profectò horum, si quando convenire lubitum, planè necesse est; ut aut illi errare, aut nos rectà ire desinamus: illud, ipsi valdè nolunt; hoc, Deus.

Quòd si, qui olim Cæsari animus fuisse dicitur, non nisi difficillima quæque obeundi, idem hodie sacratum Deo pectus insideat promoveátque; cave tibi, Tyrrhenum mare ingressuro, à Duodecim Scopulis, plebi quidem nautarum forsitan incognitis, tibi verò peritissimo naviculatori exploratissimis. Minitantur illi scilicet exitium non cymbis modò quotidianis, seu onerariis, seu actuariis; sed, ubi eò transfretaveris, sanè aut impingat tua navis necesse est, aut subsidat.

Dicam planiùs; ne te salus ipsa servare poterit, ubi Romam accesseris, quin aut damnatos à te pridem errores, mutatâ velificatione, revoces resorbeásque; aut damneris vivi comburio. Durum utrunque omen; nec, ullâ aliâ ratione, nisi prudenti, quod cautus usque fecisti, profugio, avertendum. Potéstne fieri, ut adeò sis prodigus totius tui, horum uti alterutrum tutò placidèque vitam istic agenti arrideat? Certa mors imminet utrinque reduci; corporis quidem, si verum fateri audes; si dejerare, animæ.

At, at siquidem animo jampridem discessum à nobis anteverteris, non erit ut de diuturniore aliquâ molis extimæ retentione solliciti simus. Nolo ego de te, tanto Theologo, mali quicquam opinari. Levis cujusdam inconstantiæ, si te tuum ipsius factum palam alligârit, est quod tibi succenseas.

Dic mihi verò, per Deum immortalem, magne Presul, quid tandem est, quod te nobis, post aliquot annorum moram, jam de subito abripere, Romámque pellicere potuit?

by public traffic in Indulgences. Give orders, that neither the images nor relics of the saints be turned into idols." What else suppose you our friend will get from the great descendant of Romulus, but a fagot or a gallows?

How, then? Where there exists a palpable determination, both with the parents and with the patrons of error, to do or suffer anything, rather than depart from their opinions, however wicked and monstrous; how can your Fatherhood suppose it should be expected from us, the advocates of primitive truth, that we should consent, after all, to shake hands with the most desperate and deadly errors, and bend our necks to the worse than slavish yoke of Papal Tyranny? No, indeed; we cannot so discard our concern both for God and man, as to prefer peace on conditions so outrageous. Should we ever come to terms, one of these two things must happen; either they must cease to go wrong, or we to go right: the former is disallowed by them; the latter, by God.

But if (as is said to have been the case with Cæsar) no thought but that of undertaking the most arduous service inspires and animates a breast, devoted, like yours, to God; be on your guard, as you are entering the Tuscan Sea, against the Twelve Rocks, unknown perhaps to the generality of sailors, but quite familiar to a navigator so experienced as yourself. They threaten destruction not only to the usual craft of boats, and pinnaces, and wherries; but your ship, once driven across the sea against them, must either wreck or founder.

To speak more plainly: once arrived at Rome, it will be beyond the reach of help to save you, but either by a change of course you must recall, and swallow down afresh, the errors you before condemned, or else be sent alive to the flames. The choice is disagreeable, either way; yet only to be escaped by a cautious avoidance, such as you well know how to manage. Is it possible, that you can be so regardless of all you have and are, that either one of these alternatives should please you, in the midst of a safe and comfortable life? Certain death awaits you, one way or the other, the very moment you go back; the death of your body, if you dare confess the truth; of your soul, if you dare deny it.

But if so be your mind has been beforehand in departing from us, it will be scarcely worth our while to shew solicitude about the further retention of your person. I, for one, am loath to think any evil of so great a Divine as you are. You have only to upbraid yourself for levity and fickleness, if any act or deed of your own is able to impeach you openly.

Yet tell me, good Prelate, in the name of God immortal, what is it which prevails, after a pause of so many years, now, of a sudden, to carry you away from us, and wheedle you to Rome?

Numquid inhospita tibi visa est gens nostra; minúsve, quàm fortè speraras, virtutibus tuis indultum?

Causari profectò istud non potes; in quem larga Benignissimi Regis manus tam ampla, tam opima congessit ultro munera; majora insuper, si foret opus, largitura; quem Aula, Urbs, Academia utraque, Plebs denique universa, ita suspicere solita est et venerari! Quin et hæc ipsa, quâ jam, Serenissimi Regis beneficio, frueris, discedendi libertas, quàm ingenuè tecum istic actum fuerit, satis clamitat. Non ea patet ubique nobis plenissima eundi quà lubet, redeundíque facultas. Fuêre è nostris, quibus Romam vidisse capitale pridem fuit: sunt, qui, ubi sævæ urbis limina infelici pede tetigerint, cesserint illico lictori, jamque septendecim plùs minùs annos, modò usque superesse licuerit, carcere Inquisitorio crudelissimè detenti sunt. Non ita nos tractamus hostes; non perduelles nostros; nedum advenas: æquè patent istuc cœlum et terra: pessimèque de Britanniâ nostrâ meriti, hospitium nimis herclè benignum sibi pollicentur.

Num tibi ergo parùm placuêre mores nostri?

Paulò forsan depravatiores solutiorésque, quàm par est, vivendi rationes. Obrepent certè vel sanctissimo populo sæculi sui vitia; neque nostros omnes immunes venditamus ab illâ malorum illuvie, cujus bonos quosque et piget et pudet seriò. *Venient scandala;* Luc. xvii. 1. vetus verbum est Servatoris. Atqui, teipsum appello testem judicémque; quicquid sumus, non adhuc Italiam impietate exæquavimus. Cedemus profectò, non inviti, genti Pontificiæ; neque illi diram hanc inhonestámque palmam invidebimus. Finge nos, si placet, multò adhuc improbiores: justificabit nos tamen Roma, ipsa Delos Pontificii Apollinis, Itali Vice-Dei cœlum; de quâ meritò, quod olim, dixerit Deus, *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus; quia non fecit Sodoma soror tua, ipsa et filiæ ejus, sicut fecisti tu et filiæ tuæ;* Ezek. xvi. 48. Etiam inter Purpuratos Ecclesiæ illius Moderatores comperies, à quibus turpissimi inter nostros ganeones facilè se victos fatebuntur.

Quid ergo, demum? Num displicet, quam nos istic profitemur, religio?

Absit, absit ut grandævus Antistes, tam eximiis animi doti-

Has our nation shewn itself inhospitable; or less bountiful, than you had perhaps anticipated, to your virtues?

Surely you cannot urge that plea; you, on whom the liberality of a most beneficent King has heaped, without solicitation, preferments so ample and so rich; and on whom, were occasion offered, he would doubtless have bestowed yet greater; you, whom the Court, the City, each of our Universities, in fact the whole multitude of the people, has been accustomed so to honour and respect! The very liberty of departure which you now enjoy, by the kindness of his Most Serene Majesty, sufficiently declares how handsomely you have here been treated. The same facility is not always granted us, in other countries, of going and returning just where we please. There have been those of our countrymen, whom it has cost their heads, only to have seen Rome: and those there are, who, in evil hour, have scarce set their feet upon the threshold of that relentless city, but they were handed over to the officer, and have been now most cruelly detained in the prison of the Inquisition, about seventeen years, if at least they have been permitted to live so long. This is not the way we use our enemies, our invaders; much less our guests: here, earth and air are equally free to all: and those who have deserved worst of Britain, are sure of receiving at her hands but too liberal an entertainment.

Have our manners and customs displeased you?

Perhaps our style of living is somewhat too loose and free. The vices of the age they live in will certainly creep by degrees even upon the most pious population; nor make we boast, that all throughout our land are exempt from that flood of evils, for which the good are seriously affected both with shame and sorrow. *Offences will come;* Luke xvii. 1. it is an ancient warning of the Saviour. But, I appeal to yourself, both as witness and as judge; whatever we are, we have not yet equalled Italy in ungodliness. Here we will give place, and not unwillingly, to the nation of the Pope; nor envy him this hateful and disreputable distinction. Fancy us, if you like, much more wicked still, Rome will justify us; herself the Delos of the Pontifical Apollo, herself the heaven of the Italian Vice-Deity: of whom God may well say now, as of Jerusalem in days of old, *As I live, saith the Lord God, Sodom thy sister hath not done, she nor her daughters, as thou hast done, thou and thy daughters;* Ezek. xvi. 48. Even among the purple-coated Moderators of that Church, you will encounter men, by whom the vilest of our sensualists will acknowledge themselves easily surpassed.

What, then? what, after all? Is it the religion we here profess, offends you?

God forbid that a Bishop, full of years, and endowed with

bus imbutus, recidivam patiatur! Apage mendacem famam! Non possum ego tam iniquis rumusculis aurem præbere: quicquid ogganniat vulgus, nolo ego istoc credere, nolo suspicari.

Quòd si quis, tui similis, tam malè consulet et suæ et aliorum saluti, eum sic audacter compellare non dubitarem.

Displicétne ergo religio? Non ea nunc primulum innotescit: diu est, ex quo utriusque Ecclesiæ dogmata seriò solicitèque pensiculaveris; ac notam à te probè sententiam nostram denique amplexus, solam veritati divinæ consonam orbi propinaveris, veracíque calamo palam consignaveris. Ecquod verò nunc novi luminis tibi improvisò obortum sic illustravit oculos, ut quæ solertissimâ viginti ferè annorum indagine frustrà perquisiveris, clarissimè demum cerneres? Res eadem est: tu si sis alius, videris quòd te numen mutârit.

Certè qui religionem nostram odio habent plusquam Eteocleo, fatentur nos verum dicere; sed totum non dicere criminantur. Quicquid est Positivæ, quam appellant, apud nostros Theologiæ, etiam adversariis perplacet. Negationum solummodo quarundam paulò atrociorum graviter accusamur. Nempe, audacem illam impiámque novæ fidei farraginem ferre nec posse nos, nec debere profitemur. Nihil quicquam addimus: nihil immutavimus. Non aut formosior est, quàm fuit olim, Romanæ Ecclesiæ facies; aut Reformatæ, turpior.

Dic mihi nunc, cur quæ intoleranda tibi primùm visa sunt religionis assumenta, placere incipiant? cur, jam serò, primigenia nostræ simplicitatis forma tibi sordescere videatur? Obsecro te, amplissime Domine, immo adjuro per Dominum Jesum Christum, redeas ad cor tuum, velísque animæ tuæ misereri.

Senex nunc es: moneant te cani tui, (flores illi cœmiteriales, qui nunc caput tuum gravi quodam decore obtegunt,) non longè abesse fatalem illum diem, quo tremendo Summi Judicis tribunali sisteris, rationem demutatæ sententiæ redditurus. Cogita jam seriò, quid responsi daturus sis illi, illi falli nescio, vivorum mortuorúmque Arbitro. Quicquid certè fiat cæcæ plebeculæ, cui, perfidâ doctorum tyrannide, cœlestis doctrinæ jubar intercludi solet; fieri non potest, quin ut tu, quem tam insigni eruditione rerúmque omnium scientiâ instruxit Deus, pœnam à

admirable gifts of intellect, should suffer a relapse! Away with false reports! I cannot bear to lend an ear to whispers so pernicious: whatever the commonalty may mutter, this I can neither credit nor suspect.

But should any one else, resembling you, act with so little care either for his own welfare, or that of others, I should not hesitate, with all boldness, to address him thus.

Is it our religion, then, offends you? Our religion is not now for the first time dawning upon your observation: it is a long time since you seriously and sedulously scrutinized the doctrines of either Church; and having finally embraced what you perfectly knew to be our judgment in the matter, propounded it to the world as alone consistent with the truth of God, and openly ratified its authenticity with your pen. What new light, now rising suddenly upon you, has so enlightened your eyes, that you should at length perceive most clearly, what you sought in vain after a most diligent inquiry of near twenty years? The object of research is the same it always was; if you have undergone a change yourself, take care your change is of the Lord.

Certainly those who hold our religion in detestation, worse than that of Eteocles against his brother, acknowledge that we speak the truth; only they avouch that we speak not the whole truth. Whatever we have, that comes under the distinction of Positive Theology, our adversaries approve. It is only of certain Negations, though of a somewhat fearful character, that we are so heavily accused. And verily we profess that we neither can, nor should, endure that bold and impious mixture of strange doctrines. We add nothing: we alter nothing. The aspect of the Roman Church is not more fair than it ever was; nor that of the Reformed more foul.

Tell me, why those shreds and patches, which once you deemed intolerable adjuncts to religion, now begin to please? why, at so late an hour, our forms of primitive simplicity seem mean and beggarly in your eyes? I implore you, honourable Sir, yea, I adjure you by our Lord Jesus Christ, return to sense and wisdom, and have compassion on your own soul.

You are now an old man: let hoary hairs admonish you, (those flowers of the grave which already cover your head with graceful solemnity,) that the day of doom is not far off, when you will be arraigned before the terrible Tribunal of the Judge of all, to give account of the change you have adopted. Ponder now devoutly, what answer you will render up to him, who cannot be deceived, the Arbiter of quick and dead. However it may fare with a blind and ignorant multitude, from whom, through the tyranny and treachery of their instructors, the rays of heavenly knowledge are excluded; it is utterly impossible but that you, whom God has furnished with so eminent

veritatis agnitæ priùs abnegatáeque acerrimo Vindice reportes.

Assurgent contra te, in illo verendo die, scripta tua, egregia orthodoxias quondam tuæ monumenta æviterna; testabuntúrque, et quis olim fueris, et quàm solidis rationum nixus firmamentis ad nostras partes accesseris; turpémque tibi lapsum coram Deo et angelis exprobrabunt.

Interim, verò, cœlum et terra nobis attestentur, ecquid sit, in quo nos sacris indubiísque Dei eloquiis non firmissimè adhæreamus: ecquid, in quo sanctorum Patrum Conciliorúmque authoritate destituamur: ecquid, in quo nos à Romanis discessionem fecerimus; nisi ubi illos à se, à Deo, discessisse constiterit.

O pios salutarésque nostros errores! Ecquis bonus est, qui cum beatis Patribus, cum gloriosis Martyribus, cum sanctissimis Apostolis, cum Deo denique ipso, errare dubitaverit? Aliam profectò semitam qui sibi calcandam elegerit; erret, cadat, pereat, necesse est!

Fige ergo, si sapis, venerande Præsul, fige istic pedem. Mane usque nobiscum; et fruere Deo, fruere Evangelio, fruere suavissimâ bonæ conscientiæ pace.

Quòd si te ista parùm moveant, age orna hanc modò, et abripe, quandoquidem ita vis, fugam ab hoc asylo pacis simul et religionis; daque aurem noctuis illis, si quæ sint, Loyoliticis, quæ tibi istæc suaserint olim. *Vivit Dominus;* Ps. xviii. 47. serâ duceris facti pœnitentiâ; Brittaniámque nostram, aut nunquam vidisse, aut nunquam dereliquisse, frustrà exoptabis. Quod ex animo deprecor,

Reverentiæ vestræ humillimè deditissimus,

JOSEPHUS HALLUS,

Archipresb. Wigornien.

acquirements in the knowledge of all things, should bear the punishment of your guilt from the Avenger of that truth, which you have first avowed, and afterwards denied.

Against you will arise, in that dread day, your writings; the illustrious and imperishable monuments of orthodoxy once your own: these will certify both what you once were, and how substantial were the grounds of argument on which you rested, when you joined our ranks: these will also reprove you with the baseness of your defection, in the presence of God and of his angels.

Meanwhile, may heaven and earth bear record, what point there is, on which we cleave not most faithfully to the sacred and indisputable oracles of God: what, on which we are abandoned by the authority of Holy Fathers and Councils: what, on which we have departed from the Romanists; except where it is plain that they have departed both from themselves and God.

O, the piety, the value of what are deemed our errors! Where is the good man that would not thus err, in company with blessed Fathers, with glorious Martyrs, with most holy Apostles, with God himself? Surely, he who chooses to tread any other path but this, must needs not only err, but fall and perish!

Fix here, venerable Prelate, fix here your foot, if you are wise. Continue still with us: enjoy God, enjoy the Gospel, enjoy the most delightful peace of a good conscience.

But should these things fail to move you, go, prepare at once, and, when you please, accomplish your retreat from this receptacle of peace and piety; and lend your ear to those owls of Loyola, if such they be, who first won you by their persuasions. *The Lord liveth;* Ps. xviii. 47. too late perhaps you may be moved by repentance for your deed; and wish, but wish in vain, either that you had never seen, or never left, our Britain. A result I deprecate from my heart; who am

A most humble servant of your Reverence,

JOSEPH HALL,

Dean of Worcester.

INURBANITATI PONTIFICIÆ

RESPONSIO

JOSEPHI EXONIENSIS.

AN ANSWER

TO POPE URBAN'S INURBANITY:

EXPRESSED IN A

BRIEF SENT TO LEWIS, THE FRENCH KING,

EXASPERATING HIM AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOSEPH, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY HIS SON, ROBERT HALL, MASTER OF ARTS, IN EXETER COLLEGE, IN OXFORD.

*** The first edition of this piece was printed in 1629, in 4to. In this edition the title-page says, "Translated into English by B. S.;" and the following couplet is given:

> "Pardon the faults this English style affords,
> "A Child interpreted the Father's words."

The next edition appears to have been that printed in the Second Folio, in 1634: in this, the translation is said to be by the Bishop's Son, as expressed above. The translation of the "Answer," and of the "Letter to Dr. Primrose," is, in this edition, a great improvement on that of the 4to.: but the translation of the "Brief" is the same in both editions.—PRATT.

URBANI VIII. PONTIFICIS ROMANI,

BREVE,

AD LUDOVICUM XIII. GALLIARUM REGEM, SUPER RUPELLA CAPTA.

CHARISSIME in Christo Filî noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Vox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis justorum: videat peccator et irascatur; et Synagoga Satanæ contabescat. Militat Rex Christianissimus pro religione: militat Deus Exercituum pro Rege. Nos certè, in hâc Orbis Patriâ, sacro gaudio triumphamus: gratulamur Majestati tuæ victoriam, cujus trophæa constituuntur in cœlo, cujus gloriam generatio ventura nunquam conticescet. Rupellam arcem, non minùs obstinatione perfidiæ quàm naturæ munimentis inexpugnabilem, vidit tandem hæc ætas Regi et B. Petro subditam. Neque sanè quisquam adeò desipit, ut tàm gloriosam palmam acceptam referat felicitati potiùs quàm virtuti. Diuturnâ tot mensium obsidione, docuisti Europam Gallicis Legionibus, te regnante, debere non minorem constantiæ laudem, quàm celeritatis. Tibi autem, periculorum contemptu et incommodorum patientiâ, clarè victor exercitus vitam devovet, et perfectum profligatæ hæresis triumphum auguratur. Sonuerunt et turbatæ sunt aquæ oceani, militantis obsessis perduellibus. Mors deditione potior videbatur. Ad ipsa Majestatis tuæ castra cuniculos egit perfidia. Omnino dilatavit os suum Infernus, evomens scelerum et periculorum turmas, ne tam opulentum propugnaculum impietati eriperetur. Stetit Dominus à dextris tuis: non modò devicisti hostium copias, sed ipsi etiam auxiliari oceano potuisti frænum injicere. Gratias agamus omnes Omnipotenti, qui eripuit te de contradictionibus populi non credentis. Cæterùm, cùm scias quâ curâ custodiendi sint victoriarum fructus, ne marcescant; nemo est, qui ambigat à te reliquias omnes hæreticorum in Gallicâ vineâ stabulantium, propediem profligatum iri. Diadema hoc perfecti Decoris im-

A BRIEF

OF POPE URBAN THE EIGHTH,

SENT TO LEWIS THE FRENCH KING, UPON THE TAKING OF ROCHELLE.

Our most dear Son in Christ, we send you greeting and apostolical benediction. The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: let the wicked see this and fret; and let the Synagogue of Satan consume away. The Most Christian King fighteth for religion: the Lord of Hosts fighteth for the King. We verily, in this Mother-City of the World, triumph with holy joy: we congratulate this your Majesty's victory, the trophies whereof are erected in heaven, the glory whereof the generation that is to come shall never cease to speak of. Now, at the length, this age hath seen the tower of Rochelle, no less impregnable by the obstinacy of treachery than strength of nature, surrendered to the King and St. Peter. Neither is any so foolish, as to ascribe this glorious victory rather to happiness than to virtue. By your long siege of many months, you have taught us, that Europe oweth your French Legions no less commendation for their constancy, than for their expedition. Your army, going clear away with the victory over your enemies, by slighting all dangers and enduring all hardness, devoteth their life unto you, and promiseth you an absolute triumph of conquered heresy. The waters of the ocean made a noise and were troubled, fighting for the besieged rebels. They made choice of death rather than a surrender. Undermining treachery approached even to your Majesty's tents. Hell all opened her mouth; vomiting out troops of mischiefs and dangers, to the end so rich a fort might not be taken away from their impiety. The Lord stood on thy right hand: thou hast not only overcome the forces of thine enemies, but thou wert able also to put a bridle upon the ocean aiding them. Let us all give thanks to Almighty God, who hath delivered thee from the contradictions of the unbelieving people. Howbeit, since you are not ignorant with what care the fruits of victories ought to be preserved, lest they perish; there is no doubt, but that, in a short time, all the remainder of the heretics, that have got stable-room in the French vineyard, shall by you be utterly discomfited. The Church desireth that this Diadem of

poni cupit Ecclesia illi Galeæ Salutis, quâ armatum Majestatis tuæ caput ipse protegere videtur Dominus, Potens in Prælio. Speramus, enim, fore ut, Galliâ omni pacatâ, illucescant coruscationes Ludovici Triumphatoris captivæ Filiæ Sion, Francica trophæa commemoranti, et intuenti splendorem fulgurantis hastæ tuæ. Vota nostra, atque Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, secundet Deus, qui voluntatem timentium se faciet! Interea, Nuntius noster, qui regalis gloriæ spectator in castris adfuit, luculentus erit Pontificiæ gratulationis interpres Majestati tuæ, cui Apostolicam benedictionem amantissimè impertimur.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Mariam Majorem, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die vigesimo octavo Novembris, anno 1628, Pontificatûs sexto.

perfect Renown be put upon that Helmet of Salvation, wherewith the Lord, Mighty in Battle, seemeth to cover the head of your Majesty. For, we believe shortly, that, all tumults being appeased in France, the glistering Ensign of Lewis the Conqueror shall shine to the captive Daughter of Sion, rehearsing the French trophies, and beholding the brightness of your lightning lance. God, who performeth the desire of them that fear him, prosper our desires, and the prayers of the Catholic Church! Our Nuntio, who was an eye-witness of your princely glory in your tents, will be a faithful interpreter of our Pontifical gratulation to your Majesty, on whom we most lovingly bestow our Apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, under the Seal of the Fisher, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1628, and the sixth year of our Pontificate.

AMICO MIHI PLURIMUM COLENDO,

DOMO. GILBERTO PRIMEROSIO,

S. THEOL. PROFESSORI, ECCLESIÆ GALLICÆ LONDINENSIS PASTORI, REGIÆ MAJESTATI A SACRIS.

MONSTRABAT mihi, modò, Tourvalus noster, gente Gallus, Epistolam, Latino idiomate typis editam, Urbani Papæ; pro more, tumidam et sanguinolentam; Ludovico, Galliarum Regi, pridem datam: in quâ, ubi bonus Pontifex Io Pæan canorè cecinisset Rupellensi victoriæ, regi simul ac genti abundè gratulatus, descendit illico, satis inclementer, ad sævum illud *Παῖε, βάλλε*; et Hæreticorum in Galliâ stabulantium profligationem acriter urget et impellit. Continere manum non potui, quin me subitò in chartas darem. Arripio calamum: responsionem non meditor, sed effundo. Quicquid est, habe, Vir Venerande, et lege; et, vel igni trade, vel luci. Vale,

A tuo

JOSEPH. EXON.

TO MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

MR. DOCTOR PRIMROSE,

PASTOR OF THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIR:

OUR Friend Mr. Tourvall, a Frenchman, showed me, erewhile, a Latin printed Epistle of Pope Urban; written, as their manner is, in a swelling and bloody style; and lately sent to Lewis, the French King: wherein, after the good Pope had loudly chaunted forth a Song of Triumph for his Majesty's victory over Rochelle, abundantly congratulating both the king and nation, he thence proceeds, in most barbarous manner, to that bloody word, *Παῖε, βάλλε*, "Smite, cast down;" earnestly urging and enforcing the utter extirpation of all the Heretics, as he calls them, stabling in France. When I had read it, I could not contain myself, but must suddenly vent mine indignation in these few lines. I take up pen in hand, therefore: and do not meditate, but pour forth this answer. Such as it is, receive it, Reverend Sir, and peruse it; and, at your discretion, give it either light or fire. Farewell,

From your Friend

JOSEPH EXON.

URBANO VIII. PONTIFICI ROMANO,

JOSEPHUS EXONIENSIS

SANAM MENTEM ET CHARITATEM.

QUIDNI verò Pontificem Maximum compellare ausit Minimus Episcoporum? Non peto veniam; nec opus est: priscâ utor licentiâ. Non ita nimium distabat, olim, ab Eugubio Roma; aut Isca meus à Tiberi.

Audi, modò, Pontifex Urbane, quod brevi pro tremendo Christi Tribunali pallidus exaudies. Pastorem Christiani Gregis parùm decent hæ sanguineæ lituræ. Tune, ut ad arma, tristis præco, conclames? Tune, ut Christianos Principes, nimio quàm plenos cruoris, ad profligationem suorum cladémque horrendam acriter instiges? Ideone tibi creditæ Claves, ut ferratas belli portas eburneásque Ditis inferni aperires? Euge, Petri Umbra, numquid hi tibi Malchi videntur, quibus, dum aures præcidere voluisti, levi errore in guttura incidisti? Aut nunquid de quadrupedibus hisce in Galliâ stabulantibus dictum tibi pridem cœlitùs, "Occide et manduca?" Tune, pacifice Rector Ecclesiæ, ut coruscantes galeas, hastas, gladios loquaris? Qualem verò sonum edere potuisset Lupa tui Romuli, si ista Petri caulam non dedeceat truculenta vox?

Conspue quantum lubet, et comminge cineres infelicis Rupellæ, et diffla superbo spiritu conculcatissimum miserrimæ urbis pulverem: recognosce, interim, paululùm, quàm non multa transierunt secula, ex quo, hæreditarium Ludovici, jam tui, sceptrum Romæ portas confregerit, comminuerit mænia, cives dissipârit, præcessorémque tuum, sannis dirísque onustum, cæco carcere mulctârit.

Sed neque tot deinceps excurrent anni, nisi me præsaga fu-

TO POPE URBAN THE EIGHTH,

JOSEPH, BISHOP OF EXETER,

WISHETH RIGHT WITS AND CHARITY.

WHY may not the meanest Bishop be bold to expostulate with a Pope? I crave no leave; neither need I: I take our ancient liberty. I wis, there was no such distance, of old, betwixt Rome and Eugubium; or between my Ex and the channel of Tiber.

Hear now, therefore, Pope Urban, that which ere long thou shalt hear with horror and confusion of face before that dreadful Tribunal of Christ. These bloody blots of thine little beseem the Shepherd of a Christian Flock. What, is it for thee, like a grim herald, to give the summons to war? Is it for thee, to excite Christian Princes, already too much gorged with blood, to the profligation and fearful slaughter of their own subjects? Were the Keys for this cause committed to thy charge, that thou shouldest open the iron gates of war and the pale gates of death? Tell me, thou Shadow of St. Peter, didst thou take these French Protestants for Malchus, whose ears while thou wouldst have cut off, thy sword, by a light mistake, glanced upon their throats? Or was it lately voiced to thee from heaven, concerning these wretched animals stabling in France, "Arise, Pope Urban, kill and eat?" Art thou the Pilot of the Church's peace, and talkest of nothing but glittering helmets, swords and spears, instruments of war and bloodshed? What noise could the howling of the She-Wolf of thy Romulus have made, if this direful note of thine become the Bell-wether of St. Peter's fold?

Well, since thou wilt bespaul, bedribble the ashes of unhappy Rochel, and scatter with thy disdainful breath the despised dust of that forlorn city: yet, withal, call to mind a little, how not many ages are past, since the time was, that the hereditary sceptre of this, thy now, Lewis broke open the gates of Rome, demolished the walls, dispersed and slew the inhabitants, and shut up thy great predecessor, laden with bitter scoffs and execrations, in his blind dungeon.

Neither shall many years run on again, unless my presaging

turi mens nimiùm fefellerit, antequam *cecidisse Babylonem*, et clamabit Angelus, et gratulabundus orbis obstupescet. Tuæ erunt aliquando hæ vices, urbium perditissima. *Felicem sanè illum, qui paria tibi quæque retulerit, quique parvulorum tuorum capita saxis identidem illiserit.*

Fruere tu, interea, miseriis hisce nostris, arride lacrymis, exhilarare suspiriis, ejulatibus accine, applaude cruciatibus: est, qui de cœlo suo prospicit, Justus Ultor; cujus nos unà et exosculamur virgam, et inhiamus vindictæ.

Causam tu nostram age, ô Deus; imò, tuam, tuam solius. Quidni te provocet Arbitrum audax innocentia? Si quid uspiam est in toto hôc Sacrosanctæ quam profitemur hactenus Religionis negotio, quod ex humani cerebri impurissimo fonte prodierit, pereat sanè nobiscum; pereat penitissimè, et ad inferos suos meritò relegetur: quòd, si nos nihil unquam Christiano Orbi propinare ausi, nisi quod tu Prophetis tuis Apostolísque inspiraveris, perque illos (fallere nescios) amanuenses populo tuo fidelissimè traditum volueris; scilicet quin aut nos tecum felicissimè erramus, ô Deus Veritatis, aut tu nobiscum Æternam hanc et unicè Evangelicam Religionem tueris.

Fallimur, verò, miselli! Pietas est, ilicet, quam nos crudelitatis insimulamus. Zelus est domûs Dei, quo, Bonus Pontifex, ita totus accenderis; ut hæreticorum ad unum omnium in Galliâ stabulantium extirpationem et optaveris et suaseris importuniùs!

O frontem! O viscera! Deum, Angelos, Sanctos, testes appellamus hujus tam atrocis contumeliæ. Nempe, quos tu hæreseos stigmate falsò inuris, audies demum ubi Ecclesia filios, Christus membra salutaverit.

Ecquid enim, per Deum Immortalem, docemus nos, quod non Scriptura, non Concilia, non Patres, non Ecclesiæ, Cathedraéque Christianæ unanimiter semper tenuerunt? Nimirum, quæ nos profitemur, vestri ipsorum probatissimi authores tenent universa.

Quid, ergo, rei est? Sunt revera quædam nupera opinionum assumenta, quæ vos avitæ fidei superadjecta voluistis: ista nos piissimè rejicimus, et constanter usque recusamus. Humana sunt: vestra sunt: denique, aut dubia sunt, aut iniqua. Ideone verò ut Christianæ animæ ex Ecclesiæ gremio ejiceremur? ut ferro flammísque absumendi traderemur illico? ut in barathrum

thoughts too much deceive me, before the Angel shall shout forth, and the amazed world shall congratulate, the fall of thy Babylon. Rochel's case shall ere long be thine own, O thou most accursed city. *Blessed shall he be, that rewardeth thee, as thou hast rewarded us: yea, happy he, that shall take thy little ones, and dash out their brains against the stones.*

In the mean time, sport thyself at our miseries, laugh at our tears, make merry at our sighs, sing at our groans, and applaud our torments: but know for all this, there is a Just Avenger, that looks down from his heaven upon us; whose rod we at once kiss, and expect his vengeance.

Plead thou our cause, O God; yea, thine own, only thine. Why should not our confident innocence appeal to thy judgment? If there be any thing in the whole composure of our most Sacred Religion hitherto professed by us, that hath issued out of the impure fountain of man's brain, let it even perish with the authors; yea, let it utterly perish, O Lord, and be banished into that hell whence it came: but, if we never dared to obtrude any doctrine upon the Christian World, but that alone wherewith thou didst of old inspire thy Prophets and Apostles, and by those thine infallible penmen didst faithfully deliver over to thine own people; surely then, either it must be our happiness to err with thee, the God of Truth, or thou dost and wilt still ever maintain with us this thine only True and Evangelical Religion.

But, alas, poor souls, we are mistaken all this while! It is nothing else but pure piety, forsooth, which we ignorantly condemn for cruelty. It is the zeal of God's house, wherewith, Good Prelate, thou art so inflamed; that thou hast, hereupon, both wished and importuned the utter extirpation of all those heretics stabling in the French territories!

O forehead! O bowels! For us, we call God, Angels, Saints, to witness of this foul calumniation. I wis, those, whom thou falsely brandest for heretics, thou shalt one day hear when the Church shall embrace them for her children; Christ, for the spiritual members of his mystical body.

For what, I beseech you, do we hold, which the Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Churches, and Christian Professors have not, in all ages, taught and published? To say the truth, all that, which we profess, your own most approved authors have still maintained.

Whence, then, is this quarrel? Shall I tell you? There are indeed certain new patches of opinion, which you would needs add to the ancient faith: these we most justly reject, and do still constantly refuse. They are human: they are your own: briefly, they are either doubtful, or impious. And must we now be cast out of the bosom of the Church, and be presently delivered up to fire and sword? must we for this be thunder-

Diaboli, fulmine Anathematis devoluti, arderemus æternùm? Ideone belluis et stabulum paratur et laniena?

Justitiam, Deus Bone, et misericordiam Pontificiam! Mera hæc temporis injuria est: non fuit ea olim hæresis, quæ nunc est. Si priscis Ecclesiæ temporibus nasci nobis contigisset, antequam Primatus iste Romanus, Iconolatria, Transubstantiatio, Sacrificium Missaticum, Purgatorium, Communio sive Singularis sive Dimidiata, Indulgentiarum Nundinatio, et hujus farinæ reliqua Orbi Christiano innotuissent; patuisset, profectò, nobis cœlum, non minùs quàm cæteris piis simplicioris illius ævi animabus, quæ in verâ Christi fide feliciter evolârunt. Jam, verò, in eam nos servatos fuisse mundi senectam, in quâ nova quædam suboriretur Articulorum soboles, lætale nobis erit, neque minore pœnâ quàm perpetuis Gehennæ cruciatibus luendum!

Cogitate hoc, quotquot uspiam terrarum agitis Christiani, quàm sit ab omni justitiâ et charitate alienum, ut nova subinde humano arbitrio creetur fides, priscis seculis inaudita, quæ morti æternæ devoveat incredulos nepotes, quos antiqua veritas cœlo adscivisset. Recentes hi scilicet politicæ religionis apices illi sunt, qui orbem universum, quaquà patet Christi nomen, immanè quantùm conturbârunt. Hi sunt, qui committunt inter se pacatissimos (absque hôc foret) terræ dominos: scindunt regna; populos distrahunt; dirimunt societates; seditiones fovent; florentissimas regiones vastant; urbes denique opulentissimas in cineres redigunt. Siccine verò fieri oportuit? Putamúsne hanc justam funestissimi belli internecionísque causam, pro Summi Judicis Tribunali, aliquando probatam iri?

Evigilate, Christiani Principes, tuque inprimis, Ludovice Rex, cui ista tam inurbanè crudelitérque insusurrata sunt. Evigila demum; et vide quàm tibi, sub prætextu pietatis, dira feritas, pessimis modis, imponere studuerit. Tui sunt isti, quos ad cædem deposcunt alienigenæ: Christi sunt. Tune verò ut manum gladiúmve imbueres illorum sanguine, pro quibus Christus profudit suum? qui suum, pro te ac magno parente tuo, lubentissimè prodegerunt?

Audi tu, quæso, qui "Justus," audire soles apud tuos Monarcha. Si nos alium à tuo Deum, Christum alium coleremus;

strucken to hell by your Anathemas, there to fry in perpetual torments? Is it for this, that a stall and shambles are thought good enough for such brutish animals?

Good God! see the justice and charity of these Popelings! This is nothing but a mere injury of the times. It was not wont to be heresy heretofore, that is so now-a-days. If it had been our happiness to have lived in the primitive times of the Church's simplicity, before ever that Romish Transcendency, Image-Worship, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, Single or Half-Communion, Nundination of Pardons, and the rest of this rabble were known to the Christian World; surely, heaven had been as open to us as to other devout souls of that purer age, that took their happy flight from hence in the orthodox faith of Christ Jesus. But, now that we are reserved to that dotage of the world, wherein a certain new brood of Articles are sprung up, it is death to us, forsooth, and to be expiated by no less punishment than the perpetual torments of Hell-fire!

Consider this, O ye Christians wheresoever dispersed upon the face of the whole earth; consider, I say, how far it is from all justice and charity, that a new faith should come dropping forth at men's pleasure, which must adjudge posterity to eternal death for mis-believers, whom the ancient truth had willingly admitted into heaven. These new points of a politic religion are they indeed, that have so much disturbed the peace of Christendom. These are they, that set at variance the mighty potentates of the earth, who otherwise perhaps would sit down in a happy peace: these are they that rend whole kingdoms, distract people, dissolve societies, nourish faction and sedition, lay waste the most flourishing kingdoms, and turn the richest cities to dust and rubbish. But should these things be so? Do we think this will one day be allowed for a just warrant of so much war and bloodshed, before the Tribunal of that Supreme Judge of Heaven and Earth?

Awake therefore now, O ye Christian Princes, and you especially, King Lewis, in whose ears these wicked counsels are so spitefully and bloodily whispered. Rouse up yourself; and see how cruel tyranny seeks to impose upon your Majesty, in a most mischievous manner, under a fair pretence of piety and devotion. They are your own native subjects, whom these malicious foreigners require to the slaughter: yea, they are Christ's. And will you imbrue your hand and sword in the blood of those, for whom Christ hath shed his? yea, who have willingly lavished their own, in the behalf of you and your great father?

Hear, I beseech thee, O king, who art wont, amongst thine own, to be instiled "Lewis the Just." If we did adore any other God, any other Christ, but thine; if we aspired to any

si aliud ambiremus Cœlum, si Symbolum aliud, aliud Baptisma; si novam, denique, aliis innixam fundamentis Ecclesiam profiteremur; esset profectò cur hæreticos, in Galliâ stabulantes, flammis ultricibus destinares.

Si quid populus tuus vel à communi Deo sancitum, vel à te legitimè institutum violârit, non deprecamur herclè vindictam: vapulent, qui meruerunt: æquum est. Noli, interim, sævire in Dei tui servos, in cives tuos, quos ipsa religio præstat fideles. Noli sinere, ut, propter hesterna quædam planèque superflua humani ingenii adjectamenta, merâmque ἐθελοθρησκείαν, pereant ii, qui tuam patrísque tui salutem ac gloriam, summo vitæ suæ discrimine, redimere voluerunt. Sine per te vivant illi, per quos tu modò regnas.

Quòd si tui non essent, memento tamen, quo te titulo maximè insignire solent tui, Christianos esse; eodem et fonte lotos, et emptos sanguine, et Spiritu renatos; Cœlestis, denique, quicquid vanus intonet furor, Sponsæ filios, Sponsi fratres.

"At errant hi scilicet à Fide:"—Quâ tandem? Non Christianâ certè, sed Pontificiâ. Quid verò hoc monstri est! Non damnat hos Christus: damnat Pontifex. Si superesset modò magnus ille tuus Cancellarius Parisiensis, doceret is liberè Sorbonam, quod olim fecit, suam, quàm non sit penes Pontificem, propositionem aliquam, verbo utar suo, hæreticare. "Atqui Concilium fecit insuper hoc Œcumenicum:"—quodnam verò? Tridentinum. Fallor, si hoc in Galliis obtinere potuerit hactenus, meruerítve. Consule tuos integerrimæ pridem fidei authores: dicent illi tibi quàm iniquum, quàm nullum fuerit. Unius erat Pontificis, quicquid à Cœtu illo, multicipiti Romæ mancipio, factum sanctitúmve.

Cogita, denique, obsecro, quàm non alio in loco sint Reformati Pontificiis, quàm Pontificii Reformatis: atque acriter exprobrari solet Hæresis utrinque. Siccine verò agitur apud nos Romanæ Religionis asseclis? Unquámve gladio aut incendio sævitum istic in Fidem Pontificiam? Eccui unquam capitale fuit hoc miserè hallucinantis conscientiæ crimen? Est ubi comperies, rarò tamen admodum, audacem forte aliquem Sacrificum, legum publicarum contemptorem, seditionis flabellum, pœnam

other Heaven, embraced any other Creed, any other Baptism; lastly, if we made profession of a new Church, built upon other foundations; there were some cause indeed, why thou shouldest condemn such heretics, stabling in France, to the revenging fury of thy flames.

If this thy people have wilfully violated any thing established by our common God, or lawfully commanded by thee, we crave no pardon for them: let them smart, that have deserved: it is but just they should. But do not, in the mean time, fall fiercely upon the fellow-servants of thy God, upon thine own best subjects, whose very religion must make them loyal. Suffer not those poor wretches to perish, for some late upstart superfluous additions of human invention, and mere *will-worship*, who were always most forward to redeem thine and thy great father's safety and honour, with the continual hazard of their own most precious lives. Let them but live then by thy gracious sufferance, by whose valour and fidelity thou now reignest.

But suppose they were not yours, yet remember that they are Christians, a title wherewith your style is wont most to be honoured; washed in the same laver of baptism, bought with the same price, renewed by the same Spirit; and, whatsoever impotent malice bawl to the contrary, the beloved sons of the Celestial Spouse; yea, the brethren of that Spiritual Bridegroom, Christ Jesus.

"But they err," you will say, "from the Faith:"—from what faith? I beseech you. Not the Christian surely, but the Romish. What a strange thing is this! Christ doth not condemn them: the Pope doth. If that great Chancellor of Paris were now alive, he would freely teach his Sorbonne, as he once did, that it is not in the Pope's power, that I may use his own word, to hereticate any proposition. "Yea, but an Œcumenical Council besides hath done it:"—what Council? That of Trent. I am deceived, if that were hitherto received in the Churches of France, or deserved to be so hereafter. Consult with your own late authors of most undoubted credit: they will tell you plainly, how unjust that Council was; yea, how no Council at all. It was only the Pope's act, whatsoever was decreed or established by that packed Conclave, envassalled to the Seven Hills.

Consider, lastly, I beseech you, how the Reformed Christians stand in no other terms to the Papists, than the Papists do to the Reformed: Heresy is with equal vehemency upbraided on both sides. But do we deal thus roughly with the followers of the Roman Religion? Did we ever rage against the Popish Faith with fire and sword? Was ever the crime of a poor mis-led conscience capital to any soul? You may find perhaps, but very seldom, some audacious Mass-priest, some firebrand of sedition and contemner of our public laws, to have

luisse meritissimam: sed meræ religionis causam, fidenter dico, nemo unquam Pontificiorum, aut capite luit aut membro. Quin tu, clementissimi Henrici fili, pariter te geris erga tuos, qui Reformatam Religionem innocentissimè profitentur? Quin faxis, nemini ut fraudi siet secundum Scripturam Sacram, Veterísque Ecclesiæ πράξιν, Deum coluisse? Liceat tuis esse verè pios.

Tu verò redi ad te demum, Urbane Pontifex; et recole quàm hæc purpuram tuam probè deceat atrox sententia. Non pedum profectò, sed ensem gestârit oportet, qui istud exaraverit: neque piscatorium est hoc rete, sed theatricum et myrmillonicum. *Speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem*, inquit Propheta: nos hîc de te paulò aliter, "Odiosæ manus præconizantium bella." Si qua tibi sors in Evangelio Jesu Christi obtigisset, facilè sentires pacem istic sonare omnia, lenitatem, mansuetudinem, concordiam: non nisi ex Inferno missa est dira Erinnys. Ne levissimus quidem mallei sonus exauditur in Templo Dei: tu verò, ô Bone, Ecclesiam Dei sanctam impleri vis clangore tubarum, ictibus cædentium, morientium ejulatibus. Audi ergò demum, tu, qui mortalium omnium judicia superbè refugis. Quod olim Robertus noster, sanctus pariter et doctus Lincolniensis Episcopus, præcessori tuo fecisse dicitur, id ego tibi nunc facio. Fas mihi sit indicere tibi verendum Omnipotentis Dei Tribunal, pro quo tremens horrénsque tibi anima brevi sistetur, sanguinolenti istius consilii rationem redditura. Interim, si valere mavelis, Resipisce.

[a] The Translator has here omitted the following sentence:—"Hadst thou obtained any portion in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, thou wouldst have clearly

suffered condign punishment: but no Papist, I dare boldly say, ever suffered loss, either of life or limb, merely for his religion. Why dost not thou then, the son of that gracious and merciful Henry, carry thyself alike toward thy faithful subjects, who most innocently profess the Reformed Religion? Why should it prejudice any of them with thee, to have served their God, according to the Holy Scriptures, and the practice of the Ancient Church? To conclude then, Let it be but lawful for thy people to be truly religious.

And thou, Pope Urban, return at last to thyself; and consider how well this bloody advice of thine suits with those thy purple robes. A sword rather than a sheephook would become that hand, that should write thus: neither is this a net for the holy fisherman of Rome, but rather for the bloody prizes of the theatre. *Beautiful are the feet of them, that preach peace,* saith the Prophet: but we may say far otherwise of thee, "Cursed are the hands of them, that denounce war[a]." The least noise of a hammer must not be heard in God's Temple: but you, Good Man, would fill the holy Church of God with loud alarms, clashing of bloody weapons, and fearful groans of dying men. Give ear therefore now at last, thou, who proudly scornest the sentence of any mortal judge. That, which once our famous Robert, the holy and learned Bishop of Lincoln, is said to have done to thy predecessor, the same do I now unto thee. Let me summon thee to that dreadful Tribunal of Almighty God, before which thy wretched soul shall one day appear, to give an account of this thy bloody advice. In the mean time, if thou wouldst rather to flee from the wrath to come, and to fare well hereafter, Repent.

perceived that everything therein breathes peace, lenity, gentleness, concord: it is Hell alone, which sends forth the dire Furies." It is not omitted in the quarto.—PRATT.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI, VIRO INCOMPARABILI,

JOSEPHO HALL,

EPISCOPO EXONIENSI,

GILBERTUS PRIMEROSIUS, S. P. D.[a]

Heu, quantum potuit terræ pelagique parari,
Hóc quem civiles fuderunt sanguine dextræ

Gallorum! Sed paci intercedit, inurbanæ frontis homo, Urbanus VIII. Pontifex Romanus; qui,

Exhalans fœdos fœdo de pectore ructus,

bullante diro cruore Bullâ, ferocibus minaciis venosâ, et sævâ adulatione tumente, optimo Regi, sed præpropero ac fervido in Martem ingenio, in fidissimos cives (qui nisi fuissent, non esset ipse) funesta inflat classica; Brevíque grandiloquo et cruento, sub Annulo Piscatoris, asperrimam studiis belli gentem iterum in brevia et Syrtes civilis, hoc est, creperi et periculosissimi belli, cerebrosus et imperitus Nauclerus adigit[b] et impingit: nullâ Regis, nullâ Regionum omnium facilè Reginæ,

Quas sol exoriens curru fugiente vaporat,

nullâ Religionis majore curâ; sed magis, ut Regi et Regno anxias et inexplicabiles sollicitudines conficiat; ut humanissimos cives, non in piscatoriâ Petri naviculâ,

lentos incurvans gurgite remos,

Evangelici hami felici piscatu ex undoso turbarum civilium salo Piscator Hominum humaniter ducat ad, salutem; sed, in Antichristi prætoriâ navi gubernacula tenens, Bullarum et Brevium enormi harpagone piratâ nefarius Christianos inhumaniter præ-

[a] The reader will scarcely be surprised to find, that the translator of the Pope's Brief, and of the Bishop's Answer, has not thought it worth while to turn the Letter of Dr. Primrose into English. The miserable taste of the age, however, both in sentiment and in expression, serves only to bring the judgment of Bishop Hall into more admirable contrast with the pedantry and vulgarity displayed by too many, even of the ablest among his contemporaries.—H.

[b] "Adigit et" is not found in the quarto of 1629.—PRATT.

detur ad cædem: ut, solenni Pontificum Romanorum more, quod in urbium densis vicis à grassatoribus nocturnis fieri amat, belli facem accensam in vicina regna conjiciat; ut, bonis civibus ad eum restinguendum undique discurrentibus, ille impunè trahat, rapiat, populetur, fœdet, conculcet omnia; et, ardente Christi Ecclesiâ, immanissimi Neronis decessoris sui instar, lætificum cum spintriis suis Trojæ pereuntis excidium canat:

sic sua quemque Inscribit facies.

Verùm,

Ut multos mensésque diésque,
Non tamen ætatem tempestate hâc scelerosi
Lætabuntur.

Nam ecce, quàm opportunè Tu, Præsul Amplissime, cœlestis et infracti pectoris fervente robore, Romanum illum *miserandæ sortis onagrum* in arce Tarpeiâ stabulantem, et sono intempestivo rudentem, styli tui acumine, veluti *clavis et fustibus*, compescis. Tu Bestiæ bipedis, è limo et è fimo erepentis, lunata cornua elegantis libelli malleo retundis. Tu rufo Draconi

Ære ciere viros, Martémque accendere cantu[c]

nimis quàm bono, incestum et clamosum os suggillas. Tu Papam superbientem, et sublime caput cœlo audaci nisu inferentem, cujus ad nutum

Intereunt, labuntur, eunt rursum omnia vorsum,

modestissimo scripto humilitatem et modestiam doces. Tu marculum, qui *duri robora ferri*, in Orthodoxorum perniciem,

Multorum magnis tuditantium ignibu' tundit,

Cyclopum Polyphemo extorques, et pausam tuditandi facere jubes. Tu trepidantia jampridem Babylonis mœnia, à cœnosis magni illius exitialium mendaciorum architecti congesta cæmentariis,

Qui nihil amplius unquam,
Quàm commune lutum è paleis, cœnúmque aceratum
Rugosi passique senes eadem omnia quærunt,

variorum librorum multis vigiliis feliciter elucubratorum, velut oscillo penduli impetûs, hactenus arietâsti, vexâsti, dissipâsti. Tandem, optimæ notæ libello, non ad ostentationem sed ad utilitatem composito, et mitissimâ responsione, sulphureas omnium calamitatum fornaces, quas Nebuchadnetsar Romanus adversus Christi Confessores immitissimo edicto accendi jubet, pro virili tuâ parte à Christi Ecclesiâ prohibes et depellis. Tu[d] Leonum

[c] "*Campo:*" quarto, of 1629.—PRATT.

[d] The quarto transposes this sentence:—"Tu, quos indomitæ illius belluæ

famelicorum dentes, quos indomitæ illius belluæ consiliarii atque administri in Danieles nostros exacuunt, Verbi Divini forfice comprehendis, concutis, et confringis.

Quos ille indocilis pacísque bonique,

omnium malorum Fecialis et Pater Patratus, principes rerum potentes in arma feralia exequiali et tragico carmine movet et protrudit; tu, pacis æternæ præco, ab armis discordibus revocas; et ad piam Christi pacem, Christianaéque Charitatis tranquillum portum fortiter occupandum, suavissimæ scriptionis dulci et docto celeusmate. Fidus celeustes provocas.

Frustrà omnia, illum si spectes, qui,

Nequam et magnus homo, laniorum immanè canes ut,

distento et fulmineo rictu Christianorum sanguini inhiat, cuique cibus cadavera, potus cruor est: quibus, dum se ingurgitat, toto orbe Christiano tristibus ululante plangoribus, ille lætis ululat triumphis, *Io Pæan, Io Triumphe,* nobis obganniens, velut

Gallinaceu' cum victor se gallus honestè
Sustulit in digitos, primorésque erigit ungues,

Coquelico canorâ voce in fimeto occinit. Ut illa Meretrix Purpurata, Martyrum sanguine ebria, quæ reges, quos philtris suis intoxicavit, Bullarum aculeatarum majoribus stimulis in cruda adversum Christum prælia suscitat; ut ille desperatæ salutis homo, peccati et Perditionis Filius, tuum illud "Resipisce" discat, spes nulla superest.

Nam si Tu hos fluctus undásque è gurgite salso
Tollere decrêris, ventum prius hæmaticum Tu,
Ventum, inquam, tollas.

Illi enim neque est cor quo paveat, neque jecur quo amet, neque fel quo sibi irascatur, neque frons quâ erubescat. Illi Ganeæ, illis ingluviosis quibus cingitur raso capite ministris,

solis vivere fas est Occipiti cæco,

et edictis vetare,

ne quisquam hic faxit oletum,

et sacra capita reprehendat.

Nam vos Romulidæ vobis ignoscitis, et quæ
Turpia Cerdoni, Papam sacrósque decebunt
Presbyteros.

At Tu, Antistes Dignissime, eos liberâ ad Urbanum responsione liberas doces audire voces, et ingratiis discere, in Angliâ

consiliarii atque administri in Danieles nostros Leonum famelicorum dentes exacuunt," &c.—PRATT.

et mutire fas esse, et sine scrobe altâ voce exclâmare, Auriculas Asini Papam et Cardinales habere.

Quantum autem ego fideli erga me amicitiæ tuæ debeam, Reverende Pater, quod mihi, homini privato, tantus eruditione, pietate, dignitate Præsul, Responsionem illam inscribere voluisti; nec rudi calamo exprimere, nec linguâ inexplanatâ expromere, nec impari mente consequi possim: scilicet, ut Episcopum decet, tui semper similis es, id est optimus: honores novos adeptus, veterem amicitiam non deponis; et, magnus licet sis, omniúmque bonorum votis minor, ad minima te demittis.

Quòd verò electissimum scriptum meo arbitrio stare aut cadere, prodire aut latere, malignâ ignis flammâ extingui, aut præclarâ doctorum luce frui, publici juris, aut in mei solius bonis esse jubes; id verò modestiæ est tuæ, quæ, inter multas et claras virtutes, quæ in te maximæ sunt et clarissimæ, in scriptis, in voce, in vultu, in oculis, in composito mentis habitu, in totâ vitâ tuâ, fulgentibus micat radiis,

Velut inter ignes Luna minores.

Macte istâ morum suavitate, quâ, aperto vivens ostio, facta tua omnia ad pietatis et rectæ rationis obrussam exigis. Macte isto viri boni charactere[e], qui,

Index[f] ipse sui, totum se explorat ad unguem,
Quid proceres, vanique ferat quid opinio vulgi,
Securus.

Teque ipsum semper verens, omnium quotquot te novêre, quique tuos in scriptis et nitidâ oratione pellucentes mores vidêre, amorem tibi conciliâsti. Macte iterum atque iterum præclaræ eruditionis gloriâ, altissimâ rerum divinarum et humanarum scientiâ, literatissimis variarum disciplinarum monumentis, quibus tibi jure merito jucundi et nervosi oratoris, Christiani Senecæ, clarissimi et doctissimi Theologi, nomen comparâsti;

Quod vivet seclis innumerabilibus.

Sed age, eat

Qui dono meus est bonus libellus,
Qui auro est carior aureus libellus[g]:

Eat pedibus celer, per Alpium æternis horrentium nivibus invias rupes, per Apennini ardua et prærupta juga viam sibi faciat, arcem Sanctangeli velox conscendat: angelo Satanæ, urbi ἑπταλόφῳ, securè procul extra teli jactum incubanti, in faciem narret, esse in Angliâ Episcopos haud paucos, qui inhumanæ

[e] The quarto, of 1629, has this passage thus:—"Macte istâ morum suavitate, quâ, aperto vivens ostio, et facta tua omnia ad pietatis et rectæ rationis obrussam exigens, quod vir bonus solet, qui," &c.—PRATT.

[f] "*Judex:*" quarto.—PRATT.

[g] "*Qui auro est nobilior novus libellus:*" quarto.—PRATT.

et infestæ pecori lupæ, sub ovinâ pelle regibus et populo Christiano Romæ horrendæ lac ferinum immulgenti, personam alienam detrahere; bestiam, ovium sanguinis sitientem, à Christi caulis arcere; Ecclesiæ læta et pura pascua à turpi spumantium aprorum dente, et fœdo lutulentarum suum rostro pura et intemerata conservare; Æsopicam corniculam Petri et Pauli plumis insolescentem furtivis coloribus nudare; Cuculi Romani, qui Christianos omnes pro Currucis habet, ova in ipso Dei Templo posita pertundere; Meretricem Babylonicam, Christiani nominis cerussâ et minio fucatam, traducere; et possint, quia doctissimi, et velint, quia integerrimi, et faciant, quia vigilantissimi[h]. Atque, ut odor illa morte in mortem sit, quia "Resipiscere" dedidicit, denunciet ut totâ mente atque omnibus artubus contremiscat, appetente jam die illo decretorio, quo ardebit Babylon; Meretricis magnæ negotiatores et adulteri omnes lugebunt; Diabolus mundi seductor, Bestia et Pseudopropheta, in stagnum ignis et sulphuris præcipites abibunt, æternas justè irato Numini pœnas daturi; Filiumque Perditionis

Dignus principio exitus exodiúmque sequetur.

Interea temporis, veni, Domine Jesu, veni. Antichristum, se truci in unctos tuos rabie efferentem, comprime. Hostibus tuis, qui asperum paternæ castigationis tuæ vinum nobis plenis cyathis educendum dedêre, acinosas et pannosas indignationis tuæ fæces plenis doliis exhauriendas invitis et reluctantibus porrige. *Captivam Sionis Filiam*, ferreo Ægyptiacæ servitutis jugo oppressam, liberali causâ manu assere. Ludovici Regis fulgentes hastas, coruscantes enses, arma mortali fulgore crispantia, tormentorum bellicorum horrisona fulmina, in ipsum Pseudoprophetam et lutosos Babylonis muros converte; ut fatidicum vatem, veri nescium, sua sibi mala lævâ mente verè profatum esse pudeat et pœniteat. Ecclesiis transmarinis solidam pacem, subdolis ereptam astibus, restitue. Damna nos voti; et hanc, quâ Major Britannia tuo solius beneficio fruitur, pacem et tranquillitatem nobis fidam, posteris verò nostris perpetuam præsta. Huic autem aureo libello da, ut vivat vigeátque, Antichristo Principum invidiam conflaturus, Ecclesiæ tuæ almam pacem coagmentaturus: ejúsque auctori largire Beneficus, ut, vitâ honestissimè et sanctissimè in terris actâ, cœlo potiatur; ubi tecum

Immortali ævo summâ cum pace fruatur.

AMEN.

[h] "Et faciant, quia vigilantissimi," is not in the quarto.—PRATT.

EPISTOLÆ TRES:

HÆC, AD D. BALTASAREM WILLIUM;

ALTERA, AD D. LUDOVICUM CROCIUM;

TERTIA, AD D. HERMANNUM HILDEBRANDUM;

SCRIPTORE JOS. EXON.

THREE LETTERS,

ADDRESSED BY

JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP OF EXETER:

THE FIRST, TO BALTHASAR WILLIUS;

THE SECOND, TO LOUIS CROCIUS;

THE THIRD, TO HERMAN HILDEBRANDT.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE

REV. PETER HALL, M. A.

EPISTOLA I.

CLARISSIMO VIRO

D. BALTASARI WILLIO,

S. THEOLOGIÆ D.

ET IN BREMENSI ECCLESIA PROFESSORI CELEBERRIMO;

GRATIAM AC PACEM.

Si, quam mihi misisti schedulam, censores tui perlegissent, Frater admodùm Reverende, non opus fuisset, ut ego judicium hoc meum qualecunque interponerem. Facilè profectò illi, si quis pudor, quam tibi temerè objectârunt calumniam, et ultrò revocâssent. Tanto, enim, cum candore animi, tamque irrefragrabilibus indiciis, te ab illis sive criminationibus, seu verò impactæ hæreseos suspicionibus quibuscunque, in hisce chartis liberâsti; ut, post hujusmodi apologiam, ipsa non habeat invidia, quod tibi deinceps objicere possit. Ede literas tuas: responso meo parces.

Quandoquidem, tamen, meam de quibusdam Commentariorum tuorum locis sententiam ita ardenter desideras, non possum non tibi in re tantillâ satisfacere.

Hoc, verò, inprimis ora obturet cavillantium; quòd ejusmodi elegeris operis tui patronos. Alios profectò quæsivisses, si in Arminii, nedum Socini, castra transfugere voluisses: non D. Poliandrum, Walæum, Thysium, Triglandum, sidera pridem in Dordraceno cælo conspicua; quorum insuper censuris ista tua tam modestè subjeceris, aut probanda, aut, si foret opus, corrigenda.

Loca, quæ offendiculo fuisse ais, examinavi sedulò. Nihil prorsùs est in primâ Præfatione tuâ, quod vel obtorto collo

LETTER I.

TO THE ORNAMENT OF HIS AGE AND COUNTRY,

BALTHASAR WILLIUS,

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY,

AND MOST FAMOUS PROFESSOR IN THE CHURCH OF BREMEN;

GRACE AND PEACE.

HAD your accusers read, most Reverend Brother, the statement you have sent me, there had been no occasion for me to interpose my judgment, be it worth much or little. If they have any sense of shame, they must themselves have recalled, spontaneously and gladly, the calumnies adduced, with so little truth, to your discredit. For in these documents you have exonerated yourself with so much openness of mind, and by so irrefragable evidences, from charges, or rather from suspicions, of having fallen into heresy; that, after an apology of this sort, envy herself has nothing to object against you. Circulate your own letters; and you will have no occasion to use my answers.

Yet since you so ardently desire my opinion of certain passages in your Commentaries, I cannot deny you satisfaction in so small a matter.

There is one thing, however, to stop the mouths of cavillers at the outset; that you have chosen patrons of the right kind for your publication. Surely, if you had wished to make your escape into the camp of Arminius, to say nothing of Socinus, you would have sought for other names, than those of Poliander, Walæus, Thysius, Trigland; men conspicuous, long ago, among the constellations of Dort: to whose remarks moreover you have so modestly submitted those your labours, whether for their approval, or, if need be, for their correction.

The passages at which you say offence was taken, I have diligently examined. There is positively nothing in your first Preface, which could be construed, spite of distortion, to sup-

trahi possit ad heterodoxam aliquam gratiæ divinæ universalitatem stabiliendam. Sed et illa in Zachar. iv. ejusdem omnino censûs, nihil habent errori alicui affine: ostendunt tantùm manifestum gratiæ divinæ, succedentibus seculis, erga Ecclesiam suam, in luminis salvifici expansione ampliore clarioréque, specimen et incrementum: quo quid verius cogitari potest? Conquirunt profectò et fingunt istic errores malevoli, non inveniunt.

Absolutam Prædestinationem negat Præfatio posterior; sed, eo sensu, quo clarissimus collega tuus, D. Lud. Crocius, Syntagmatis p. 987: non sine respectu ad ipsam decreti executionem. Decreti, inquis, electionis, fundamentum Christus est; conditio salvandis implenda, fides: et salvandis, dixisti, implenda; non, in eligendis, prævisa et prærequisita. Quis sanus aliter dixerit?

Quæ de Reprobatione definiisti, non alia sunt quàm quæ à Theologis Dordracenis ex professo tradita sunt. Nec enim aliud est, Deum ex absolutâ voluntate neminem excludere à gratiâ, et æterno exitio destinare, quàm, Deum neminem absque intuitu peccati damnare voluisse. Culpam ergo reprobationis in mortalium pertinaciâ et incredulitate hærere, tutissimè verissimèque determinâsti. Analysin quod spectat loci illius celeberrimi ad Rom. ix. nôrunt Dordraceni omnes, me non monuisse modò, sed et pro concione publicâ obnixè etiam efflagitâsse, ut ad hoc ipsum examen tota de Prædestinatione controversia revocaretur. Ab utrâque authorum litigantium parte tentatum est hoc palàm, subque prælo non uno: quo autem successu, silere mavelim. Certè, dum alii rigidiorem sectantur viam, in absolutam Dei potestatem voluntatémque, absque ullâ ratione peccati, rejicientes plurimorum perditionem; alii, libertatis humanæ parasiti, ita sui juris faciunt homines, ac si nulli omnino decreto subjicerentur. Utrinque satis periculosè peccatur: deseritur, medium tenens, veritas; quæ tamen à moderatis quibúsque ingeniis officiosè colitur.

Quod tu dum facis, tutò profitere te Synodi Orthodoxæ Dordracenæ Theologis nullatenùs adversari. Quoties enim, quàmque rotundè, celeberrimi illi Doctores professi sunt, Deum neminem damnare, aut damnationi destinare, nisi ex consideratione peccati! Ut Britanni nostri; Artic. 1. Thes. 5. Sed

port, in a heterodox sense, the universality of divine grace. And even your remarks on Zechar. iv. though coming under the same description, have nothing akin to any error whatsoever: they merely represent the influence and increase of the grace of God, as manifested in succeeding ages to his Church, by the fuller and clearer development of the light of salvation: and what can be imagined more consonant to truth, than this? In passages such as these, your enemies hunt for faults, and make what they cannot find.

Your subsequent Preface denies Absolute Predestination; but in the same sense, in which your illustrious colleague, Louis Crocius, does, in his Syntagma, p. 978: not without respect, that is, to the execution of the decree. The foundation of the decree of Election, you say, is Christ; and faith, the condition to be fulfilled by those that shall be saved: to be fulfilled, you say, by those that shall be saved; not foreseen or foresought in those that should be chosen. Who in his senses would speak otherwise?

The propositions you have asserted concerning Reprobation, are none other than those which were avowedly delivered by the Divines of Dort. Nor is the assertion, that God, of absolute will, excludes no one from grace, and dooms no one to everlasting perdition, any thing else but that God willed to destroy no one but upon the sight of sin. You have therefore most safely and most truly concluded, that the blame of reprobation adheres entirely to the impenitence and unbelief of men. With respect to your analysis of that famous passage in Rom. ix. the members of Dort are all aware, that I not only recommended, but vehemently urged in the presence of the assembly, that the whole controversy of Predestination should be reduced to this very text. An effort to this effect was publicly made by the parties who contended on either side, and in publications issued from more than one quarter: but with what success, I would rather not record. Certainly, while some follow a more rigid course, casting the perdition of multitudes upon the absolute power and will of God, without any cognizance of sin; others, the flatterers of human liberty, invest mankind with a jurisdiction of their own, as if they were subjected to no decree at all. The mistake is dangerous enough on both sides: truth, which occupies the middle place, is forsaken; though dutifully cultivated by men of wisdom and discretion.

For yourself, while thus engaged, you do well to acknowledge that you oppose not, to the smallest degree, the Theologians of the Orthodox Synod of Dort. For how often, and how broadly, did those illustrious Doctors profess, that God destroys no man, and dooms no man to destruction, save on the consideration of sin! As also our English Divines; in Artic. 1.

et fratres Hassiacos multis hoc argumentis comprobâsse palàm est: nec qui Theologorum omnium accuratiùs expressiùsve istud docuerunt, quàm Bremenses vestri: nec abludit ipsa Synodi vox, quæ, reprobationem ipsam definiens, præteritos eos esse ait, quos, ex liberrimo, justissimo, irreprehensibili, et immutabili beneplacito, in communi miseriâ, in quam se suâ culpâ præcipitârunt[a]. Præteritionem, Derelectionémque, (Synodi verba agnoscimus;) ac, deinde, æternæ propter suam infidelitatem et alia peccata punitionis decretum, quis sanus inficietur? Distinctionem illam, inter negativam Reprobationem, sive nonelectionem; et positivam, sive præparationem pœnæ eorum, qui, in statu corruptionis relicti, judicium sibi meritissimum accersunt, quis non libenter agnoscat? Resistere nos nimis sæpe gratiæ divinæ, ad conversionem nostram nos importunè satis invitanti urgentíque, quis neget? Modò concedatur et illud; esse quandam peculiarem gratiam, sive per Dei sapientiam sive per ejus potentiam, administratam; cui homo, qui per eam vocatur, non resistit, et quæ à nullo duro corde respuitur. Quod tu, cum Theologis Leydensibus, ut et illi cum S. Augustino, rectissimè asseruisti. Sed quid ego telam tuam retexo? Oculatus oportet adversarius sit, qui in hisce novem de Reprobatione sectionibus, quicquam invenerit, quod veritati divinæ, sanctáeque charitati, non sit omni modo consentaneum.

Mitior paulo fortasse videri potest illa, quæ de Sacræ Cænæ privatâ administratione moveri lis solet: quæ, tamen, etiam Ecclesiis nostris, nescio quas turbas fecerit. Hic scilicet unus est, ex Quinque illis Articulis Perthanis, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, à doctissimo regum Jacobo VI. pridem propositis, multorum exindè calamis satis supérque agitatus. Præter nostros, doctissimus Episcopus Berchinensis, post illum, D. Johannes Forbesius, aliíque Theologi Aberdonenses, ingenia hîc sua, magnâ cum laude, exercuerunt. Certè miror ego, quâ tandem freti ratione, privati quidam Theologi saluberrimo huic, sed et antiquissimo receptissimóque, in Ecclesiâ mori, sese opposuerint. Unquamne vetuit hoc privatim fieri Christus, aut Apostolorum

[a] As there has been but one edition of this Epistle, the words necessary to the proper structure of this sentence must be left to conjecture. It is evident,

Thes. 5. That the brethren of Hesse too, approved this doctrine by many arguments, is notorious: nor, of all our Theologians, have any taught it more accurately or more distinctly, than your own of Bremen. Neither is there any inconsistency in that article of the Synod, which, in defining reprobation, asserts that those are passed by, whom God, according to his most free and just, unblameable and unchangeable will, leaves in the general misery, into which, by their own fault, they have precipitated themselves. Who, that is sound in doctrine, will deny Præterition and Dereliction, (I adopt the words of the Synod;) and thence the decree of eternal punishment for the unbelief and other sins of the individual? Who would not readily avow that distinction, between negative Reprobation, or non-election; and positive, that is, the provision of punishment for those, who, being left in a state of corruption, procure for themselves most worthy condemnation? Who would deny, that we too often resist the grace of God, inviting and urging us most importunately to our conversion? Only let thus much be granted; that there is a certain peculiar grace, whether administered by the wisdom or by the power of God; which the man, who is called by it, resists not; and which is rejected by no heart, however hard. And this is the very thing which you, with the Divines of Leyden, and they with St. Augustine, have asserted. But why should I unweave your web? He must be a sharp-sighted adversary, who, in these nine sections on Reprobation, can find any thing, not altogether consistent with divine truth, and sacred charity.

The controversy, which is often raised about the administration of the Holy Supper, may appear somewhat less untractable: it is one, nevertheless, which has produced inexpressible commotion, even in our own Churches. This, in fact, is one of the Five Articles of Perth, formerly proposed to the Church of Scotland, by the most learned of Sovereigns, James the 6th; and which has since been canvassed enough, and more than enough, by the pens of many writers. Besides our own, there is the most learned Bishop of Brechin, and, after him, John Forbes, and other Divines of Aberdeen, who have most creditably exercised their wisdom in the discussion. Certainly I marvel, on what ground of reason they have relied, that certain Theologians should have ventured, in their private capacities, to gainsay this most wholesome, and at the same time most ancient and general custom of the Church. Did Christ, or any one of his Apostles, ever forbid this to be done pri-

that *relinquit Deus*, or some words of like import, are wanting in the close: and these words occur in a similar sentence, in the last of these three letters. —Pratt.

quisquam? *Facite hoc*, inquit Christus; Luc. xxii. 19. Factum præcepit: non meminit loci. Institutio ipsa salutaris est: temporis locíve circumstantia ita inter *ἀδιάφορα* meritò collocanda, ut tanti Sacramenti essentiæ nihil quicquam præjudicare debeat. Quòd si locum spectare velimus curiosiùs, in cænaculo cœpit Cæna Sacra, non in templo; intráque privatos, ut tu probè monuisti, lares, ab Apostolis discipulísque, pro temporis ratione, celebrata. Synaxis est: quis nescit? ideóque Ecclesiæ Dei haud paulò congruentior. Si qua, tamen, postulet necessitas, sive multorum communis, sive privata postulantis, nulla dari potest ratio, cur Christianis animis, præsertim cum morbis mortéque ipsâ conflictantibus, ita gratum et efficax remedium non ultrò suppeditetur. *Ἐφόδιον* est, sanctis Patribus: lasso, igitur, jamque in extremis agenti viatori, petenti insuper, quâ tandem pietate denegetur? De tanti hujus Sacramenti virtute, Christianus esse nequit qui ambigat: non potest, igitur, non pium esse tam salutaris Sacramenti desiderium. Cui ut tempestivè satisfiat, caverunt, præter citatos à te Patres authorésque probatissimos, Concilia etiam non pauca: Nicenum illud Œcumenicum, Can. 13. Carthaginense Quartum, 76, 78. Vasense, 1. Can. 2. alia. Inter Ecclesias verò Reformatas à te commemoratas, certè nostræ Anglicanæ non alia unquam fuit, seu lex, seu praxis; utpote quæ hanc sibi regulam semper figendam sensuerit, toties à scitissimo Rege Jacobo inculcatam, nihilo longiùs à Romanâ discedere Ecclesiâ, quàm illa à se, à primigeniâ puritate discessisse deprehendatur. Graviter, ergo, piè, ac prudenter quæstionem tu hanc, si quid ego judicare possum, pertractâsti; remque totam tantâ cum moderatione ac cautelâ determinâsti, ut mirum sit, si quis vestrorum deinceps, in tam sano verèque theologico judicio non acquiescat.

Breviter, de re totâ sic habeto. Consilium illorum, qui declarationem hanc tuam, ut valdè piam, Ecclesiaéque Dei perutilem, edendam, jurísque publici faciendam censent, non possum egò non calculo me summopere comprobare. Non parùm è re fuerit Ecclesiæ, ut hujusmodi extet exemplar candoris et equanimitatis Christianæ: ut, moderato qui sunt animo, ha-

vately? *Do this*, is the word of Christ; Luke xxii. 19. He enjoined the act; he made no mention of the place. The institution is of itself beneficial: the circumstances of time and place are so worthily to be accounted among things indifferent, as to offer no prejudice to the essence of so great a Sacrament. But if we choose to regard the place more scrupulously, the Holy Supper was first instituted in a guest-chamber, not in a Church; and afterward celebrated, according to the circumstances of the times, in private houses, as you have properly reminded us, by the Apostles and disciples of the Lord. That it is a congregational ordinance, no one doubts; and therefore unquestionably more appropriate to the Church of God. Still, should any necessity require it, whether shared in common among many, or peculiar to the individual who makes the request, no reason can be given, why a remedy, so grateful and so efficacious, should not be instantly supplied to the souls of the saints, particularly when struggling with disease, perhaps with death itself. In the language of the holy Fathers, it is a sort of provision for the road; on what pretence of piety, then, can it be denied a traveller, wearied with his journey, and now near the end; especially when he asks it at our hand? Of the virtue of a Sacrament so great, he cannot be a Christian who entertains a doubt; and therefore the wish for a Sacrament so salutary cannot but be a token of godliness. And that such wish should be gratified without delay, not a few of the Councils, in addition to the Fathers and most reputable Authors cited by yourself, have given directions: such as, the Œcumenical Council of Nice; Can. 13. the Fourth Council of Carthage; Can. 76, 78. the 1st Council of Vaison, Can. 2, &c. But among the Reformed Churches which you mention, certainly there never was any other law or custom in our Church of England; which has ever deemed it an established and abiding rule for her direction, so frequently inculcated by wise King James, not to depart further from the Church of Rome, than the Church of Rome is found guilty of departing from her former self, and from primitive simplicity. If I, therefore, may be allowed to deliver an opinion, you have handled this question gravely, piously, and wisely; and settled the whole matter with so great moderation and prudence, that it is strange if there be any of your own Divines from henceforth, who would refuse to acquiesce in so sound and truly scriptural a judgment.

Finally, consider this to be my mind upon the whole business. I cannot but heartily add my voice and vote to theirs, who think that this your declaration ought, for its excellent piety and usefulness to the Church of God, to be printed and published. It may prove of no small benefit to the Church, that an example of Christian candour and equanimity such as

beant quod tenere debeant; et, qui temerè maluerint contradicere, post δευτέρας tandem φροντίδας videant, quod erubescere debuerint.

Deus, Pacis Author, Ecclesiam suam totam in concordi veritate stabiliat!

Vale, Frater Venerande,

A conservo tuo fideli ac benevolo,

JOS. EXON.

Dat. è palatio nostro Exon.

EPISTOLA II.

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO FRATRI, VIRO CLARISSIMO.

D. LUDOVICO CROCIO,

S. THEOLOGIÆ D.

ET IN ILLUSTRI SCHOLA BREMENSI PROFESSORI,

GRATIAM AC PACEM.

QUAM nobis olim Dordrechtum conciliavit amicitiam, mi Croci, eam et recolere sæpius, et modis quibuscúnque fovere, quidni senescentibus cordi sit? Video te solum ex collegis tuis superstitem; evolâsse reliquos, cælùmque cum terrâ jam diu commutâsse. Nos, verò, quamdiu hîc sumus? Felices, interea; qui temporis hoc quantulumcúnque benè agendo terimus: quod certè dum facimus, invidiam vel comitem, vel saltem asseclam, fato quodam sustinere necesse habemus. Pergant porro nostræ patientiæ præcones εἴπειν πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα, modò ψευδόμενοι: beatos nos hoc modo facient, dum vellent miseros.

Legi, quantum pro tempore licuit, Syntagma tuum: egregium

this remain on record; that they, whose views are moderate, may possess what they ought to hold; and that they, who are bent on contradicting without fear, may see, on second thoughts, what ought to make them blush.

May God, the Author of Peace, establish his whole Church in the harmony of truth!

Farewell, Venerable Brother,

From your faithful and affectionate fellow-servant,

JOS. EXON.

Given from our palace at Exeter.

LETTER II.

TO THE

REVEREND BROTHER IN CHRIST, AND HIGHLY EMINENT,

LOUIS CROCIUS,

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY,

AND PROFESSOR IN THE ILLUSTRIOUS COLLEGE OF BREMEN,

GRACE AND PEACE.

WHY may not our hearts delight, as we grow old, my Crocius, both to renew occasionally, and to strengthen, as we best can, the friendship we once contracted at Dort? I observe that you are the only one that survive out of all your colleagues; that the rest have taken wing, and exchanged, some time ago, earth for heaven. And we, how long are we for this world? Happy, meanwhile, if so be that we pass our time, whether it be long or short, in doing good: though doubtless, as long as we so demean ourselves, we must needs, as our distinction, have envy for our companion, or at least for our attendant. Well; let the heralds of our patience go on to speak every evil word against us, so that only they speak falsely; thus will they make us blessed, while they wish to make us wretched.

I have read, as time permitted, your Syntagma: an excellent

profectò opus, et te dignum. Loca à te notata perpendi seriò. Ut liberè loquar quod censeo, occurrebant mihi multa, paulò enucleatiùs, quàm ab aliis Theologis fieri solet, in magno hôc Prædestinationis mysterio, explicata: ἑτεροδόξα verò illa, quæ tibi à quibusdam objici quiritaris, quâ tandem ratione hinc elici possint, nullus comperio.

Primum illud caput, verè profectò aureum, de principiis humanæ salutis, probè, uti par est, pensitatum et intellectum, ab omni te impacti erroris suspicione facilè liberârit. Utcunque, enim, universalem Dei φιλανθρωπίαν solito pleniùs dilucidiùsque depinxeris, (quæ quidem nunquam poterit, me judice, nimiùm deprædicari,) cùm tamen triplicem illam universalis dilectionis limitationem insuper addideris, omne amoves Pelagianismi Huberismíque à tuâ sententiâ periculum. Nec enim communis illa Dei misericordia, quâ humano præsertim generi benè vult et benè placet, quicquam præjudicat speciali illi benevolentiæ ac amori, quo electos suos gratiosissimè prosequitur. Fratribus quidem omnibus multiplicat Joseph fercula, Benjamini verò חמש ידות; Gen. xliii. 34. Tuta sunt hîc omnia; dum nos nihil nobis tribuamus, Dei misericordiæ, in Christo filio suo, totum salutis et destinandæ et impetrandæ negotium, acceptum ingenuè feramus. Quis, verò, tibi illa odiosa exprobraret nomina, quæ tu ubique conspuis et detestaris?

Hæret apud me illud, fateor, aliquantum, et explicatione quâdam videtur indigere, quod capite 6. de Gratiâ Vocationis, sect. 16. occurrit: ubi, formulam Fæderis Gratiæ expositurus, ais, "Peccatum primorum parentum, atque adeò et peccatum originis, tanquam opus Diaboli, hactenus destructum, ut Satanas propterea nullum jus et potestatem in homines habeat; ita ut propterea nemo necessariò damnandus sit, nisi nova peccata accedant, quibus homines fiant gratiæ incapaces, ac denuò in plenam servitutem et possessionem Satanæ redeant." Semper, enim, mihi, sed et aliis visum est, promissum illud de serpentis capite à semine mulieris conterendo, intelligi de victoriâ, quam semen illud benedictum reportârit sibi ac electis suis: ut planiùs loquar, non universali quâdam destructione peccati originis, quasi nullum jus in homines habitum, sed in suos electos nullum; neque de originali illo peccato tantùm, sed et de omnibus quibuscúnque Satanæ molitionibus, construi debere. Invidiam tibi forsan aliquam creet ille locus; donec uberiore aliquâ interpretatione vindicetur. Quod ergo paginâ sequente

work indeed, and worthy of the author. The passages you marked, I have seriously considered. To speak freely what I think, many things struck me, on this great mystery of Predestination, as explained somewhat more minutely, than has been generally done by other Theologians; but as for charges of heterodoxy, which you complain are laid against you by some, I discover not by what means they can possibly be elicited from your publication.

The first head (a head of gold, I may truly call it) concerning the principles of human salvation, if honestly weighed and understood, as it ought to be, must easily exempt you from all suspicion of having fallen into error. For however you may have depicted, in fuller and clearer terms than usual, the universal kindness of God towards man, (an attribute which can never, to my judgment, be exhibited too copiously;) yet forasmuch as you have subsequently added a three-fold limitation of universal love, you remove every hazard of Pelagianism and Huberism from your sentiments. For by no means does that general mercy of God, in which he manifests his good-will and good-pleasure towards the race of man above the rest of his creation, involve the smallest prejudice to that special benevolence and love, with which he most graciously regards his own elect. To all his brethren Joseph sends messes; but to Benjamin *five times as much as any of their's;* Gen. xliii. 34. Here, all is safe; so long as we attribute nothing to ourselves, but freely charge the whole business, both of appointing and of atchieving our salvation, upon the mercy of God in Christ his Son. But who would reproach you with those hateful names, which you everywhere reject and abominate?

There is a passage, I confess, which makes me pause a moment, and seems to need some explanation, occurring in the 6th chapter, on the Grace of Vocation, sect. 16; where, as you are preparing to explain the order of the Covenant of Grace, you say, "The sin of our first parents, and so also the sin of our origin, is so far destroyed, that Satan has no right or power over men on that score; insomuch that on that score no man need be damned, unless he incur fresh sins, through which he becomes incapable of grace, and returns anew into full subjection and possession of Satan." To myself, and to others likewise, it has always appeared, that the promise of the seed of the woman bruising the head of the serpent, should be understood of the victory which that blessed seed should gain for himself and his elect: to speak more plainly, not of any universal destruction of original sin, as if no hold should be retained over men in general, but none over the elect: and that it ought to be explained, not of original sin only, but of all the machinations of Satan whatsoever. The passage will perhaps occasion you some reproach, until it be vindicated by a more

subinfers, Justificationem vitæ ita vi mortis Christi in omnes homines transiisse, ut libertatem et jus ad vitam æternam consecuti sint, nisi per novam inobedientiam et peccatum gratiam illam amittant; hôc planè animo à te scriptum censeo, ut de solâ possibilitate sub fidei habendæ conditione istud intellexeris. Eò profectò se extendebat virtus vivificæ illius mortis, ut qui credunt à reatu originalis peccati certò liberentur; utque, non obstante peccato sive originali sive actuali quocunque, et jus ad vitam et vitam ipsam consequantur: utque reconciliabilitas quædam humani generis eò usque, hâc ratione, obtineretur, quò quisque mortalium, modò resipiscere ac credere possit, salutem adipiscatur: id quod tu ipse ubique videris inurere.

Nihil ergo certius est, quàm, quod mox subjicis, Christum omnium hominum salutem aliquo modo quæsivisse, omnibúsque ad eam aliquo modo profuisse. Quæsivit hoc certè Beneficentissimus Servator; quòdque non invenerit, in homines ipsos, non in Redemptorem, cudenda est hæc faba. Quì potest ergo salus esse quibusdam simpliciter impossibilis, quam ille, quem penes est, omnibus sub conditione seriò obtulerit; et reapse præstare, modò ipsi sibi non deforent, paratus sit? Impossibilis modò, sed et certa: quis hîc non tacitè ac humiliter acquiescat? Sententiam hanc vestram, meminimus nos clarissimum D. Martinium collegam tuum J. M. in Synodo Dordracenâ thesibus suis illic exhibitis apertè plenèque explicâsse; ut mirum sit suboriri modò quenquam, qui vos illi suffragrantes tam serò erroris insimulet. Breviter quoque oculòs conjicio: illud video; et in hâc desinam censurâ, nisi lectori charitas deesset, non deforet scripto fides.

Præfationem tuam quod attinet, quæ de Septem Asiaticis Ecclesiis commentari libuit, (quâ in re concinit tibi, uti video, doctissimus collega tuus, D. Willius, passim, in suis et Proloquiis et Commentariis,) laudo equidem, velut ingeniosè satis, neque sine probabili aliquâ veri specie à vobis dicta: solidè tamen, et ad mentem Evangelici Scriptoris, exarata, concedere nequeo. Illas, etenim, Ecclesias Septem esse typos quosdam historico-phopheticos succedentium sibi ab illo ævo Ecclesiæ conditionum, quis largiatur? Tale profectò aliquid Brightman-

ample explanation. What, therefore, you subjoin, by way of inference, in the following page, that justification of life has so passed on all men by virtue of the death of Christ, that they have obtained liberty and right to eternal life, unless by fresh disobedience and sin they lose that grace; I conceive you wrote distinctly with an intention of asserting, that the one and only possibility of salvation is subjected to the condition of faith. So far, no doubt, the efficacy of that life-giving death extended, that they who believe are certainly delivered from the guilt of original sin; and that no sin, original or actual, withstanding, they attain both their title to life, and life itself: and that a certain capability of reconciliation was, by this means, so far procured for the human race, that any child of man may obtain salvation, so that he be but enabled to repent and believe: a tenet, which you yourself seem everywhere to inculcate.

Nothing, therefore, is more certain, than what you presently subjoin, That Christ has in some way sought the salvation of all men, and in some way profited all men for salvation. Certainly our most Gracious Saviour sought this object; and that he found it not, the fault is to be charged on men themselves, not on the Redeemer. How then can that salvation be simply impossible to any, which he, in whose power it is, offered purposely, though under a condition, to all; and was prepared actually to confer it, so that men were not wanting to themselves? That it is not only not impossible, but positively sure, who would not silently and humbly acknowledge? This opinion of yours I recollect that your illustrious Colleague, Martinius, openly and fully expounded before the Synod of Dort, in his theses there exhibited; so that it is a matter of surprise to me, that any one should now arise, to accuse you, thus late, of error, for adding your suffrages to his. For a moment too I cast my eye upon your pages; but it is time enough to take a view; and with this censure I say no more: were there not a want of charity in the reader, there would be no lack of confidence in the work.

With regard to your Preface. The observations you have been pleased to make, relative to the Seven Churches of Asia, (a subject, on which I observe that your most learned colleague, Willius, agrees with you throughout, both in his Aphorisms and Commentaries,) these I cannot but applaud, as written with considerable ingenuity, and not without a probable shew of truth: though, that they are composed on sound principles, and in accordance with the mind of the Scriptural Historian, is more than I am prepared to concede. For who would grant, that those Seven Churches are historical and prophetical types of the several conditions of the Church, which were to succeed each other from that time forward? Such may have been the

nus noster, aut Parkerus vigilans somniârit: nollem vobis tantis viris excidisse; cùm palàm sit, Spiritum Sanctum eas ipsas illius temporis Ecclesias, sed et earum Episcopos, singulariter notâsse. Personalia sunt, ilicet, quæ Pastori cuique objiciuntur; nec ad cætum integrum, multò minùs ad typicas nescio quas successiones, detorquenda. Sed et incurrunt in se invicem, quæ de unâquâque Ecclesiâ prædicantur; nec cuiquam istarum soli distinctè competere possunt: ut per omnia tenere nequeat illa, quam imaginamur, analogia. Aurea scilicet illa et apostolica ætas, quam per Ephesianam Ecclesiam figurari vultis, uti non *perdiderat*, quantum nobis innotuit, *charitatem suam primam;* ita, non prorsùs immunis fuit ab illis persecutionibus, quæ seculis sequentibus efferbuerunt. In Smyrnensi illâ ferreâ, (metallorum enim similitudine quâdam hæc omnia illustrare maluisti,) synagogæ Judeorum, jam tum Christianismo infestissimæ, non Ethnicorum furores designantur. Polemicam, verò, Pergamensem quod spectat, ipse Antipas Martyr, eo tempore sine dubio notissimus, nominatim, velut recentissimæ memoriæ, celebratur; ut certo certius sit, de *re* dudum præteritâ locutum, cum Spiritu, Evangelistam: nec de illo ævo, cui tu istud confers, verè prædicari potest, *Nomen meum retines, non negâsti fidem;* cùm totus ferè orbis ad Arianismum desciverit. Thyatirensi devotæ ac religiosæ, (quæ à Carolo Magno ad Carolum Quintum interjecta est) quàm nullo jure imputatur, quòd patiatur Jezebelem Prophetissam (Hildebrandinam nempe, ut tu interpretaris, dominationem) seducere servos Dei; quasi in Ecclesiæ illius, impotenter adhuc delitescentis, potestate fuisset, Romanæ Ecclesiæ tyrannidem jam tum impedire aut coercere! Sardensis illa, sive politica, quæ a Carolo Quinto hucusque extenditur, non tam Episcopalis est, ais, quam Principalis: memineris tamen hæc Angelo, id est Episcopo, non Principibus, dicta fuisse: illud verò visne ut meritò competat Protestantium cætui, *Nomen habes quod vivas, sed mortuus es: moribunda corrobores?* Absit ut hæc tam gravia nostris aggeramus! Nolo singulis insistere; præter scopum enim hæc omnia: da veniam, Colendissime Frater, libertati

waking dreams of our Brightman or Parker. I should be sorry to differ from men of eminence like you; but it is plain that the Holy Ghost pointed individually not only to the Churches of that age, but to their Bishops with them. In fact, they are personal accusations which are brought against each of the Ministers; nor are they to be twisted to suit the whole assembly of the Church, much less what you are pleased to call the typical succession of the Church. And, what is more, the descriptions given of each Church, instead of agreeing with any one of them apart, run mutually into each other; so that the analogy we imagine, cannot hold good in every particular. For instance, that golden and apostolical age, which you suppose is represented by the Church of Ephesus, as it had not *lost*, to the extent of our information, *its first love;* so was it not altogether free from those persecutions, which raged in times immediately succeeding. In the iron age of Smyrna (for you have chosen to illustrate them all under the similitude of the metals) it is the synagogue of the Jews, and not the fury of the Gentiles, which is described as most hostile to the cause of Christ. But in reference to the Church of Pergamos, that is, the contentious Church, the Martyr Antipas, at that time undoubtedly well known, is himself commemorated by name, as one whose character and history were most recent in the recollections of men; so that it is certain beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Evangelist, under guidance of the Spirit, spake of an occurrence now long since passed away: nor can it be truly asserted of the age, to which you refer the observation, *Thou retainest my name, thou hast not denied the faith;* when almost the whole world had lapsed into Arianism. How strangely is it attributed to the Church of Thyatira, the pious and devoted, (for which you have made room from the reign of Charles the Great to that of Charles the Fifth,) that she suffers Jezebel the Prophetess (the dominion of Hildebrand to wit, as you interpret it) to seduce the servants of God: as if it was now in the power of that Church, yet lying in weakness, to hinder or restrain the tyranny of the Church of Rome! The Church of Sardis, or the political, which is made to reach from the reign of Charles the Fifth to the present day, is not so much, you say, a Church of Bishops, as a Church of Princes: yet you must bear in mind that here also the message is delivered to the Angel, that is the Bishop, and not to Princes: but would you have that word deservedly apply to a congregation of Protestants, *Thou hast a name to live, but thou art dead: strengthen the things which remain?* God forbid that we should heap reproaches so severe upon our brethren! But I have no occasion to dwell on the case of each; when they are every one of them beside the mark: pardon my free-

huic meæ: non possum tibi in illâ Asiaticarum Ecclesiarum interpretatione (re non admodum gravi) consentire.

Utcunque, verò, præmissæ hæ fidem apud me parùm invenerint, conclusionem tamen tuam ex animo amplector et exosculor. Hinc nempe sumptâ occasione, tempestivè ad concordiam Ecclesiis Evangelicis suadendam dilaberis. Hoc ego tibi ac tuis imprimis gratulor: hoc precor: hoc urgeo. Certè, qualiscunque tandem fuerit illa Sardensis, utinam, O utinam, Ecclesia Dei nostro hôc ævo ad pacem se publicam, non seposito interim veritatis studio, unanimiter componeret. Video equidem, et gaudeo, vos Professores, doctissimos celeberrimósque, Bremenses, pium hôc, Deoque, angelis, et hominibus gratissimum opus promovere paratissimos esse: id quod, non modò ex Duræo meo, studiosissimo tanti beneficii parario, gratulabundus accepi; sed ex scriptis insuper vestris facilè persentisco.

Dolet mihi interim, quòd videam, præter iniquam temporum conditionem, quorundam pervicacem φιλαυτίαν sacrosanctum hoc cæptum aliquantum remorari. Humanum profectò est quod isti sapiunt. Ita nempe dediti sunt quidam vel suis vel præceptorum suorum opinionibus, partiúmque studiis, pertinaciter fovendis, ut ne verba quidem, rebus quantumlibet salvis, indulgere velint publicæ paci ac charitati. Sanè, qui sic affecti sunt, ubi pretium unitatis evangelicæ planè videntur nescire, ita aliquando sine dubio sentient quid sit ἐν προσωπολημψίαις ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν, Jac. ii. 1; et Ecclesiam Dei suis manibus λογομαχίαις usque inquietare; 1 Tim. vi. 4. Certè, si quod in Synodo Dordracenâ propositum fuit, et à Theologis exteris fervidè satis expeditum, pariter obtinuisset; præcepta jam diu fuisset omnis hæc, quæ modò vobis negotium facessit, contendendi ansa.

Memineris tu probè, mi Croci, ubi me nimis iniqua valetudo invitum ab illo doctorum virorum consessu abripuisset, incidisse quæstionem, non herclè intempestivam, Sessione 132, de rejectione duriorum quarundam et incommodiorum locutionum, quæ in nonnullis Reformatorum Doctorum scriptis passim reperiuntur; quæ infirmioribus scandalum, adversariis calumniam, subministrare solent. Britanni nostri Theologi toti in eo erant: sed et Hassiaci, et vos etiam Bremenses, sani hu-

dom, most respected Brother: but in the exposition here given of the Churches of Asia, (not, after all, a matter of primary importance,) I cannot bring myself to think with you.

But however your premises may have failed to secure my assent, your conclusion I heartily embrace and welcome. For, taking occasion from the topics under review, you turn aside most opportunely, and exhort the Evangelical Churches to unanimity. Looking to you and yours, I would fain make this, above all others, a subject of congratulation, of entreaty, of remonstrance. Certainly, whatever may have been the state of the Church of Sardis, I wish (O, how I wish!) that the Church of God in this our age would set herself, with one heart and in one mind, though not at the sacrifice of her pursuit after truth, to the attainment of general peace. I see indeed, and rejoice in seeing, that you, the most learned and celebrated Professors of Bremen, are well prepared to carry on this good work; of all works the most acceptable to God, to angels, and to men: a fact I learn with delight, not only from my dear friend Dury, a most diligent labourer in the promotion of an object so desirable; but which I also gather, without doubt, from your own publications.

It grieves me to observe, meanwhile, besides the unhappy aspect of the times, the obstinate self-love of some men, who strive all they can to retard this high and holy enterprise. Verily, they savour of the things that are of men. The truth is, some are so resolutely occupied in maintaining their own opinions, or those of their instructors, and upholding the interests of parties, that they grudge even the use of words (though no attempt be made at action) to the encouragement of peace and love. Surely they who are thus minded, while evidently knowing not the value of Evangelical unity, will doubtless feel one day what a thing it is, *to hold the faith with respect of persons;* James ii. 1. and to disturb the Church of God *with strifes of words;* 1 Tim. vi. 4. Certainly, if that which was propounded in the Synod of Dort, and promoted with warmth enough by other Theologians, had proportionably succeeded; all this occasion of disputes, which now troubles you, had been anticipated long ago.

You well remember, my Crocius, that, when an unhappy failure of health had removed me, against my will, from that assembly of learned men, a question, by no means inappropriate, arose, in the course of Session 132, concerning the rejection of certain harsh and disagreeable words, which oftentimes occur in some of the writings of the Reformed Divines, affording at once a stumbling-block to our weaker brethren, and a matter of gainsaying to our adversaries. Our Theologians from Britain were zealously bent on the success of the proposal; while those of Hesse, and you of Bremen too, hesi-

júsce consilii rationibus paulò acriùs urgendis non defuistis. Potiorane dicam an plura vicerunt suffragia, non disputo: certè, rejectio illa phrasium incommodarum pro tempore rejecta est, saltem omissa; ne quid pateretur orthodoxa authorum, ita vel duriùs vel imprudentiùs locutorum, doctrina: præsertim cùm, præter alias rationes, plurimi essent ex iis loquendi modis, qui dextrè ac commodè, modò charitas adhiberetur, explicari possent. Nempe sederunt ibi aliqui, de Ecclesiâ Dei aliàs benèmeriti Theologi, qui in hôc genere nonnihil fortè peccaverunt: præter alios etiam melioris notæ primipilos, modò *μακαρίτας*, quorum existimationi hâc ratione paululùm indulgere visum est. Absit verò, ut ego tot tantorúmque Theologorum, quorum memoriam revereri soleo, judicium vellicare ausim! Utinam, tamen, (fas enim mihi erit etiam tam serò optâsse,) charitatis pietatísque publicæ ratio eò usque apud doctissimos viros, clarissimos fratres nostros, valuisset, ut, inter doctrinæ orthodoxæ incolumitatem, et phraseων incommodarum periculum, inter quorundam authorum existimationem, et communem Christianæ Reipublicæ indemnitatem; paulò accuratiorem distinctionem adhibuissent.

Quid, enim? Opusne habet orthodoxa doctrina hujusmodi fulcris? Annon eò magis constat illa sibi, et honorem suum eò magis inviolatum servat, quo ab illis intutiorum locutionum excessibus liberior prodierit? Nonne palàm est, hujusmodi duriusculas loquendi formas non paulum præjudicii creâsse veritati? Pacem verò publicam vel ex imo turbâsse, quis non videt? En modò, non sine causâ calumniari videntur adversarii, nos admisisse rerum illarum solœcismos, qui tam incommodis locutionum modis videntur inuri. Hinc causa Dei non parum patitur et damni et opprobrii.

Sint, verò, ex illis loquendi formulis, quædam ab ipso Spiritu Sancto in Sacris Literis aliquando usurpatæ. Hinccine sequetur, ut quæ per sacram quandam hyperbolem exprimere voluit Deus, ea nos simplici sensu, velut axiomata theologica, tutò propinare possimus Orbi Christiano? *Et parentes et animam nostram odîsse* nos jubet alicubi Deus; Luc. xiv. 26: novimus quo sensu utrunque: jam, si quis, hâc authoritate fretus, absolutè simplicitérque docuerit officium esse Christiani cujúsque abdicare parentes, suam ipsius animam proculcare, satin'

tated not to urge the grounds of this good advice with rather more sharpness than the rest. Whether I should say that the better or the greater part of the votes prevailed, I pretend not to decide: certain it is, that rejection of disagreeable terms was for a time rejected, or, at all events, omitted; lest the orthodox doctrine of the writers, even when thus speaking either with too much severity or too little caution, should suffer damage: particularly since, in addition to other reasons, there were very many of those forms of expression, which, were but charity applied, might be rightly and profitably explained. To own the truth, Divines were there sitting, who in other respects had deserved well of the Church of God, but who had perhaps done some wrong in this particular; beside others too, leaders of higher reputation, lately deceased, to whose opinions, on this account, it seemed right to shew some deference. And far be it from me, that I should dare assail the judgment of so many and so great Theologians, whose memory I am accustomed to revere! Still I cannot help wishing (for even thus late I may be permitted to express my wish) that a consideration of our common charity and religion had so far prevailed with our most learned counsellors and most eminent brethren, as to have led them to distinguish more accurately between the safety of orthodox doctrine, and the danger of inconvenient phraseology; between the opinions of this and that writer, and the general welfare of the Christian commonwealth.

For, what is it? Has orthodox doctrine any need of supports like these? Does it not rather harmonize so much the better with itself, and preserve its own honour so much the more inviolate, as it stands forth unshackled by extravagant and dangerous expressions? Is it not notorious, that modes of speech, savouring overmuch of harshness, have created no little amount of prejudice against the truth? Rather, who can avoid perceiving, that they have disturbed the peace of the community from its foundation? So that it would seem to be not without reason that our enemies urge against us, that we have admitted solecisms of doctrine, apparently involved in language so objectionable. And hence it is, the cause of God suffers considerably both in loss and in reproach.

Of those forms of expression, however, there may be some, which are occasionally employed by the Spirit of God in Holy Scripture. Must it therefore follow, that things which God has chosen to express by hyperbolical figures, we may safely exhibit, in a simple sense, and as theological axioms, to the Christian world? In one place God commands us *to hate both our parents and our own life;* Luke xiv. 26: we know in what sense he orders us to do both: now should any one, relying on this authority, teach, positively and simply, that it was the duty of every Christian to renounce his parents, and to trample his

sanus videbitur? *Cultellum* aliquando *gutturi applicare*, jubet, per Solomonem, Spiritus; Prov. xxiii. 2: quisquamne sobrius hoc proprio et literali sensu faciendum suaserit? *Indurare corda, et excæcare oculos*, dicitur Deus; Joh. xii. 40: nos hæc ipsi, velut propria quædam et immediata effecta, tribuemus? Suus, ergo, relinquendus est Deo loquendi modus: quod ille figurato quodam sermonis excessu exprimere maluit, non nobis illico trahi debet in simplicis enuntiationis exemplar.

Sint harum phrase*ων* aliquæ, quas sano sensu ipsi censores admiserint: sint plurimæ, quæ dextrè ac commodè, modò charitas adhibeatur, explicari possint. Atqui, interim, de sano illo sensu, inter partes lis erit vel maxima; et charitas hæc, ubi lites incalescere cœperint, ubi locum invenit? Certè, qui litigare mavolunt, non solent ita benignè cum adversariis agere, ut sensum, si quis sit, controversæ propositionis commodissimum eruere velint. Sic, ergo, loqui tutum est, ut qui cavillari studet, si fieri possit, locum non habeat, ubi aut uncum aut pedem figat. Medeatur, verò, huic malo charitas.

Quæro, tamen, jam meritissimò, utiliùsne tollendis an commodè interpretandis hisce formulis, sese charitas exercuisset? Puteus est, non procul à viâ; profundus, et itineranti periculosus: gratiúsne opus fecerit viatori, qui illum rudere ac lapidibus adobruat, an qui jusserit incolas monere illàc transeuntes ne se incauti præcipitent? Morbus mihi minitatur: novi quo pharmaco possim ejus dolorem lenire tandem; et mortis, alioqui fortè secuturæ, periculum evadere: consultúmne mihi erit sinere, ut malum hoc ingruat et ingravescat, cui tempestivo potuissem remedio occurrisse?

Ego certè, si res ageretur mea, curarem cum primis noxios humores sive corrigi sive opportunè expurgari; et cardiaca deinde, quibus natura contra hostis impetum corroboretur, subministrari. Sic et in illis, quæ Ecclesiæ periculum intentant, sive erroribus, sive parùm tutis dogmatibus, sive malesanis locutionibus, factum oportuit: et ita, proculdubio, fecissent gravissimi illi doctissimíque Theologi, si istum, quem modò cernimus, tolerantiæ exitum, jam tum prævidere potuissent. Ubi, enim, illi hâc ratione paci publicæ litatum voluerunt; contrà

own life under foot, would he be reckoned otherwise than a madman? The Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Solomon, commands us on some occasions *to put a knife to our throats;* Prov. xxiii. 2: would any man advise us, in his sober senses, to obey this injunction in its proper and literal sense? God is said *to harden the hearts, and blind the eyes* of men; John xii. 40: shall we attribute these things, as proper and immediate effects, to him? To God, then, must be left his own mode of speech: what he has chosen to express in all the loftiness of figurative language, should not on that account be drawn by us into the pattern of a simple proposition.

There may be some of these expressions, again, which the very persons who censure them would admit in a proper sense: there may be many, which, were but charity applied, might be rightly and profitably explained. But what, meanwhile, that right and proper sense is, there will be the greatest contention among the parties; and how can the charity we speak of find its place, where contentions have once begun to wax warm? Those who prefer litigation, are not wont to deal so tenderly with their opponents, as to desire to elicit the most amicable sense (if such a thing there be) of the proposition in debate. The way of safety, then, is so to speak, that, if possible, he who seeks to cavil, may have no room to fix either his hook or his foot. The disease is one, which none but charity can heal.

But now I ask, as well I may, whether charity would have employed herself more beneficially in removing or accommodating these forms of expression? There is a pit, not far from the high-road; deep, and dangerous to him that is on his journey: which will be acting the more friendly part by the traveller; he who covers it over with stones and rubbish; or he who directs the inhabitants to admonish those that pass, to take care lest they fall into it? A disease threatens my life: I know by what medicine I can at length assuage the fever, and escape the risk of death, which perhaps would otherwise ensue: shall I think of allowing the malady to grow worse and worse, when, by taking it in time, I can provide a remedy?

For my part, were it just a case of my own, I would first take care to have the noxious humours either corrected or purified betimes; and then to have stomachics administered, by which nature might be strengthened against the attack of the enemy. So should it be done in the things which threaten danger to the Church, whether they be actual errors, or only questionable opinions and hazardous expressions: and so, no doubt, those most grave and learned Theologians would have done, had they then been able to foresee that departure of toleration, which we now witness. For whereas they wished that, by the measures then pursued, a sacrifice should be

evenit, jurgiorum ac discordiarum semina, (quod maximoperè dolendum est,) hinc inde per agros Ecclesiæ infeliciter jacta, ubique pullulâsse. Neque deerit unquam, si quid ergo hariolari possum, contentionum materia, donec ista litium infausta seges authoritate publicâ radicitùs evelli possit: quod uti fiat, exorandi sunt orbis domini, ut, conventu doctorum Theologorum tempestivè habito, communi consilio, interveniente ipsorum imperio, tollantur ista, sive calami sive mentis, *σφάλματα* qualiacunque.

Quod dum fieri possit, monendi rogandíque sunt doctissimi quique viri, fratres nostri charissimi, eoùsque uti paci studeant omnes, ut, posthabitâ verborum curâ, rebus ipsis componendis operam suam toti impendant. Id nimirum solicitos nos habet, ut veritas Dei in cordibus hominum, nobis suasoribus, locum invenire possit. Hoc, verò, si quo suaviore ac blandiore modo effici queat, nonne multò gratius aptabiliúsque foret, quàm ut, rigidiore ac duriusculâ agendi ratione, bilem scandalúmve infirmiori cuique moveremus? Ulcus meum qui leviore tractaverit manu, modò non minus citò sanaverit, dignus est quem amiciùs excipiam.

At at, nisi in re ipsâ paululùm hæreremus, non ita nimium de verbis laborare pretium operæ duceremus. De ipsis quidem, fateor, notionum quarundam momentis, aliquid litigii est: sed, quod vix cernat oculatus arbiter, vix curet pacificus. Ad eundem video exitum veritatis theologicæ tendere utriúsque partis sententiam; non sine aliquo, interim, in viâ, discrimine: non est quòd de unoquoque vestigio nimiùm soliciti simus, quin post passûs unius alteriúsve divertiunculam idem omnino stadium emetimur. Mollior placet huic semita; illi, calcata vel silicea: recta ducit utraque ad metam eandem: quis istic jurgio locus?

Quòd si sua cuique (uti fit) placuerit sententia, nec quis cedere velit alteri, paulò aliter animi sui sensum exprimenti, litésque adhuc inter partes infeliciter continuentur; illud ego fratribus meis cum primis suaserim, quod in omnibus hujus generis controversiis tutissimum utilissimúmque semper

offered to the public peace; it happened, just the contrary, (an event greatly to be deplored!) that from that very source the seeds of altercation and discord, unhappily scattered throughout the field of the Church, sprang up on every side. Nor, if I may venture to prognosticate, will there be ever a deficiency of materials for dissension, till that disastrous harvest shall have been rooted out by public authority: to which end, the princes of the earth should be petitioned, that an assembly of learned divines may be convened without delay, and that, with submission to the authorities of the land, their deliberations may be allowed for the removal of all offences, whether of word or sentiment.

Moreover, till this can be accomplished, the most learned men among our dear brethren should be all admonished and intreated, so far to study peace, as to postpone their zeal for words, and to exert their whole endeavours on the settlement of real and actual differences. For ourselves, our solicitude is this, that, by our persuasions, the truth of God may find its place in the hearts of men. Now, if this can be effected by any kinder and gentler method, were it not far more pleasant and suitable, than that, by a sterner and harsher mode of action, we should excite the displeasure and reluctance of the weaker sort? He who handles my wound most tenderly, provided he effects as speedy a cure, this is the man I should most esteem my friend.

Well, but were it not that we hesitated a little about the thing itself, we should scarcely think it worth our while to make so much ado about words. Some part of our controversy, I confess, may refer to the principles that give life and motion to our thoughts; but it is so small a part, that while an eye-witness can hardly perceive it, a peace-maker need scarcely notice it. I observe that the sentiment of either party tends equally to the result of theological truth, though not perhaps without some disagreement by the way: but there is no reason why we should be so very scrupulous about every single footstep, when, after a separation of a mile or two, we are sure of pursuing the same course to the end. One prefers the softer path; another the hard and flinty: each leads straight to the same goal: what occasion here for altercation?

But if each of them (as is the case) will maintain his own opinion, and neither of them consent to give place to the other, when expressing the sentiment of his mind with some small variation, and the strife, hitherto existing between the parties, be thus unhappily continued; I would recommend my brethren, above all things, to adopt a rule, which, in all controversies of this kind, I have ever found the safest and most useful: to betake ourselves to more general forms

expertus sum: ut ad generaliores quasdam enuntiandi formulas confugiamus; neque ultra terminos, ita fixos, sinatur alterutrius partis discursus evagari. Quod de doloso communiter dici solebat olim, liceat mihi de pacifico dicere; versatur ille in generalibus: nec quid pensi habet ad specialissima quæque descendere. Nempe, ex imis illis conceptuum humanorum fractionibus ac divisiunculis, nimiò quàm accuratis, oriri solent discordiæ inter illos, qui vel de proximis rerum capitibus perpacatè consentirent. Hâc profectò ratione, plurimæ, quibus Orbis Christianus miserè conflictatur, lites sopirentur.

Cautè tamen istic, et non sine summâ fide ac sanâ discretione, procedendum est; ne, fortè, dum paci nimiùm intenti sumus, veritatis integritatem vel violemus vel iniquè supprimamus. Ubi, ergo, de ipsis Christianæ Fidei capitibus, deque summâ religionis quæstio est, nihil non urgeri debet, in quo salus vertitur hominis Christiani: nihil istic non momentosum, et quovis dignum certamine videri debet. Sed, ubi de dogmatibus quibusdam ferè adiaphoris, deque tricis (uti fit) scholasticis, à salutis sive spe sive periculo longè alienis, disputatur; non est quòd nimis anxiè singula disquiramus, et de minimis quibúsque opinionum apicibus curiosiùs contendamus: sat erit in generalioribus quibusdam exprimendi modis conspirâsse.

Quòd si qui sint opinionum suarum paulò tenaciores, qui de levissimis quibúsque controversiarum particulis, veluti pro aris ac focis, digladiari malunt; valdè expediens fuerit, illud unum præcipuè accurare, ut isti, moderatis quibúsque agendi rationibus, si fieri possint, convincantur. Inter quas nulla mihi, seriò cogitanti, occurrit probabilior, quàm ut certæ quædam figantur regulæ dogmaticæ, irrefragabiles illæ quidem, et utrique parti in confesso; ad quarum veluti examen utrorumque sententiæ reducantur exigantúrque.

Certum est, enim, vera quæque ubique *συναληθεύειν*. Quæ, ergo, inter se comparata, ab indubitatè veris dissonare deprehenduntur, in falsi suspicionem justissimè incurrunt.

Ut in hisce, quas modò sub manibus habemus, controversiis, sunto, si placet, hujusmodi.

1. Fieri non potest, ut voluntatis Dei, quæ omnium causa est, causa detur ulla: nempe hoc foret, præter curiosam quandam insolentiam, ultra infinitum procedere.

in the statement of our propositions; and beyond the bounds, so fixed, to allow no digression in the discourse of either party. What used to be commonly affirmed of an artful man, I would beg leave to affirm of a peaceful man: he deals in generals. Nor is he at all concerned to enter into all the details of his subject. For so it is, out of the minute fractions and divisions of human sentiment, too elaborately refined, discords are apt to arise among those, who would perfectly agree together on the heads of doctrine, even where most liable to disputation. By the adoption of this rule, many of the contentions, by which the Christian world is miserably harassed, would quietly sink into repose.

Yet even here, we must proceed with caution, and not without the strictest honesty, and most resolute discernment; lest by chance, while too intent on peace, we either violate, or unfairly suppress, the integrity of truth. When, therefore, the question concerns the heads of the Christian Faith, and the principles of religion, nothing ought to be suppressed or qualified, on which the salvation of a Christian man depends; nothing should be there regarded as otherwise than momentous, and worthy of conflict to the last. But when a dispute arises on doctrines generally indifferent, and on trifles (as they are apt to prove) of the schools, having little or nothing to do either with the hope or hindrance of salvation; there can be no occasion to discuss particulars too anxiously, or to contend with unnecessary fastidiousness for every extreme point of opinion: it will be sufficient for us to have found agreement in some more general modes of expression.

Should there be some, however, more tenacious of their opinions, who would draw the sword for every trifle of controversy, however light, as if home and altar were at stake; it might become a matter of urgent expediency, to regard chiefly this one point, how they might be themselves convinced, if possible, by moderate ways of treatment. Among which, there is none I can devise, on serious consideration, more likely to succeed than this: that certain dogmatical rules, of a plain and irrefragable character, and allowed on either side, be fixed; to the test of which, if I may so speak, the opinions of both the disputants should be reduced for examination.

For certain it is, that all things which are true, agree in truth throughout. Whatever things, therefore, when compared among themselves, are discovered to disagree with things undoubtedly true, incur most justly a suspicion of falsehood.

In the controversies we have now in hand, for instance, let the rules be, if you like, to this effect.

1. It is impossible to assign any cause to the will of God; which is itself the cause of all things: to do this, were not only to betray an impertinent curiosity, but to attempt to proceed beyond infinity.

2. Etsi Deus justè uti potuisset jure suo absoluto in creaturas suas, secundum ordinatum tamen jus, ac revelatum, procedere et solet et vult.

3. Cùm Deus sit ipsa essentialis bonitas, sapientia, justitia, adeòque omnis bonitatis, sapientiæ, justitiæ fons et scaturigo; nihil potest ab illo fluere, quod non perfectè bonum, sapiens, justúmque sit: in illius, ergo, εὐδοκίᾳ humillimè acquiescere debemus creaturæ.

4. Sed et hinc necessariò sequitur, nihil boni inesse posse creaturæ, nisi quod ab ipso boni omnis principio inditum fuerit, et ab ipso derivatum.

5. Sed et hoc insuper; Deum non esse authorem peccati. Illud solebat offendiculi sæpe prætendere D. Tilenus, hospes olim meus, jam tum mutatæ infeliciter sententiæ reus, quorundam nostrorum rigore, aliquid hîc in Deum conjici, Sanctissimo ipsius Numine indignum; protestatûs, interea, omnia se paratum concedere, modò Dei bonitas et justitia hâc in re integra et illibata conservaretur. Absit, verò, ut quis Christianus aliter aut sentiat aut loquatur! Omnes in hanc sententiam pedibus imus unanimiter: reus peragatur blasphemiæ, qui, cum Florino, contrà hiscere ausit.

6. Deum neminem damnare, nisi propter peccatum: damnatio, enim, actus est punitivæ justitiæ; punitio, autem, culpam supponit; quis, enim, justus plectat innocentem?

7. Deum seriò invitare omnes ubicunque terrarum ad fidem et penitentiam; et, sub illâ conditione, ad salutem: non eo solùm animo, ut inde fiant inexcusabiles; hoc enim nihil sonat philanthropicum; sed, ut, verè si jussa præstiterint, assequantur quod gratiosè proposuit.

8. In re Prædestinationis, nihil nobis negotii esse debet cum arcanis Dei consiliis; sed, secundum revelatam ejus voluntatem, de nobis aliísve judicandum. Ita ergo nos gerere debemus in totâ vitæ nostræ institutione, et in operando salutem nostram, acsi nulli occulto Dei decreto subessemus. Quid ad te, O homo, quod in cœlo statutum est? Fac tu quod Sanctissimus et Justissimus Creator Redemptórque tibi injunxit faciendum, non potes non tutus et salvus esse: aliàs, frustrà es, qui tibi salutem polliceris. Sic itaque fidei, pænitentiæ, bonísque operibus danda est opera, quasi ab illis unicè penderet salus, et immunitas ab omni reprobationis periculo. Sic ca-

2. Although God might justly have used his absolute authority over his creatures, yet is he both wont and willing to proceed according to ordained and revealed authority.

3. Since God is essential goodness, wisdom, justice, and therefore the well-spring and fountain-head of all goodness, wisdom, justice; nothing can flow from him, that is not perfectly good, wise, and just: and therefore we, his creatures, ought to acquiesce most humbly in his good will and pleasure.

4. But hence, moreover, it necessarily follows, that there can be nothing good in the creature, but what has been bestowed by, and derived from, the source of all good.

5. And, as a further consequence; that God is not the author of sin. Tilenus, who was once my host, but who now, through the sharpness of some among my countrymen, stands accused of an unhappy change in his opinions, used oftentimes to adduce this as a point obnoxious to misconstruction, that something was here cast upon God, unworthy of his most Sacred Godhead; that he was prepared, meanwhile, to grant all the prerogatives of his power, provided only his goodness and justice were preserved whole and uncontaminated. But God forbid that any Christian should either think or speak otherwise! To this decision we all, with one accord, advance straight-forward: let that man be impleaded on a charge of blasphemy, who dares, with Florinus, to open his mouth in contradiction.

6. That God damns no one, but for sin: for damnation is an act of punitive justice; but punishment supposes fault; for how is he just, who punishes the innocent?

7. That God seriously invites all men throughout the whole world to faith and repentance; and, on that condition, to salvation: not with the intent, merely, that they may thence become inexcusable; for this sounds not like love to man; but that, if they do what he has truly commanded, they may obtain what he has graciously proposed.

8. In the matter of Predestination, we should have no concern with the secret counsels of God: we are to form our judgment, whether of ourselves or others, according to his revealed will. We ought, therefore, so to conduct ourselves in the whole discipline of our lives, and in working out our salvation, as if we were subject to no decree of God that was not promulgated. What is it to thee, O man, what has been ordained in heaven? Do thou, what a Most Holy and Just Creator and Redeemer has enjoined thee to do, and thou canst not fail to be both safe and sound: otherwise, thou dost but err, in promising thyself salvation. So, then, must attention be paid to faith, to repentance, and to good works, as if on those alone depended our salvation, and our deliverance from all danger of

venda infidelitas, omnísque legis Divinæ certa lubénsque violatio, ac si, sepositâ quâvis absconditi decreti ratione, damnatio istinc sequeretur. Qui secùs fecerit, et à priori de æternâ sui conditione judicium feret, miserè abutetur secretis Dei consiliis, quæ silenter debuisset revereri.

9. In actibus ad conversionem præviis, bonísque motibus quos Spiritus Dei ingerit etiam nondum renatis, Deus neminem deserit, priusquam deseratur ipse: solâ, ergo, culpâ suâ ad regenerationem seriò invitati gratiâ ulteriore destituuntur; et, spontaneâ infidelitate et contumaciâ, pereunt.

Sed video me longiùs, quàm mihi proposueram, excurrisse. Vide quò me provexerit pacis amor, ut ego ista tibi, Theologo exercitatissimo, suggererem. Huic tu præsumptioni ignosces; et, si quid erraverit festinatio mea, comiter monstrabis. Perges, denique, benè velle huic, quam tantopere boni omnes expetimus, paci: et Duræum nostrum, fidissimum ejus proxenetam, omni amore ac studio, quod facis, prosequi: et, mutuis insuper precibus, piisque officiis, beare,

Tuum in Christo fratrem

ac σύνεργον fidelissimum,

JOS. EXON.

EPISTOLA III.

CLARISSIMO VIRO, THEOLOGO GRAVISSIMO,

D. HERMANNO HILDEBRANDO,

S. T. D.

STI. STEPH. ECCLESIÆ BREMENSIS PASTORI VIGILANTISSIMO,

SALUTEM AC PACEM.

Incumbat mihi licèt plus modò quàm cui ferendo par sim oneris, Reverende admodum in Christo Frater, non potui tamen

reprobation. So, must unbelief be guarded against, and every clear and wilful violation of the law of God, as if, apart from any consideration of an unrevealed decree, damnation was the consequence of such things. He who acts otherwise, and makes up his mind beforehand concerning his eternal state, will but miserably abuse the secret counsels of God, which he ought to have revered in silence.

9. In acts performed with a view to conversion, and in the holy motions which the Spirit of God introduces even into those who are not yet born again, God deserts no man, until he is first deserted himself: it is only through their own fault, therefore, that men, being seriously invited to regeneration, are deprived of subsequent grace, and perish by voluntary unbelief and obstinacy.

But I see that I have run off to greater lengths than I had intended. See whither my love of peace has carried me, that I should suggest these things to you, a most experienced Theologian. You will pardon this presumption; and if my haste has committed any mistake, you will kindly point it out. Finally, you will proceed to entertain good wishes to the cause, which we, with all good men, so earnestly pursue; to extend (as you already do) all affection and encouragement to our friend Dury, a most faithful messenger in the same behalf; and with mutual prayers, and pious exercises, to bless

Your most faithful brother,

And fellow-labourer in Christ,

JOS. EXON.

LETTER III.

TO THE MOST EMINENT AND GRAVE DIVINE,

HERMAN HILDEBRANDT,

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY,

THE ZEALOUS PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN,

BREMEN,

HEALTH AND PEACE.

ALTHOUGH a heavier burden lies upon me than I am well able to bear, yet could I not consent, most Reverend Brother in

committere, ut votis tuis tam piis, tam pacificis, deesse viderer. Ipse curabo, ne nihil respondeam: ignosce tu, si breviùs.

Declarationem tuam Trium Articulorum in Conventu Cleri Bremensis prælectorum, gravem illam quídem, moderatam, solidam, verèque orthodoxam, quantâ potui cum curâ perlegi, clausulásque singulas pensitavi sedulò.

Quòque accuratiori trutinæ singula subjecerim, eò magis subiit animum, mirari quid illud tandem sit, quod parùm æquis apud vos censoribus displicere possit; aut ubi demum lateat illud, de quo quosdam ais immanè quantùm conqueri, Pelagianismi, sive (quod horribilius dictu) Socinismi, virus. Fallor, si qua istic occurrat phrasis, aut verò syllaba, quæ vel ex ipso sacro Scripturarum fonte, vel ex sanctorum Patrum rivulis, vel denique ex aliorum probatissimorum authorum (præsertim verò Theologorum Dordracenorum) situlis, parùm petita sit.

Absit, verò, ut quis istorum cuiquam tam prodigiosæ opinionis crimen impingere ausit! Cautiùs tu, quidem, et paulò molliùs exprimere maluisti hæc divinæ veritatis arcana, quàm rigidiores quidam, sani licèt, Theologi solent: quam tibi, sive prudentiam sive moderationem, ex animo gratulor.

Ilicet hæc recta est ad Christianam concordiam via. Hoc est, quod vox clamantis in deserto præconiata est olim; parare semitam Deo Pacis, aspera in vias planas redigere. Ambulent alii, si volunt, per dumos salebrásque: complanemus nos, quantum possimus, sacros hosce calles; ut, libero ac inoffenso pede, cœlum versus progredi liceat. Quantumcumque sanè operæ huic negotio posuerimus, arduum satis comperiemus hoc iter: non est quòd nos viam insuper silice sternamus aut vepribus.

Nesciunt profectò qui ista criminantur, nesciunt, quantum de templo Dei mereantur illi, qui seu saxa seu trabes fabricæ huic exædificandæ dolare ac lævigare nôrunt; modò id, præsertim, absque nimio malleationis strepitu fieri possit: quod gravitatem tuam admodum prudenter istic allaborâsse sentio.

Quod ad rem ipsam attinet; quisquamne sanæ Theologiæ candidatus est, qui merito mortis Christi limites quosdam suos

Christ, to appear wanting to your wishes, savouring, as they did, of piety and peace. My care is, that I may have somewhat to say in answer; it must be yours to pardon me, if I say it briefly.

Your Declaration of the Three Articles discussed in the Assembly of the Clergy of Bremen; a grave, moderate, substantial, and truly orthodox work; I have read, with all the attention I could, from beginning to end, and carefully weighed the several clauses it consists of, one by one.

And the more accurate the examination, to which I have submitted each particular, the more has my mind been led to wonder, what can possibly be the point which offends even the harshest of your judges; or where it is that that poison of Pelagianism or (what is still more abominable) of Socinianism lies concealed, of which you say that some of them complain so grievously. I am much deceived if a single expression, yea, a single syllable, occurs throughout, which has not been derived, either directly from the sacred fount of Scripture, or from the rivulets of holy Fathers, or finally from the buckets of other writers, the very highest in estimation, and especially the Divines of Dort.

I can hardly suppose that any one of them would dare fasten on another the charge of holding sentiments so monstrous. You have chosen, indeed, to express these mysteries of divine truth, somewhat more cautiously and tenderly, than some of the stricter Divines (sound as they may be in the faith) are wont: and on this, whether it be called your prudence or your moderation, I congratulate you heartily.

In fact, this is the direct way to Christian concord. This is what the voice of one crying in the wilderness proclaimed in old time; to prepare a way for the God of Peace, to make rough paths smooth. Let others walk, if they will, over thorns and crags; be it ours to smooth, as much as possible, these sacred roads; that, with unencumbered and uninterrupted feet, we may press on towards heaven. Give all the diligence we may to this business, we shall find the journey difficult enough; there is no reason why we should strew the way moreover with flints and brambles.

They little know, who bring these accusations against you; indeed they little know how great the service rendered to the Church of God, by those who cut and smooth the stones and timbers required in the construction of this fabric; particularly if it be done without too much of the noise of the hammer: and this I think your Reverence has here endeavoured with consummate skill.

With respect to the subject in dispute; is there any man, who aspires to the reputation of sound Theology, who would

figendos censeat? Nempe omnipotens est, infinitaéque virtutis ille Dei Filius: quibus ergo redimendis, et carnem induere et sanguinem suum effundere voluit; iis ut non sufficiat, quod sibi præstituit, universis, quàm nimis sonare videtur *αθεόλογον*.

Generi autem humano redimendo et *ἐνσάρκωσιν* et mortem suam intendisse Benignissimum Mundi Redemptorem, quoties quàmque expressè docet Scriptura! Cùm verò nemini sano displicere possit hæc Spiritûs Sancti, ubi in Sacris Literis occurrit, phraseologia, quì fit quòd nostro transcripta calamo parùm arrideat?

Illa certè distinctio, inter (ipso quidem actu) sufficientiam, efficientiámque mortis Christi; inter meritum ex unâ parte, et effectum eventúmque Theanthropicæ illius redemptionis ex alterâ; inter pretium *λύτρου* infiniti, et salutarem ejus applicationem; ita et vera et necessaria est, ut absque illâ fieri non possit, quin perperàm de Magno Mundi Salvatore, deque mysterioso redemptionis negotio, sentiamus.

Certè, ita pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, ut parùm interea prosit omnibus ad salutem.

Non illo ergo in sensu pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, quo doctissimus Paræus[c] (cui concinunt et Theologi Palatini[d]) vocem interpretatur: ubi ait, mori pro aliquo propriè esse, morte suâ aliquem à morte liberare; seu ita mori alicujus loco, ut ipse vivat. Eo quidem modo, hæc loquendi formula, non meritum modò, sed et efficaciam universalem effectúmque commune mortis Christi complecteretur; quod nemo sanus, cum Hubero, illi, quantumlibet salvificæ, attribuendum judicârit: hoc verò quod non fiat, hominum certè culpa fit, non Servatoris. In cælesti hôc meritorum gazophylacio, sat repositum est thesauri, redimendis tot mundorum myriadibus, quot sunt hominum capita: quòd si qui ita sint vel socordi vel præfracto ingenio, ut, quantumvis voce Evangelii moniti ac incitati, nec movere pedem nec manum exporrigere velint, petendo reportandóque suo (quamlibet ingenti) pretio, digni sunt ilicet qui captivi moriantur. Quid hic, interim, decedit infinitæ Redemptoris munificentiæ?

Placere mihi solet hîc Molinæi mei, viri clarissimi, satis apta

[c] D. Par. Judicio de v. Art.-Art. 20.

suppose that any limits of his own were to be affixed to the worthiness of the death of Christ? The Son of God is omnipotent, and of infinite virtue: to say, then, that the purpose he has set before himself is not sufficient for every creature, for whose redemption he has consented both to appear in the flesh, and to shed his blood, seems to sound very like a denial of the attributes of God.

Now, how often and how expressly does the Scripture teach us, that the most Gracious Redeemer of the World intended both his incarnation and his death for the redemption of the human race! Well, then; if this phraseology of the Holy Spirit, where it occurs in the Holy Scriptures, can displease no man who is in his right mind; why is it, that, when transcribed by the pen of man, it affords so little satisfaction?

Certainly the distinction that is drawn, between the sufficiency (in act and deed) and the efficacy of the death of Christ; between the merit, on the one side, and the effect and result of that Mediatorial redemption, on the other; between the price of the infinite ransom, and its saving application; is a distinction so true and necessary, that, without it, we can hardly fail to think amiss of the Great Saviour of the World, and of the mysterious business of redemption.

Certainly, Christ died for all men in such wise only, as not to advantage all men for salvation.

Christ therefore did not die for all men, in the sense in which most learned Pareus (with whom also agree the Palatine Divines) interpreted that word: where he says, that to die for any one is properly, to deliver any one from death by dying for him; or so to die in the place of any one, that he himself should live. In this manner, the form of expression would include, not only the merit, but also the universal efficacy and common effect of the death of Christ; which no one in his senses would join with Huber in assigning to it, however productive of salvation it may be: though that this is not the case, is certainly the fault of men, and not of the Saviour. In this heavenly storehouse of merits, there is treasure enough laid up for the redemption of as many myriads of worlds, as there are human beings in existence: still, if there are any so sluggishly or so stubbornly inclined, that, warned or encouraged as they may be by the voice of the Gospel, they will neither move forward a foot, nor stretch forth a hand, to seek and bring home their reward, however ample; why, they deserve to die in bondage. What diminution does the infinite bounty of the Redeemer here sustain?

I am pleased, on this point, with a similitude conceived by

[d] Sent. Palat. Theol. Art. 2. Prop. 4.

similitudo[e]. Illustrandis illuminandísque omnibus, datus est sol huic mundo: sunt, tamen, cæci non pauci; sunt alii carcerum tenebris damnati; somno sepulti sunt alii: parùm fruuntur isti omnes solis beneficio: quid hoc ad magnum illud ac munificum luminare? Oculati quotquot sunt, subque dio vigilant, gaudent hâc luce, illiúsque radiis refocillantur. Pariter se habet cum morte Christi; cujus fructus ὁ σωτήριος patescit quidem omnibus meritoriè, non efficaciter. In se sufficit omnibus; non omnibus, interea, sive ad remissionem sive ad salutem applicatur. Reconciliabile est hâc ratione totum genus humanum; actu, autem, ut reconcilietur, quiddam aliud insuper requiritur; impletio, scilicet, conditionis gratuiti fœderis, quæ in fide recipientis consistit. Credunt, autem, efficacissimâ virtute hujus salvificæ mortis, quotquot ad salutem ordinati sunt.

Hanc, vero, exprimendi formulam quòd parum ferre videantur Theologi Palatini, hinc fit: quòd Remonstrantium nonnullis, longiùs multò quàm par erat procedentibus, contravenire istic studuerint; utpote qui, non meritum modò, sed et efficaciam mortis Christi, toti humano generi actu communicare videantur. Re tamen ipsâ fratres Palatini de merito pretioque mortis Christi infinito, applicabili quidem universis, si possent credere, mortalibus, solis electis salutariter applicato, idem nobiscum sentiunt[f].

Sed et eadem ipsa est promissionum insuper divinarum extensio. Per totum terrarum orbem nemo homo est, cui non istæ liberè promulgari et possint et debeant. Occurrat mihi quivis, vel Turca, vel Judæus, vel Judas: quidni ego fidenter et seriò illi dixerim, "Ita, O homo, pro te mortuus est Christus, ut, si in ipsum credideris, certò salvaberis?" Sed et omnium eadem planè ratio est, quæ unius.

Quicquid sit, ob defectum salutaris pretii, certum est, neminem unquam periîsse, neminem unquam periturum. Sic ergo, ut Theologi nostri Britanni plenè et perspicuè, Christus pro omnibus mortuus est, ut omnes et singuli, mediante fide, possint, virtute ἀντίλυτρου hujus, remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam consequi: sic pro electis mortuus est, ut ex merito mortis ejus, secundum eternum Dei beneplacitum specialiter illis destinato, et fidem infallibiliter obtineant et vitam æternam.

[e] Sent. de v. Artic. ad Synod.

my most illustrious friend Du Moulin. The sun was bestowed upon this world, to cheer and enlighten all men: and yet, not a few are blind; others are condemned to the gloom of dungeons; others are buried in sleep: all these enjoy the benefit of the sun but little: but what is this to that great and bounteous luminary? As many as have the use of their eyes, and keep awake by daylight, rejoice in this light, and are invigorated by its rays. Just so it is with the death of Christ; of which the saving benefit lies open to all, meritoriously, but not efficaciously. Of itself, it suffices for all; but it is not applied to all, either for remission or for salvation. In this way, the whole race of men are capable of reconciliation; but that they may be actually reconciled, something further is required; namely, the fulfilment of the condition, to which the covenant of grace is subject, and which consists in the faith of the receiver. Accordingly, through the efficacious virtue of this saving death, as many as have been ordained unto salvation, believe.

That the Palatine Divines should seem to dislike this method of expression, arises hence: that they longed, on this point, to withstand some of the Remonstrants, who were proceeding much further than was right; appearing actually to extend, not only the merit, but the efficacy, of the death of Christ to the whole race of man. In reality, however, our brethren of the Palatinate think the same with ourselves concerning the infinite merit and value of the death of Christ, as applicable indeed to every child of man, if they have grace to believe, but savingly applied to the elect alone.

And similar, moreover, is the offer of the promises of God. From one end of the earth to the other, there is not a man, to whom they may not and should not be freely preached. Meet me who may, a Turk, a Jew, a Judas: why may I not tell him, confidently and seriously, "Christ, O man, has so died for thee, that, if thou believest in him, thou shalt be saved?" But there is manifestly the same ground of dealing with all, as with one.

One thing is certain, that no one ever has perished, and no one ever will perish, for a deficiency in the price paid for his salvation. Christ, therefore, as our Divines of Britain fully and clearly teach, so died for all, that all and each may, by virtue of this ransom, and through the means of faith, obtain forgiveness of their sins, and eternal life: while he so died for the elect, that, by the merit of his death, ordained especially for them, according to the eternal goodwill of God, they infallibly obtain both faith and eternal life.

[f] Sent. Palat. Theolog. de v. Art.-Art. 2. Propos. 2 et 3.

Breviter, ita Primum hunc de morte et merito Christi Articulum tractâsti, ut planè habeas Scripturas, Patres, Scriptores quosque Orthodoxos, tibi pleno ore suffragantes: sed et Ecclesia nostra Anglicana ita hîc tota tua est, ac si ipsissima illius verba fuisses ubique mutuatus.

Secundum porrò Articulum, meo quidem judicio, dici vix potest solidiùsne an modestiùs exegeris. Si quis alius in totâ Theologiâ, ille profectò de Reprobatione locus lubricus est: in quo labi, et facile sit et periculosum. Tu, verò, ita cautè istic movisti pedem, ut neque blandiores decreti æstimatores quicquam, quod culpent, invenire possint; nec severiores, quod desiderent. Eò magis mihi mirandum videtur, quid illud sit, quod censuræ suæ prætendere possint scitissimi cavillorum artifices.

Dicam, certè, quod res est. Totus iste, uti à te explicatur, locus nihil aliud est, quam sententiarum Dordracenarum accurata quædam contractiuncula; in quâ non sensum modò illibatum, sed et plerunque verba ipsissima, satis curiosè retinuisti. Quì fit ergo, ut, quibus illa Synodus in pretio est, tam justa ac fidelis ejusdem displiceat epitome? Certè, ni tu digitum intendas, ego quid hæreat nullus inveniam.

Enimvero, esse quandam reprobationem, eamque ab æterno, quis dubitat? sed et hanc reprobationem, quà Omnipotentis Dei actum spectat, ejusdem esse quorundam hominum, quos decrevit Deus in communi miseriâ, in quam se suâ culpâ præcipitârunt, relinquere; tandémque, non tantùm propter infidelitatem, sed etiam cætera omnia peccata, ad declarationem justitiæ suæ damnare et æternùm punire. Sic illi. Culpa ergo et peccata ita hîc interveniunt, ut positiva reprobatio absque his non sine summâ injuriâ Deo attribuatur.

Hoc est, quod tu, ex Augustino, Fulgentio, Prospero, ex omnibus Ecclesiarum Confessionibus, ex orthodoxis quibusque authoribus, facili negotio eviceris. Meritissimò, ergò, inveheris in illorum explicationem, et rigidam et planè iniquam, qui electioni liberæ et gratuitæ reprobationem absolutam, ex mero odio profectam, opponendam censent. Ecquod enim odit Deus, præter peccatum? et propter peccatum, non in se, creaturam suam? Hoc sanè seposito, vidit Deus omnia quæ fecerat, et

In a word, you have so handled this First Article of the death and merit of Christ, that you have the Scriptures, the Fathers, and all Orthodox Writers, unequivocally supporting you with their testimony: while our own Church of England is as entirely on your side of the question, as if you had borrowed her very words throughout.

Of the Second Article, again, I scarcely know whether I should say, that, according to my judgment, you have shewn more soundness or more moderation in the treatment of it. If there be a difficult topic in the whole range of Theology, it is surely that of Reprobation: to stumble here, is as perilous as it is easy. But you have proceeded with such caution, that neither the milder interpreters of the decree, can discover an assertion to reprove; nor the harsher, any omission to regret. Wherefore I cannot help wondering, so much the more, what can be the pretence which the most ingenious adepts in cavillation have to offer for their censures.

Just let me state the fact. The whole of that passage, as explained by you, is nothing else than an accurate abridgment of the sentiments exhibited at Dort; and you have there most carefully retained not only the sense unadulterated, but generally the very words. How comes it then to pass, that they who appreciate that Synod, are so displeased with a just and faithful abstract of it? Certainly, were you not to point your finger to the spot, I should never myself discover where the objection lies.

Now, then; that there is such a thing as reprobation, and that too from eternity, who doubts? and that this reprobation, so far as regards the act of Almighty God, is his rejection of certain men, whom God has decreed to leave in the common misery into which they have plunged themselves by their own fault; and at length, not only for their unbelief, but for all their other sins, to damn and punish them eternally in declaration of his justice. So say they. Here then their fault and their sins so intervene, that positive reprobation, apart from these, is not assigned to God without the plainest violation of truth.

This is the point you have so satisfactorily established out of Augustine, Fulgentius, Prosper, and the whole body of Confessions of the Church. Most rightly, therefore, you inveigh against the harsh and partial explanation given by those, who consider that absolute reprobation, proceeding of mere hatred, should be set up in opposition to free and gratuitous election. For what is there that God hates, except sin? and his creatures, not of themselves, but for sin? Sin out of sight, God beheld all things which he had made, and pronounced them good.

bona pronuntiavit. Quomodo verò se φιλάνθρωπον præstaret Deus, si hominem, quà hominem, odio haberet?

Præibis, ergo, et tu mihi verba illa, quibus ego lubentissimè assentior: ut summè pia et suavissima illa vox est, nos gratuitò, ex merâ misericordiâ et beneplacito Dei, fuisse electos in Christo ad salutem; ita nec satis pia nec tolerabilis altera, meritò perire alios, etiamsi in Adamo non essent perditi; quoniam Deus ita præfecit Christum Ecclesiæ suæ Caput, ut in eo servemur, non omnes, sed qui sumus electi.

Quod zelus hîc tuus, ut et boni cujusque, exardescat, non herclè miror. Quid, enim, hoc aliud est, nisi tyrannidem quandam affingere Misericordissimo Numini? Absoluta ipsius in creaturam potentia quoúsque se extendat, nemo est qui dubitet: illam, verò, ut in nos exerat exerceátque Deus, qui, cum ordinato jure cum hominibus agere decreverit, toties dilectionem suam desideriúmque humanæ salutis protestatus est, durius est quàm ut à quoquam Christiano cogitari debeat. Utinam verò odiosæ hujusmodi loquendi formulæ, aut nunquam pio alicui doctóque Reformatæ Religionis professori excidissent; aut, si aliquando temerè ἕρκος ὀδόντων excesserint, æternæ oblivioni damnatæ illico fuissent.

Hujúsce furfuris sunt incommodæ illæ ac incongruæ locutiones, quas Theologi Dordraceni non pauci rejici corrigíque voluerunt: quod et tunc temporis factum fuisset, nisi quorundam existimationi fortè plus nimio fuisset indultum.

Quâ de re largiùs aliquanto scripsi ad collegam tuum clarissimum, D. Crocium. Litéras ille meas tecum sine dubio communicabit. In eâdem vos navi estis uterque: ejusdem consilii sortes ut sitis, par est.

Interim, analysis hæc tua, ut in hâc resolvendi facultate præcellere te video, scopo loci illius optimè quadrare videtur; nec à quoquam meritò impugnari potest. Ut Scriptura tota, ita illa cum primis ad Romanos (quod Patrum doctissimus olim) plena est sensibus: vix dari potest ita certa loci alicujus resolutio, quin et alia satis commoda possit fortassis superadjici. Suis alii litent sententiis: ego tuam hanc loci contexturam et explicationem valdè probo. Si quis contrà mussitet, dic illi, meo, si vis, nomine, carpere multò facilius esse, quàm emendare.

But how could God exhibit himself the friend of man, if he hated man as man?

You, then, shall set me the example of those words, to which I most gladly assent: as it is an eminently devout and sweet assertion, that we were gratuitously elected, of the mere mercy and pleasure of God, in Christ unto salvation; so is the other neither devout nor tolerable, that the rest deserved to perish, even though they had not fallen in Adam; since God has so set Christ as Head over his Church, not that all, but that we alone, who have been elected to that end, should be saved in him.

That your zeal, and that of every good man, should kindle at the thought, I am not surprised. For what else is this, but to feign a sort of tyranny for the God of all Mercies? How far his absolute authority over the creature extends, none can doubt: but that God should exert and employ it over us, when, having resolved to deal with men on the principles of established law, he has so often testified his love and desire for the salvation of man; this is a harsher thought than a Christian ought to entertain. I only wish, either that hateful forms of speech like this had never fallen from any pious and learned professor of the Reformed Religion; or that, if at any time they accidentally escaped their lips, they had been doomed forthwith to perpetual oblivion.

Similar in worthlessness are those inconvenient and incongruous expressions, which not a few of the Divines of Dort wished to have rejected and amended; as would have been done at the very time, had not the opinions of certain persons received a larger share of deference than was perhaps their due.

On which subject I have written somewhat more at length to your illustrious colleague, Crocius. He will doubtless communicate to you the contents of my letter. You are both embarked in the same vessel; it is but right that you should both partake in the same counsels.

Meanwhile, this analysis of yours (as I see you excel in the art of resolving a discourse into its component parts) appears to harmonise very well with the scope of the passage now in hand; nor does it deserve to be impugned by any one. As all Scripture, so, above all, the Epistle to the Romans is (to use the language of the most learned of the Fathers) full of senses: and scarcely can any explanation of a passage be given, so sure and certain, but that another equally suitable may perhaps be afterwards suggested. Let others idolize their own opinions: for myself, I heartily approve this your method of connecting and interpreting the passage. Should any one murmur in opposition, tell him, in my name, if you like, that it is

Tu, verò, Vir Celeberrime, perge, quod facis, sanctis hisce piísque laboribus de Ecclesiâ Dei benè promereri; et, quod tibi ac tuis ex animo gratulor, *φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν*: 1 Thess. iv. 11. precibúsque tuis adjuva

Devotissimum tibi, in Domino,

Fratrem ac Symmystam,

JOS. EXON.

Dat. in palatio nostro Exon.

much easier to censure than to amend. But you, illustrious Sir, go on, as now, benefiting the Church of God by your sacred and devout labours; and, what I deem a subject of hearty congratulation both to you and yours, *studying to be quiet;* 1 Thess. iv. 11. And so help with your prayers

Your most devoted brother

And fellow-minister in the Lord,

JOS. EXON.

Given in our palace at Exeter.

CONCIO,

CORAM SYNODO DORDRECHTANA, ANNO DOMINI, 1618, PRÆDICATA,

A JOS. HALL, D. D. ARCHIPRESB. VIGORN.

*** xxix. Novembris; Die Jovis; ante meridiem.

"Habita fuit in Conventu Synodico à Reverendo et Clarissimo, D. Josepho Hallo, Wigorniensi Decano, doctissima atque accuratissima exhortatio Latina, ex Eccles. Salomonis, c. vii. v. 16. Pro quâ publicè ei gratiæ sunt actæ."—*Acta Synodi Dordrecht.* p. 38.

A SERMON,

PREACHED BEFORE THE SYNOD OF DORT, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1618,

BY JOSEPH HALL, D. D. DEAN OF WORCESTER.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

*** 29 Nov. Thursday Morning.

"A most learned and correct Latin discourse was preached in the meeting of the Synod, by the Reverend and most distinguished Dr. Joseph Hall, Dean of Worcester, from Eccles. c. vii. v. 16. For which he received public thanks."—*Acts of the Synod of Dort*, p. 38.

CONCIO

CORAM SYNODO DORDRECHTANA[a].

ECCLES. VII. 16.

Ne sis justus nimis, neque sis nimis sapiens.

DE JUSTITIA mihi hodie, cum bono Deo, et de SAPIENTIA sermo erit. Quid verò occurrere potuit opportunius? De justitiâ coram æquissimis Reipub. moderatoribus, de sapientiâ coram amplissimâ doctissimorum Theologorum Synodo; sed et vice versâ de sapientiâ in prudentissimorum Ordinum vicariorum consessu, de justitiâ in sanctissimâ coronâ Prophetarum. Nec est quod dubitem, ne non aure bibulâ, lubentique animo recipiantur ista ab utroque vestrûm ordine, nobilissimi Ordinum Deputati, Theologi gravissimi, quæ utrumque ex æquo spectare videbuntur.

I. JUSTITIA se vobis offert primulùm. Deque illâ tres miræ profectò clausulæ convenêre istic, seque oculis auribusque vestris sponte ingerunt. *Justus perit*, ver. 15. *Ne sis justus nimis*, 16. *Non est justus*, 20. Euge, concionatrix anima, quid meditaris; ut è sacro illo ore pugnantes effluant sententiæ, seque, uti Cadmæa proles, mutuò perimant? Dum negat ultima, quod prima asseruit; secunda vetat fieri, quod ultima posse fieri negat? Si non sit justus, quî potest perire? Quî potest esse quis justus nimis, si justus nemo est? Mî homo, amicæ sunt semper scripturarum lites: utinam tales semper fuissent nostræ. Neque hîc opus est Mose aliquo Mediatore, qui fraternitatem inculcet; Exod. ii. 13. Pulcherrimè, scilicet, his inter se ultro convenit, ubi tribus clausulis tria justitiæ genera accommodare libuerit. Justitia absoluta est: sic nemo justus. Justitia inchoata, inque suo genere: sic justus perit. Justitia æquivoca; sic ne sis justus nimis. Ita facilè, et nimiùm justus est, qui justus non est; et qui justus est, perit. Non ergo vel

[a] Here, for the first time, included among the works of Bishop Hall. The translation is contributed by a friend.—H.

SERMON

BEFORE THE SYNOD OF DORT.

ECCLES. VII. 16.

Be not righteous over much, neither make thyself over wise.

MY discourse to-day shall, with the blessing of God, be of RIGHTEOUSNESS and WISDOM. And what could be more suitable to the occasion? I will speak of righteousness before the most righteous rulers of this State, and of wisdom before this most numerous Synod of the most learned Divines; and on the other hand I will discourse of wisdom in this meeting of most discreet representatives of the States, and of righteousness in this most holy assembly of Teachers. Nor can I doubt that you, most noble Deputies of the States, and you, most grave Divines, will receive with open ears and willing minds such matters as appear to be of equal concern to each of you.

I. RIGHTEOUSNESS first presents herself to you. And on this subject three singular passages are to be found together in this chapter, and spontaneously force themselves on your eyes and ears. *There is a just man that perisheth;* v. 15. *Be not righteous over much;* v. 16. And, *There is not a just man upon earth;* v. 20. What are thy meditations, O mind of the preacher, that contradictory sentiments flow from those sacred lips, and, like the productions of Cadmus, destroy each other? For the last passage denies what the first has asserted; the second forbids that to be done which the last declares to be impossible. If there be no just man upon earth, how can he perish? How can any one be righteous over much, if there be no just man upon earth? My friend, the contentions of the scriptures are always easily adjusted: I wish that ours had always been equally so. Nor is there in this case need of the mediation of a Moses to enforce reconciliation; Exod. ii. 13. There is in fact a spontaneous and most perfect harmony in this instance, if you will but adapt the three clauses in question to three different sorts of righteousness. There is a positive righteousness, in which sense there is no just man. There is a righteousness which is imperfect and which acts in its own way; in this sense there is a just man that perisheth. There is an equivocal righteousness, in which sense you are told not to be righteous over much. Thus it may be easily said, that the man who is not just, is righteous over much; and that he who is just, perisheth. He therefore

animum adimit justitiæ asseclis summum justitiæ exemplar, dum justum perire ait; vel veram justitiam deprimit, dum nimietatem vetat. Facilè quidem omnes deterremur à bono, qui vix ullis seu monitorum seu minarum frænis nos à malo divelli patimur. Quàm avidè alacriterque omnes arripimus hoc quicquid est consilii! Nempe hoc ægre nobis est, ac si quis febricitanti amico, jamque merum ignem spiranti, poculum frigidæ pleniusculum propinaverit. Perplacet naturæ nostræ libertas; et quicquid hanc sapit, cordi est. Nos quidem, onagrorum more, (Jobi verbum agnoscitis, Job. xxiv. 5.) per hæc mundi deserta soluti discurrimus, nec jugo assueti, nec fræno. Tota religio ligat nobis et mentem et manum. Unde et nomen illi indidit vetustas, et frænum appinxit in manu inter Theologos nostri seculi Poeta maximus. Nullum non mandatum hami instar est et retinaculi, quo vaga hæc, et in scelus omne solutissima, mens coercetur. Σκλήρος λογὸς est, quicquid jubet; illud verò imprimis, *Estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester;* Matt. v. 48. Quod Petrus olim de rituum lege, idem caro et sanguis de lege morum: jugum impar cervicibus et patrum et nostris; Acts xv. 10. Laxare nunc habenas hasce videtur Salomon, et, pro blandi alicujus Mitionis more, indulgere aliquid parum flagitiosæ licentiæ; *Ne sis justus nimis.* Falleris et hîc, quisquis es, parasite tui. Perditissimæ huic naturæ ut obblandiri velit sanctus concionator, ut modum imperet veræ sanctimoniæ, improbulum ut esse sinat, ut jubeat! Apage blasphemiam! Dixisset modò, Noli justus esse, haberes profectò, quo petulantem hunc animum demulceres. Sed cum ait, *Noli justus esse nimis*, justitiam præcipit, damnat excessum. Excessus justitiæ justitia non est. Ut desit vocabulum quo hoc exprimatur, res constat: satis justus nemo potest esse, nedum nimis; etiam dum servat justitiæ modum. Molesta quædam animi pendentis anxietas et δαιμόνια nomen hoc fortean induit, aut opinio justitiæ. Quot vitia, virtutum titulis insignita, vulgò prodeunt, præsertim ubi nota additur excessus!

who was the highest pattern of righteousness does not diminish the zeal of the servants of righteousness by saying that the just man perisheth; nor lower the standard of true righteousness by forbidding righteousness over much. We are all indeed ready enough to be deterred from any thing good, although we hardly permit any guidance either of advice or of threats to tear us away from what is evil. How eagerly and cheerfully do we embrace this last piece of advice, whatever it may be! It is indeed a matter of as little difficulty to us, as it would be to one suffering from a fever, and breathing as it were nothing but fire, to accept a cup brim-full of cold water offered by a friend. Freedom from restraint is most agreeable to our nature; and whatever savors of this, we relish. We indeed, after the manner of wild asses, (you recognize the words of Job; Job xxiv. 5.) run up and down these deserts of the world without restraint, unaccustomed to yoke and to bridle. Every part of religion confines our minds and our hands. From which circumstance antiquity has given to religion her name, and the greatest Poet among the Theologians of our age has represented her as having a bridle in her hand. Every one of her precepts is like a hook and a cable, whereby the human mind, which is wandering, and prone to all manner of wickedness, is constrained. All her commands are hard sayings, but especially that one, *Be ye perfect, even as your Father is perfect;* Matt. v. 48. What Peter said once of the ceremonial law, flesh and blood may say of the moral law; that it is a yoke which neither the necks of our fathers nor of ourselves are able to bear; Acts xv. 10. You suppose then that Solomon appears to relax these reins, and, in the manner of a gentle Mitio[a], to shew a little indulgence to the licentiousness of sin; *Be not righteous over much.* Here also thou art deceived, thou self-flatterer, whosoever thou art. That the holy preacher should consent to flatter our most depraved nature, that he should prescribe a bound to true holiness, that he should permit, nay, enjoin, a moderate degree of wickedness! Away with such blasphemy! Had he said only, Be not righteous at all, thou mightest have had something wherewith to gratify thy lascivious inclination. But when he says, *Be not righteous over much*, he enjoins righteousness, he only condemns a going beyond it. A going beyond righteousness is not righteousness. Though there is no single word which can express this, the thing itself is clear: for no one can be sufficiently righteous, much less too much so, even in keeping within the bounds of righteousness. Possibly the expression may be intended to cover the morbid and fatal anxiety of a wavering mind, or a self-conceit of righteousness. How many vices commonly walk abroad, distinguished by the titles of virtues, particularly

[a] Mitio, a character in the Adelphi of Terence.—TRANSLATOR.

Nimis liberalis, prodigus est: nimium fortis, audax: frugi nimis, avarus. Potiùs istîc probatur μεσότης, dum ὑπερβόλη prohibetur. Ut ubi Paulus immoderatum pro mortuis luctum vetat, moderatum jubet.

Imprimis ergo justus esto. Da operam, ut in te justus sis, ut in Christo. Regula justitiæ lex est, summa legis justitia. *Oportet impleri omnem justitiam*, inquit verus ἀντίτυπος Melchisedechi; Matt. iii. 15. Suum cuique, justus. Vis igitur justus esse? Da Deo timorem, amorem, fidem: proximo, et suum semper, et aliquando etiam ipsius tuum. Illi enim et tuum cedit, ubi tibi superfluit, ipsi defit; tibi, quantum et naturæ sufficiat, et personæ. Utinam verò hoc unum addiscere possemus aliquando: utinam hâc in parte haud parum peccaretur graviùs! Non satis justi sumus, qui justitiam profitemur. Quisque sibi fere totum tribuit, proximo parum, minimum Deo; utrique certe horum, quantulum expediat sibi. Vos appello, viri fratres, testes communis hominum vitæ ac morum, quàm perierint penitissimè justitia et veritas à filiis hominum. Quippini et vos æquè provocem, viri Magnates, censores judicesque facinorum, quæ oculos plebeculæ vel spectando fatigârint? Conqueremini licet omnes, cum Beato Martyre Cypriano: Flagrant ubique delicta, et passim, multiformi genere peccandi, per improbas mentes nocens virus operatur. Quin et innocentia, nec illic, ubi defenditur, reservatur. Consensêre jura peccatis, et cœpit esse licitum, quod publicum est. Sed O, si possitis, in illâ sublimi speculâ constituti, oculos vestros inserere secretis, recludere cubiculorum obductas fores, et ad conscientiam luminum penetralia occulta reserare, aspiceretis profectò ab impudicis geri, quod aspicere non possit frons pudica; videretis, quod crimen sit et videre, turpes Aretinismos libidinum, crudas nauseabundæ ebrietatis reliquias. Filii hominum, usquequò gravi corde, quòusque diligitis vanitatem, et quæritis mendacium? Estote justi satis. Succurrite vos interim laboranti Reipubl. qui sedetis ad clavum, et date operam sedulò, ut grassantibus hominum vitiis

when a mark of excess is added to them! The too liberal man is a spendthrift, the too bold is headstrong, the too frugal a miser. The mean is rather here enjoined, while the going beyond is forbidden. As where St. Paul forbids immoderate grief for the dead, he is to be understood as commanding sorrow in moderation.

Above all things therefore be righteous. Endeavour to be righteous in thyself, as in Christ. The law is the measure of righteousness, righteousness is the fulfilment of the law. *All righteousness must be fulfilled*, says the true antitype of Melchisedech; Matt. iii. 15. The righteous man renders to every one his own. Dost thou wish therefore to be righteous? Render to God fear, love, faith: to thy neighbour always what is his own, and sometimes even what is thine. For what is thine belongs to him, whenever thou hast a superfluity, and he has less than enough; to thyself, only what is sufficient for thy natural wants, and for the support of thy character in the world. But would that we could at some time or other gain knowledge on this subject: would that in this respect our offences were rather greater than less! We that profess so much righteousness, are not righteous enough. Every one gives nearly all to himself, little to his neighbour, least of all to God; certainly to each of these last, as little as suits his own convenience. I call you, brethren, as witnesses of the ordinary life and manners of mankind, to testify how completely righteousness and truth have perished from among the sons of men. Why may I not equally call on you, Governors of the State, censors and judges of those crimes, the very sight of which wearies the eyes of the people? You may all complain, with the blessed Martyr Cyprian: Crimes rage everywhere, and, from the numerous appearances and kinds of sin, the hurtful poison works upon the minds of the wicked. Innocence is not even preserved in the very places where it is defended. The laws have yielded to sin; and whatever is done by all, begins to be considered lawful. But O, if you who are placed in that lofty throne could pry into what is secret, open the closed doors of chambers, and explore their hidden recesses to the knowledge of the eyes, you would see such things done by the shameless, as the modest countenance could not look upon; you would see, what it is even a crime to see, the shameful lusts worthy of Aretinus[b], the crude remains of nauseous drunkenness. Ye sons of men, with how heavy a heart, and for how long a time, will ye love vanity, and seek after lies? Be sufficiently righteous. In the mean time do ye, who sit at the helm of affairs, assist the labouring state, and give your earnest endeavours that the spreading vices of mankind may be at length

[b] Pietro Aretino, an Italian, notorious for the indecency of his writings; born in 1492, died in 1536.—TRANSLATOR.

tempestivis aliquando tandem censuris occurratur. Quin claves manu exerit exercetque Ecclesia, quæ gladium oris liberè usque vibraverit? Quin fulminum spiritualium vim omnem ac horrorem sacrum redintegratis, facitisque ut qui Dei Ministros flocci fecerint, ad lictorum vestrorum fasces contremiscant?

Supponitur hoc primum, *Justus est:* sequitur, quod vetatur postmodum, *Ne quid nimis;* seu *opinione*, seu verò *reipsâ.*

Non *opinione.* Facile, qui pauxillum in se habent justitiæ, intestino quodam fermento suæ φιλαυτίας efferuntur, jamque se plus nimio abundare autumant. Ita justus erat jactator sui Pharisæus, *Gratias tibi, Domine, non sum ut alii;* Luc. xviii. 11. Non ait, ut aliqui: modestiæ fuisset istud, humique repentis ταπεινοφροσύνης: sunt enim aliqui profecto Dæmones, humanâ specie larvati, ut verè Hieronymus: sed ut alii, universalis naturam sortitur indefinitus enunciandi modus. Parem cum Pompeio ferre non vult, nedum cum Cæsare superiorem. Jungant verò huic manus (si volunt) Pontificii Thrasones, homines sacerrimi, qui legem se ex amussi servare, et supererogare demum aliquid se Deo posse, jactitant. Ilicet hi veri sunt horum temporum (quos exprobare solent aliis) Puritani. Ingenuè (quod solet) Espencæus, Sunt qui hodie status et homines in perfectione justitiæ tantùm non æquent Angelis, novæ veteris Pelagianismi reliquiæ. Quâ hæresi, ut nulla vel periculosior vel perniciosior, aut perpetuæ gratiæ Christi necessitati magis contraria, ita nulla vel minus exstincta, vel plus rediviva. Sed et suos denique Gratianus istos probè sugillat, qui si nomen suum, inquit, cognoscere vellent, mundanos se potius quàm mundos appellarent. Erigant isti sibi cum Acesio scalam, quâ in cœlum ascendant, (monitore Hieronymo,) ab irato interim omnis superbiæ Vindice in imum barathrum præcipitandi.

Mittamus opinionem. Sunt qui *reipsâ* nimium ambiant justitiæ, idque vel publicè, vel privatim. *Publicè:* vel qui ipsum legis rigorem sectantur paulò severiùs in judicando, neglectâ interim omnis ἐπιεικείας ratione. Pessimi amanuenses, qui leges

[c] Acesius was a Novatian bishop in the time of Constantine. At the close of an interview which he had with the emperor, in which the bishop stated his reasons for dissenting from the council of Nice, Constantine said to him,

met by timely reproofs. Why does not the Church, who has always brandished freely the sword of the tongue, put forth and exercise her keys? Why do not you reinstate all the power and sacred terror of spiritual thunders, and make those who think lightly of the Ministers of God, tremble at the fasces of your lictors?

Assuming this to be first established, *There is a just man;* the prohibition follows, *Be not righteous over much,* either in *conceit,* or in *reality.*

Not in *conceit.* Those who have in themselves a small portion of righteousness, are easily transported by the inward ferment of their self-love, and give out that they abound in it immoderately. This was the righteousness of the boasting Pharisee, *I thank thee, Lord, that I am not as other men are;* Luke xviii. 11. He does not say, "as some others are;" which would have been consistent with modesty and self-abasing humility of spirit: for there are, as Jerome truly says, some people who are indeed Devils, disguised in human shape: but the indefinite form of expressing himself, "as other men are," embraces universal nature. He not only, like Cæsar, will not brook a superior, but, like Pompey, will not endure even an equal. Fit companions for such an one are (if they choose) those Popish Thrasos, most sanctified men, who boast that they keep the law to the greatest exactness, and can afterwards bestow something upon God beyond what is required of them. Truly these are the real Puritans of these days; a term which they use as a reproach to others. There are some now-a-days, as Espencæus observes with his usual ingenuity, the modern remains of the old Pelagianism, who make states and men all but equal the Angels in the perfection of righteousness. Not only is this heresy second to none in danger and mischief, and in opposition to the perpetual necessity for the grace of Christ; but none is less extinguished, or more continually springing up again into life. But even Gratian honestly reproves these persons, though they are Papists like himself, saying, that if they would know their own name, they would call themselves worldly rather than pure. Let these, with Acesius[c], raise for themselves a ladder, by which, as Jerome suggests, they may mount up to heaven, from whence they will, notwithstanding, be hurled down into the lowest pit by the angry Avenger of all pride.

So much for self-conceit of righteousness. There are some who *really* aim at an excess of righteousness, either openly, or in private. Some *openly:* such as those who in judging follow rather too severely the very rigour of the law, neglecting all means of gentleness. These are the worst sort of scribes, who

[c] "Θὲς, ὦ Ἀκέσιε, κλίμακα, καὶ μόνος ἀνάβηθι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.—Place a ladder, O Acesius, and mount to heaven by yourself." The anecdote is related by Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian.—TRANSLATOR.

etiam lacteas sanguine transcribunt! Carnifices planè legales; qui, dum non tam in mentem legislatoris, quàm in juris apices intendunt, magistram vitæ, matrem pacis saluberrimam, *νομοθεσίαν*, in ministram mortis iniquè convertunt! Quò referri dicerem, qui sic pœnis frui solent, ut in aliorum delicta atrociùs animadvertant, nisi illud palam esset, nullo graviore morbo sæculum hoc, quam lenitate nimiâ, laborare. Neque tam lenientibus, cutimve blandè reducentibus, linimentis indiget commune improbitatis ulcus, quàm igne et ferro. Etiam virtus ipsa nimiâ licentiâ languescit, quæ moderatâ coercione vires perennat, immo reduplicat. Animosissimus equorum, si semper laxantur fræni, medio itinere deficit; neque jam virgæ respondet satis, nec calcaribus. Siquidem vobis publicæ rei salus curæ sit, eritis quidem hâc in parte justiores. Vel qui, Sacræ Legis interpretes, ita se literis ac syllabis mancipio dare solent, ac si (contra quod olim Tertullianus) ratio divina non in medullâ esset, sed in superficie. Ita Scribæ olim et Pharisæi, censore Christo. Ita Origenes, pœnam dans meritò tot allegoriarum, Eunuchatum, Matt. xix. 12, planè allegoricum, ad literam paulo serviliùs interpretatus, sibi vim tulit, qui non minùs vim intulerat Scripturæ; virque esse desiit, qui non desiit esse malus interpres. Ita et Monachus ille olim Evangelium ipsum vendidit, à quo jussus est omnia vendere. Utinam verò Doctores Pontificii immunes se præstarent ab hôc crimine; quibus nimis solenne est cælum terræ miscere, humanitatem Christi in monstrum, in nihilum redigere potiùs, quàm, in sacramentali loquendi formâ, figuram nobiscum admittere velint, qui tamen ipsi multas inibi fateri coguntur. Non infimum est apophthegmatum sapientissimi Regis, quod tamen vulgata Papicolarum versio ridiculum facit, *Emulsor lactis educit butyrum; emunctor nasi educit sanguinem;* Prov. xxxviii. 33. Et quid est hoc aliud, quàm *γάλα ἄδολον, sincerum lac veritatis,* ita nimis agitare, ut in butyrum congelescat; naresque scripturarum adeò graviter comprimere, ut sanguis demum eliciatur? Et horum quidem uterque *nimis justus* est; in sententiis seu ferendis, seu inter-

copy in characters of blood laws which were written in milk! Mere legal executioners; who, while they are less occupied with the intention of the lawgiver, than with the technical niceties of the law, wickedly convert legislation, which ought to be the instructress of life, and the most wholesome parent of peace, into a minister of death! This character, I should have said, applied to them, who are accustomed to inflict punishment, that they may more strongly shew their sense of the crimes of others; were it not obviously the fact, that the present age is afflicted with no more serious malady, than an excess of lenity. For the universal sore of wickedness has less need of these soothing liniments, which blandly renew the skin, than of the cautery and knife. Even virtue herself grows languid from too much indulgence; while moderate coercion not only gives durability to her powers, but increases them. The most spirited horse, if the reins are always slack, fails in the middle of his course, and neither answers the whip nor the spur. You, however, will in reality be more righteous in this respect, if you have truly an interest in the welfare of the state. Again, others, in interpreting the Sacred Law, are merely slaves of letters and syllables, as if (in opposition to the opinion of Turtullian) the divine wisdom lay on the surface, and not in the marrow. This was the habit of the Scribes and Pharisees, which was reprobated by Christ. This was the case with Origen, who justly suffered the punishment due to his mode of understanding allegories: for, servilely giving a literal meaning to the figurative recommendation to become eunuchs, Matt. xix. 12, he committed no less violence on himself than he had already committed on Scripture, and, ceasing to be a man, did not cease to be a bad expounder. And this was the case with the Monk who sold his very Bible, in obedience to the command which it contained to sell every thing that he had. I wish, however, that the Popish teachers were exempt from this charge; who are too much in the habit of mixing earth with heaven, and of reducing the human nature of Christ to a monster, or rather to a cypher, in preference to admitting the existence of the same figurative expression which we do in the sacramental form of speech, though they cannot help confessing that many others exist there. It is by no means the least important of the Proverbs of the most wise King, (which, however, the common version of the Papists makes absurd,) *The churning of milk bringeth forth butter, and the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood;* Prov. xxxviii. 33. And what else does this mean, than so much to over agitate the sincere milk of the word, that it curdles into butter; and so rudely to wring the nose of the scriptures, as that bloodshed is produced? And whoever does either of these things, is *righteous over much*, whether in giving his opinion, or in interpreting the scriptures. And

pretandis. Quin et huc revocamus illos malè cautos justitiæ divinæ vindices, qui causam Dei non aliter agendam censent, quàm suam; quasi ille ipse omnis justitiæ et bonitatis Fons ac Scaturigo immundum fluat, nisi ab istorum puteis humorem petat ilicet: vel qui, ex alterâ parte, prodigiosam justitiam, piisque auribus ne ferendam quidem, Deo adfingunt. O homo, O lutum; sat est: sis tu illi, quem te esse voluit: sit tibi ille, quem se fore revelavit!

Privatus justitiæ excessus sequitur; vel ἐν τῷ ἀπέχειν vel ὑπέχειν, ut imitemur Epictetum; sive in evitandis rebus legitimis, quarum nobis usum liberè concessit Deus; sive in agendis suspiciendisque, quæ Deus nusquam præscripserit. Illud meticulosæ cujusdam est ac rigidiusculæ anxietatis: hoc verò superstitiosæ nimiumque affectatæ sanctimoniæ. Quæ de utroque horum meditatus eram, quàm multa, prudens omitto, ne nimius sim. Cum instituto nostro conjunctior est paulo, quæ de SAPIENTIA sequitur oratio.

II. *Ne sis sapiens nimis.* Qui, datâ optione, sapientiam sibi elegit, et, supra quàm mortales solent, sortitus est, nimium damnat sapientiæ. *Ecquid melle dulcius?* Judic. xiv. 18; verè Sampson. *Ne nimium tamen mellis comedito;* Prov. xxiv. 27; prudenter Salomon. Ipse rationis morbus est curiositas; quo vel ad mortem usque laborârunt primi generis humani parentes: nobis quidem ideo hæreditarius cognatusque. Esdras ille suppositítius aliud profitetur, aliud præstat. *Non proposui mihi,* inquit, *interrogare de superioribus tuis;* 2 Esd. iv. 23. Et tamen eodem loci, *Nunquid plus futurum est, quàm præteriit?* ibid. 45. Sed et bonus ille Dionysius, ita de Angelorum ordinibus (uti nôstis) disserit, quasi cum Paulo raptus fuisset in cœlum. Immo quæ B. Apostolus vidit et conticuit, iste non minus profectò conticuit, quàm vidit. Neque defuit alter, qui cœlestium spirituum numerum æquè certò designavit. Quin et Matilda, una è minorum gentium divis, fratris cujusdam rogatu, ausa est nimis quidem familiariter sciscitari, quid de animâ Sampsonis, quid de Salomonis, Trajani, Origenis, demum fieret. Qui ad pedes Christi diutulè sederunt Apostoli, ubi de fidei mysteriis sermo inciderat, audiunt illico, *Vobis datum est nôsse;* Luc.

to this we call the attention of those incautious vindicators of divine justice, who think that the cause of God requires to be pleaded, as if it were their own; as if that fountain and source of all righteousness and goodness could flow with any thing impure, unless it were supplied directly from their springs: and those who, on the other hand, ascribe to God a righteousness of a monstrous nature, and not indeed to be endured by pious ears. O man, O clay; this is sufficient: be thou to him what he has willed that thou shouldst be; and let him be to thee what he has revealed that he would be!

There is also a righteousness overmuch *in private;* either, to use the words of Epictetus, in abstaining or in enduring; that is, either in foregoing lawful things, the use of which God has freely permitted to us, or in doing and encountering things which God has never enjoined. The one is to be ascribed to a timid and unbending anxiety, the other to a superstitious and assumed appearance of sanctity. But lest I should be too prolix, I will intentionally omit the many things which I had intended to say on both these heads. It is more agreeable to my purpose to proceed at once with what follows on the subject of WISDOM.

II. *Make not thyself over wise.* He who, having had his option, chose for himself wisdom, and obtained it above the usual share of mortals, is the very one to condemn an excess of wisdom. *What is sweeter than honey?* Judges xiv. 18; truly says Sampson. *But it is not good to eat too much honey;* Prov. xxiv. 27; wisely observes Solomon. Curiosity is the very disease of reason, with which the first parents of mankind were sick even unto death; and it is therefore hereditary in us, and kindred to our nature. The apocryphal Esdras promises one thing, and does another. For he says, *It was not in my mind to be curious of the high things;* 2 Esd. iv. 23. And yet in the same chapter he says, *Shew me whether there be more to come, than is past?* ibid. 45. And even the good Denys discourses of the orders of Angels, as you know, as if he had been caught up into heaven with Paul. For those things which the Blessed Apostle saw and never divulged, Denys takes no pains to conceal, although he never saw them. Another has not been wanting to describe with equal precision the number of heavenly spirits. And Matilda[d], one of the lower order of saints, dared, at the request of a certain brother, to ask with too much familiarity what became ultimately of the souls of Sampson, Solomon, Trajan, and Origen. The Apostles who sat continually at the feet of Christ, when the mysteries of faith are mentioned, are told immediately, *To you it is*

[d] Matilda, a countess of Tuscany, who formally gave over her dominions to the Pope. She died in 1115.—TRANSLATOR.

viii. 10; sed ubi de rebus parum necessariis percontantur, *Οὐχ' ὑμῶν γνῶναι*: Act. i. 7. Absorptus est ab illâ voragine Plinius, quam propius penitiusque voluit intueri. Et Bethsemitæ, dum sacram Dei sedem læti perlustrant oculis suis, perière; 1 Sam. vi. 19.

Scio me jam ulcus tangere hujus ævi, quod tamen faciam levi manu. Liceat mihi, fratres reverendi, coram vobis meritò queri, seculum illud prius nimium ignorantiæ perdidisse. O crudeles planè illorum temporum Scribas et Pharisæos, qui, claves cœlorum sibi servantes, nec intrârint ipsi, nec alios intrare discupientes sustinuerint! Nostrum vero hoc nimio perire sapientiæ. Generosior quidem paulo est iste morbus, sed nihilominus lethalis. Omnes omnia scire volumus; et ne quid forte lateat, etiam in arcanissima Dei concilia temerè irruimus ac præcipitamur. Date veniam huic parrhesiæ. Et plebem et doctores reos perago hujusce mali.

Est sanè (nequis nesciat) Theologia duplex, scholastica et popularis. Hæc religionis basin spectare videtur; illa tectorii ipsius formam et ornamenta respicit: hæc, quæ sciri debent; illa, quæ sciri possunt. Hujus cognitio Christianum facit, illius disceptatorem: vel, si quis mavult, et hæc Theologum facere solet, et illa polire. Ut omnes utriusque sententiam ex æquo ambiant, periculi plena res est, et quæ vulgò in summâ rerum omnium confusione desinat. Nulla profectò ars est, cujus intima ac secretiora mysteria non soleant, peculiari quâdam ratione, solis artificibus relinqui. Nemo est quin tantum sibi patrii juris notum esse velit, quantum hæreditati suæ sive adeundæ, sive tutandæ, inservire posse putet, qui tamen summos juris apiculos sibi parum disquirendos autumet: hos verò potius consultissimis legum doctoribus lubentissimè remittat. Pari modo fit in medicinâ. Ecquis est, qui non eò usque se Æsculapio in disciplinam tradere velit, ut quid corpori suo noxium, quid valetudini accommodum esse soleat, satis intelligat? qui tamen interim omnes pharmacopolæ pixides, herbarum vires, morborum rationes, medendique methodos, susque deque habeat? Quin et hoc idem in artium omnium Dominâ, ac Reginâ animæ, cum jurisprudentiâ tum medicinâ, sacrosanctissimâ Theologiâ, usu venit. Scitu ad salutem necessaria quæque imbibant omnes, et licet et juvat. Saturate animas vestras, quotquot estis Ecclesiæ filii, sacris hisce deliciis; subtiliores scho-

given to know; Luke viii. 10; but when they enquire concerning things which are not necessary for them to understand, they are told, *It is not for you to know;* Acts i. 7. Pliny was swallowed up in the abyss which he was desirous of examining more closely and thoroughly. And the men of Bethshemeth perished, while they were gladly looking at the holy ark of God; 1 Sam. vi. 19.

I know that I am now touching the sore place of this age, which, however, I will do with a gentle hand. I may be allowed, O reverend brethren, justly to complain before you, that too much ignorance destroyed the former age. For great was the cruelty of the Scribes and Pharisees of those times, who, keeping the keys of heaven, neither entered themselves, nor suffered others to go in, who were longing so to do. But our age is perishing from too much knowledge. This disease is indeed of a more generous nature, but not less deadly than the other. We all desire to know every thing; and lest any thing should escape us, we foolishly rush and attempt to go headlong into the most secret councils of God. Forgive this freedom of speech. I accuse both the people and the teachers, as being causes of this evil.

There are, as every one knows, two sorts of Theology, the popular and that of the schools. The former seems to regard the foundation of religion, the latter its form and external ornaments: the former the things which ought to be known, the latter the things which may be known. The understanding of the former makes a man a Christian, of the latter a disputer: or, if you please, the former makes a Theologian, the latter adorns one. For every one to attempt equally to excel in each, one is a hazardous matter, and one which commonly leads to the greatest universal confusion. For the inmost and more secret mysteries of every art are, for peculiar reasons, always left to the masters of the art alone. Every one desires to know as much of the law of his country as he thinks useful for acquiring or defending the possession of his patrimony: but the same person would not consider it necessary for himself to attain the highest points of legal knowledge, but would willingly leave them to the most learned teachers of jurisprudence. The same may be observed in regard to medicine. Who is not desirous of becoming so far a disciple of Esculapius, as to have a competent knowledge of what is generally injurious to his constitution, and what serviceable to his health? but the same person will not concern himself about the various stores of the druggist, the powers of different plants, or the natures of diseases. And the same observations apply to the holy science of Theology, the mistress of all arts, and the queen of the soul, as well as to jurisprudence and medicine. It is lawful and useful for all to learn as much as it is conducive to their welfare for them to know. Gratify your souls, ye sons of the Church, with these holy delights;

larum argutias aliò ablegaturi. *Τί ὑμὶν καὶ μάκροις αὔλοις*; Quantò minus expedit, ut plebeium quodque ingenium summas cæli arces scandat profano pede, ibique sacra Dei penetralia audaci oculo perlustret, deque profundissimis consilii divini arcanis judicum ferat! ut quivis è plebe nautarum bajulorumve, de abditissimâ Prædestinationis ratione ratiocinari præsumat! Regulam Cossicam in Arithmeticâ dixit nonnemo Prædestinationem in Theologiâ; de quâ doctam quandam ignorantiam fateri non puduit illuminatissimos Ecclesiæ doctores. Etiam rapta in cœlum anima clamavit, *Ὦ βάθος*! Rom. xi. 33. Nos verò breviculâ intellectûs nostri ulnulâ decreti divini abyssum metiri audebimus? quæque ipsi Angeli stupent, nos conculcabimus? Neque tam plebem incuso istîc, quàm doctores ipsos, qui hæc tam parum tempestivè populi auribus animisque obgesserint. Imprudenter sanè factum, ita hæc abstrusissima mysteria è suggestis palam sonuisse, quasi in iis solis Christianorum res unica constitisset. Quanquam, ut verè dicam, etiam in causis religionis, nemo tenetur secundum ictum expectare. Ferire non licuit; licuit impetum hosticum propulsare. Sed neque tam imprudentiâ peccatur istîc, quàm nimio forsan sapientiæ.

Duo sunt, si quid ego animadverti, huic Ecclesiæ admodum infesta, (nihil enim est cum malis quorundam politicorum artibus negotii;) nimium acumen, et hinc orta nimia prophetandi libertas. O mutata haud parum Batavorum ingenia, quibus hebescit jam planè orbis reliquus: dignus ilicet, qui vulgaria consectetur! Hinc fit, ut, spretâ communi principiorum viâ, altiores quasdam speculationum semitas, de Ordine, de Numero, de Subjecto decreti divini, de physicâ moralive Inclinatione, de Actuum Habituumque methodo ac discrimine, tanto cum strepitu inire maluistis. Paulo aliter magnus ille Gentium doctor Paulus; qui profectò si revivisceret, spinosam Jesuita-

* Literally, "What have you to do with the long pipes?" Suetonius relates, that when Otho was auguring the first time after the death of Galba, a storm came on, and Otho fell down, exclaiming, "*Τί γάρ μοὶ καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς*;—What had I to do with the long pipes?" The long pipes being those which were used exclusively at sacrifices. And Dion Cassius, in relating the same story, with a slight variation, observes, that the expression was pro-

but leave to others the more refined subtleties of the schools. What have you to do with implements[e] which you can only use to your own injury? Still less is it fitting for the vulgar mind to attempt with profane foot to ascend the highest pinnacles of heaven, and there to scrutinise with presumptuous eyes the holy innermost places of God, and to pronounce an opinion on the most profound secrets of the divine wisdom! or for any one picked out from the herd of those who follow the meanest occupations, to presume to reason concerning the most abstruse doctrine of Predestination! Some one has compared the Cossic[f] Rule in Arithmetic to Predestination in Theology; of which the most enlightened teachers of the Church have not been ashamed to avow a sort of learned ignorance. Even the soul that was caught up to heaven exclaimed, *O the depth!* Rom. xi. 33. But shall we dare to measure the depths of the divine law with the diminutive standard of our intellect? shall we trample on things, which even the Angels gaze on with awe? But in this respect I do not so much blame the people as the teachers themselves, who have so inopportunely supplied the ears and minds of the multitude with these subjects. It has indeed been most unwise, to sound forth these most difficult mysteries publicly from the pulpits, as if in them alone the only business of Christians consisted. However, to speak the truth, no one is bound, even in matters of religion, to wait for a second blow. Though it would have been unlawful to strike, it has not been so to ward off the attack of an enemy. But here again the errors have not so much arisen from a want, as from a superabundance, of wisdom.

There are two things, according to my observation, which are peculiarly injurious to the interests of this Church, (for I have no business with the evil designs of certain politicians;) an excess of talent, and the naturally resulting excess of licence in preaching. O how much are the abilities of the Dutch changed, in comparison of whom the rest of the world is of dull intellect, and worthy only of ordinary pursuits! From this cause is it, that you have spurned the beaten track of first principles, and have preferred with so much display to enter into higher paths of speculations, concerning the order, number, matter of the divine decree, natural and moral inclination, and the rules and distinctions of actions and habits. Rather different were the pursuits of St. Paul, the great teacher of the Gentiles; who, if he were to return to life, would not understand the

verbially applied to those who do things which are hurtful to them.—TRANSLATOR.

[f] The Cossic rule, or rule of Coss, means Algebra, which was originally called by the Italians, "regola di Cosa;" the "cosa" being the unknown quantity.—TRANSLATOR.

rum ac Dominicanorum Theologiam non intelligeret. Nihil ille inter suos scire curavit, præter Jesum Christum, eumque crucifixum. Figendæ sunt hîc scholis ipsis suæ metæ, quas nefas fuerit transiliisse. Quantùm nos, mei fratres, à primigeniâ illâ Christianorum simplicitate defleximus! Sex tantùm capitibus constabat Catechismus Apostolicus. Theologia vero hodierna (quæ hominum curiosa mens est!) se habet instar quanti, seu mathematici seu physici, divisibilis in semper divisibilia. Illud quidem verè Erasmus; hanc vix finitam quæstionum subinde emergentium decisionumque farraginem, hoc quicquid est turbarum in Ecclesiâ Dei concitâsse. Neque dubitârim ego, non neminem scholasticorum, verbis Festi, Act. xxvi. 24, compellare, unâque ad Anticyras relegare: quos nimium eruditionis ad pessimum usque insaniæ genus redegerit. At nos, mei fratres, edocti meliùs, sobriè sapiamus; hoc est, uno verbo, non supra scriptum, non supra patres. Nos homuli ut progrediamur porro, ubi pedem fixerit Deus! Audi, caro et sanguis; Scrutator Majestatis opprimetur à gloriâ. Quindecim sunt, ut Judæi observant, in totâ scripturâ, loci, singularibus quibusdam intentionis notulis insigniti: quorum ille et unus et primus est, *Secreta Deo;* Deut. xxix. 29. Si nihil quicquam consilii sui nobis innotescere voluisset Deus, prorsus siluisset; si totum, dilucidiùs profectò ac pleniùs rationem illius omnem explicuisset. Jam scire nos ista voluit, sed parciùs; quantùm scilicet nostræ tenuitatis modulo suæque gloriæ expedire judicavit. Hucusque sapere, et sanum et tutum est.

Et certè, ut liceat mihi hâc de re paulo liberiùs loqui, (quandoquidem nullarum partium homo sum ego, neque adversarium ago, sed monitorem benevolum,) judicem esse debere controversiarum Spiritum S. in Sacrâ Scripturâ loquentem, nemo est qui ambigat. Quo nempe recurrant fratres, de jure hæreditatis contendentes, nisi ad patris testamentum? Gratulabor verò hoc consilii Illustriss. Ordinibus, quorum nos decretum huc piè prudenterquè manu duxerit. Neque minùs illud constat, ea Scripturæ loca, quæ quid obscuriùs, vel transeundo, enunciare videntur, ad illustriora, quæque studio rem ipsam tractant, exigenda. Sed neque hoc denique a quoquam negari potest, nullum esse paginæ utriusvis locum, qui

crabbed Theology of the Jesuits and Dominicans. He cared for knowing nothing amongst his disciples, except Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Here bounds must be set to the very schools themselves, which they must not venture to exceed. How much, my brethren, have we turned aside from that original simplicity of Christians! The Apostolic Catechism consisted of but six heads. But the Theology of the present day (such is the curiosity of men's minds!) is like any quantity, either in mathematics or physics, which is infinitely divisible. Erasmus indeed has truly said, that this never-ending mass of questions everywhere arising, and of decisions, has stirred up whatever disturbances now exist in the Church of God. Nor would I hesitate to use the words of Festus, Acts xxvi. 24, to some of the schoolmen, and send them together to Anticyra[s]: for an excess of learning has reduced them to the worst kind of madness. But let us, my brethren, who have been better taught, be soberly wise; that is, in one word, not above the scriptures, not above the fathers. That we, poor mortals, should advance beyond the point, where God has fixed our feet! Hear, O flesh and blood; He who looks into Majesty, shall be overwhelmed with the glory thereof. There are, as the Jews observe, in the whole of scripture, fifteen passages, which are distinguished by some particular marks of intention: of which one and the first is, *Secret things belong to God;* Deut. xxix. 29. If God had chosen that no portion whatever of his designs should be made known to us, he would have kept silence respecting them; if he had chosen that the whole should be disclosed, he would have more clearly and fully explained their entire nature. As it is, he has chosen that we should have a knowledge of them, but sparingly, and so far only as he has judged consistent with the measure of our weakness and his own glory. Thus far it is good and safe for us to know.

And that I may speak rather more freely on this subject, (for I am a man of no party, nor do I act the part of an opponent, but of a friendly adviser,) no one can doubt that the only arbiter of all controversies ought to be the Holy Spirit speaking in the Sacred Writings. For if brothers dispute concerning the title to their inheritance, to what have they recourse but the testament of their father? I will offer my thanks to the illustrious States General, for their design in piously and wisely leading us hither by their decree. And it is equally evident, that those passages of Scripture, which appear to explain any thing obscurely, or in a cursory way only, are to be tried by those passages which are clearer, or which treat designedly on the same subjects. But every one will admit that there is no passage in either Testa-

[s] Anticyra, a town where hellebore, the supposed cure for madness, was produced in abundance.—TRANSLATOR.

æquè plenè, perspicuè, deditâve operâ, disquisierit hoc Prædestinationis caput, ac celeberrimus ille qui habetur ad Romanos nono. Agite ergo, viri judices; si me auditis, jubete, ut pars utraque litigantium, brevem, claram, apertamque, sine fuco, sine ambagibus, illius loci paraphrasin Sanctæ Synodo, fraternâ manu, exhibeat. Fieri non potest, quin, præeunte hâc face divinâ, se veritas piis ingenuisque oculis conspiciendam sit præbitura. Non supra patres, fidissimos Scripturæ interpretes, lucidissima Ecclesiæ sidera. Sed et rex noster, serenissimus noster rex Jacobus, cujus nomine exultare mihi videtur tota Ecclesia Dei; regum, quos sol unquam vidit, post unum Salomonem *θεοδιδακτον*, sapientissimus; in suâ illâ aureâ Epistolâ monuit Illustriss. Ordines, nobisque in mandatis dedit, illud totis viribus urgere, illud unum inculcare, ut receptæ hactenus fidei communique, et vestræ et aliarum Ecclesiarum confessioni, adhærere usque velitis omnes. Quod si feceritis, O felicem Belgicam! O intemeratam Christi sponsam! O rempublicam florentissimam! Navigabit profectò in portu demum hæc afflictata opinionum undis Ecclesia, tempestatesque, à maligno illo excitatas, tutò ridebit ac contemnet. Illud verò ut jam tandem fiat, *φιλοτίμεισθε ἡσυχάζειν*; 1 Thess. iv. 11. Fratres sumus, simus et collegæ. Quid nobis cum illo infami Remonstrantium, Contra-Remonstrantium, Calvinianorum, Arminianorum titulo? Christiani sumus, simus et *ἰσοψύχοι*. Unum corpus sumus, simus et unanimes. Per tremendum illud Omnipotentis Dei nomen, per pium blandumque communis matris nostræ gremium, per vestras ipsorum animas, perque sanctissima Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri viscera, pacem ambite, fratres, pacem inite; et ita vos componite, ut, seposito omni præjudicio, partiumque studio, ac malo affectu, in eâdem omnes veritate feliciter conspiremus. Apage verò vesanam illam prophetandi libertatem, immo licentiam blasphemandi; ut liceat malè feriato cuique tyroni, prodigiosissima cerebri sui phantasmata in apricum producere, et populo commendare et prælo; ridente Mauro, nec dolente Judæo! Quidvis licet, modò hoc liceat. In Scholis quidem philosophicis indultum hoc semper fuit luxuriantibus adolescentum ingeniis, ut liceret se thesibus, paradoxis, doctisque argutationibus exercere: sed ut in S. Theologiæ veritatis negotio istud obtineat, moliri, audaciæ est planè diabolicæ, et quod meritò nobis extorqueat illud prophetæ, *Obstupescite, cæli; confundere, O terra! Populus meus deseruit me, fontem vivum, et effodit sibi cisternas, immo puteos im-*

ment which discusses so fully, clearly, and elaborately, this subject of Predestination, as the celebrated ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Come then, ye judges; command, if ye will listen to me, that each party in dispute shall, in a fraternal spirit, set forth to the Holy Synod a paraphrase of this passage, short, clear, and explicit, without colouring or artifice. It cannot but happen, that, with this heavenly light for your guide, the truth will freely expose itself to the eyes of the pious and unprejudiced. We do not set up ourselves above the fathers, the faithful interpreters of Scripture, the bright stars of the Church. But our King, our most serene King James, in whose name the whole Church of God appears to me to exult; the wisest King that the sun ever saw, except the heaven-taught Solomon; has, in his golden Letter, recommended these illustrious States, and has commanded us, to strive with all our force, and exclusively to inculcate, that you should all adhere to the belief which has hitherto been received, and to the confession which you hold in common with the other Churches. Which if you will do, O happy Holland! O immaculate spouse of Christ! O most flourishing republic! Then at length this Church, which has been tossed about on the waves of jarring opinions, will sail into harbour, and will in safety smile at and despise the storms which are stirred up by the evil one. But in order that this may at length be the case, *study to be quiet;* 1 Thess. iv. 11. We are brethren, let us also be colleagues. What have we to do with the disgraceful titles of Remonstrants, Contra-Remonstrants, Calvinists, or Arminians? We are Christians, let us also be like-minded. We are one body, let us be also of one spirit. By that awful name of Almighty God, by the affectionate and gentle bosom of our common mother, by your own souls, and by the most holy bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, seek peace, brethren, enter into peace: and so compose yourselves, that, setting aside all prejudice, and party feeling, and bad passion, we may all happily be joined in promoting the same peace. But have done with that mad liberty in preaching, or rather licence in uttering blasphemy: which allows every unemployed novice to bring to light the most monstrous phantasies of his brain, and to commit them to the public and to the press; to the satisfaction of the Turk, and to the gratification of the Jew! If this is permitted, nothing is prohibited. In the philosophical Schools indeed, the exuberant talents of young men have always been allowed to exercise themselves in theses, paradoxes, and learned arguments: but the attempt to allow the same practice to prevail in matters of Theology, is a boldness almost devilish, and which may justly draw forth upon us that reproof of the prophet: *Be astonished, ye heavens; be confounded, O earth! My people hath forsaken me, the living fountain, and hewed them out cis-*

mundos, lutulentos; Jer. ii. 12, 13. Nobiliss. viri, vosque, Sancta Synodus: si quis pudor, si qua pietas, reprimite hanc petulantissimam insaniendi libidinem; modum imperate hominum et linguis et calamis: et facite, ut qui vera sentire nolunt, falsa divulgare non ausint; ut error hæresisve, si denasci non potest, discat tamen latere, et invisum cælo caput tenebris occultare: ita, ut sola veritas lucem adspiciat, regnet sola; vobis salutem, gloriam Ecclesiæ, Reipub. pacem allatura. Quod utique efficiat Ille, pacis Auctor, veritatis Deus, Rex gloriæ; cui, triuni Deo, Patri, Filio, Spiritui S. sit omnis laus, honor, gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

terns, even wells filthy and muddy; Jer. ii. 12, 13. Most noble men, and ye, O Sacred Synod: if you have any shame, any piety, repress this most insolent lust of madness; control the tongues and pens of men: and take care that those who do not choose to see what is true, may not dare to publish what is false; that error and heresy, if it cannot altogether be extirpated, may at all events learn to conceal itself, and to hide in darkness its head, which is abhorred of heaven: that so, truth alone may see the light, alone may reign, and may bring safety to you, glory to the Church, and peace to the State. Which may He bring to pass, who is the Author of peace, the God of truth, the King of Glory; to whom, the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all praise, honour, and glory, for ever and ever. AMEN.

DE PACE INTER EVANGELICOS PROCURANDA;

SENTENTIA

A REV. JOSEPHO HALL, D. D.

DOM. EPISC. EXON.

CONSCRIPTA;

ET JOHANNI DURÆO, SCOTO, TRADITA.

ON THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG PROTESTANTS;

THE JUDGMENT WRITTEN

BY THE RIGHT REV. JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

LORD BISHOP OF EXETER;

AND DELIVERED TO JOHN DURY, SCOTCHMAN.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE

REV. PETER HALL, M. A.

John Dury, or Durie, was a Scotch divine, of eminent piety and zeal, who spent a considerable part of his life in attempting to bring the Lutherans and Calvinists to agreement. His publications, chiefly bearing on the same proposal, are very numerous. The following (which has never before appeared, either in Latin or English, among the works of Bishop Hall) constitutes a portion of a volume, comprising "Four Judgments:" viz. those of Morton, Bp. of Durham; Davenant, Bp. of Salisbury; Hall, Bp. of Exeter; and the last, a compilation from some of the most eminent divines of France. The first edition (containing only the communications of the three Bishops) was published at Amst. 1634, 4to.; the second, with the addition of the French divines, in 1636; the fourth, (from which the present reprint is taken,) revised and enlarged, with a list of authors who had previously written on the reconciliation of the Church, Lond. 1638, 12mo. This publication of Dury (with other treatises of Bp. Hall) is referred to by Baxter, in his Reformed Pastor, in terms of great commendation.—H.

"In simplicitate, fides est; in fide, justitia est; in confessione, pietas est. Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat; non multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere solicitat: in absoluto nobis ac facili est eternitas, Jesum suscitatum à mortuis per Deum credere, et ipsum esse Dominum fateri."—*D. Ambrosius, de Trin.* lib. 10.

"Faith stands in simplicity; justification rests on faith; and religion shews itself in confession. It is not through abstruse disquisitions that God calls us to a blessed life; it is not by the varieties of oratory and eloquence that he provokes us: our prospect of eternity hangs on a sure and simple principle, that we believe Jesus to have been raised from the dead by God, and that we confess him to be the Lord."—*St. Ambrose, on the Trinity*, book 10.

LECTORI, SALUTEM.

QUANDOQUIDEM (me prorsus inscio) evolârit in vulgus, inter gravissimas summorum Theologorum sententias, Schedula hæc; æquum fuerit, ut intelligat Lector tantillæ hujusce scriptiunculæ rationem.

Communicârat mecum D. Johannes Duræus, vir publico bono natus, neque nuperis modò amicitiæ nexibus, piisque officiis, mihi conjunctus, totum incœpti sui (ardui quidem illius, sed perquam sancti utilisque) de componendâ Evangelicorum lite consilium; felicemque itineris sui jam tum utriusque successum mihi, tanti laboris priùs conscio, et ore et calamo haud parcè exposuerat. Inter alia, (quod caput erat negotii,) dederat mihi in manus Colloquii illius Lipsiaci exemplar, quod inter primarios utriusque partis Theologos pridem habitum fuerat.

Scilicet (ne nesciat Lector) convenerant Lipsiæ, (non sine numine,) anno salutis 1631, arreptâ ex communi principum Evangelicorum consessu occasione, ex unâ parte, D. Matthias Hoeus, D. Polycarpus Leiserus, D. Henricus Hofnerus; ex alterâ verò, D. Johannes Bergius, D. Johannes Crocius, D. Theophilus Neubergerus; viri apud suos meritò percelebres, sed et scriptis plærique orbi Christiano notissimi. Et non sine Illustrissimorum Principum consensu et auspiciis, colloquium instituerant inibi de re religionis, familiare, ingenuum, verèque fraternum: in quo, miro sanè candore concordique studio percurrerunt sigillatim Augustanæ Confessionis articulos universos. Libratisque æquâ (ut oportuit) trutinâ utriusque partis sententiis, procul omni præjudicio ac affectu, tandem compertum est, omnes in unâ eâdemque communi veritate per omnia ejusdem Confessionis capita, tribus tantùm exceptis, unanimes conspirâsse: sed neque in tribus illis ita penitus dissensisse, ut nullus adhuc concordiæ locus superesse videretur.

TO THE READER, HEALTH.

FORASMUCH as, among the deliberate judgments of our most eminent Divines, the present Document (though altogether without my privacy) has found its way before the public; it will be but right, that the Reader should understand the occasion of this so humble a piece of composition.

John Dury, a man who seems to have been born for the benefit of mankind, and connected with me by bonds of friendship, and kind offices, both of old and of more recent date, had made me acquainted with the whole of his design (a difficult one indeed, but truly devout and useful) for composing the differences of Protestants; and though not unaware beforehand of the extent of his labours, had shewn me, at full length, both by word of mouth and in writing, the success by which either of his expeditions had been attended. Among other things, (and which was, in fact, the chief part of his business,) he had put into my hands a copy of the Leipsic Conference, which had been lately held between the chief Divines of either party.

The case (as the Reader may wish to know) was this: an opportunity having been afforded by a public assembly of the principal Protestants, a meeting was convened (not without the blessing of God) at Leipsic, in the year of our redemption 1631, between Matthias Hoe, Polycarp Leiserus, and Henry Hofner, on the one side; and John Bergius, John Crocius, and Theophilus Newberger, on the other side; men deservedly celebrated among their own countrymen, and most of them well known by their writings to the Christian world. And there, not without the consent and approbation of their most Illustrious Princes, they had held a familiar, friendly, and truly brotherly conference on the subject of religion: in the course of which they ran, with wonderful frankness, harmony, and diligence, through every article, by turn, of the Confession of Augsburg. And having honestly balanced (as was right) the sentiments of either party, to the exclusion of all prejudice and predilection, they found at length, that they all agreed unanimously in one and the same common truth, through all the heads, but three, of that Confession: and that even on those three, they did not differ so entirely, but what there seemed to be room still left for mutual arrangement.

Mirum mihi, fateor, neque non faustissimi ominis videbatur, horum aliquos, quos ferventioris ingenii Theologos scripta paulò acriora prodiderant, ita se modò ad publicæ pacis studium mitissimè composuisse. Perlecto demum hôc Colloquio, (cujus exemplar apud me studiosè adservo,) rogavit me satis importunè Duræus meus, ut, quid de tribus hisce residuis controversiæ apicibus sentirem, breviter (neque enim ullus erat tunc moræ locus) exponere non gravarer. Non potui non satisfacere amicissimi hominis voto. Arripui calamum, et, horulæ unius spatio, (neque plus temporis supererat,) tantillum hoc exaravi; chartulamque jam illico discessuro in manus tradidi. Hinc fit, quòd, cùm alii amplissimi gravissimique Theologi, quibus fortè parum suppetebat Colloquii illius apographum, de pacis ineundæ studio ac consilio generatim ac fusiùs disseruerint, ipse ad unicum hunc trium controversorum Articulorum scopum animum ita paucis intenderim: prelum certè nihilo magis quàm carcerem meditatus. Vale.

SENTENTIA

ADMODUM REVERENDI D. JOSEPHI HALLI,

EPISCOPI EXONIENSIS.

De Colloquio Lipsiaco, sic mihi sentire liceat:—

Illa Religionis capita, in quibus utriusque partis Theologi plenè consentiunt, abundè sufficiunt, cùm ad salutem hominis Christiani, tum ad perfectam et solidam pacem in Ecclesiis Dei stabiliendam. Quæ restant, nollem equidem inter ἀπαιδεύτους Apostoli ζητήσεις annumerentur; 2 Tim. ii. 23; certè ejusmodi sunt, ut ad Scholas Theologicas fortè non immeritò relegari possint, subtiliùs discutienda: pacem verò, vel pectoris Christiani, vel sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, violare minimè debeant. Quid nos Christianam charitatem profitemur, si levem hanc in Scho-

To me, I confess, it was a matter of wonder, but at the same time a manifest token for good, that some of these Divines, the sharpness of whose writings had betrayed the warmth of their dispositions, should thus have sat themselves down, with the greatest meekness, for the promotion of public peace. No sooner had I read the account of this Conference, (of which I carefully preserve a copy in my possession,) than my friend Dury importunately besought me just to take the trouble to explain in few words (for there was then no time for delay) what I thought concerning these three points that still remained of the controversy. I could not refuse to satisfy the wish of one I so much loved. I snatched up the pen, and, in the space of one short hour, (for this was all the time we had,) I drew the sketch now before you, and, at the very moment of his departure, put the paper into his hands. And this is the reason, why, while other most learned and dignified Divines, who never saw perhaps a copy of that Conference, have discoursed generally, and more at length, of the desire and design for establishing peace, I have confined my remarks, and those so brief, to this one subject of the three controverted Articles: no more expecting, in truth, to go to press, than to go to prison. Farewell.

THE OPINION

OF THE VERY REV. JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

BISHOP OF EXETER.

Concerning the Leipsic Conference, I would beg to think thus:—

THOSE heads of religion on which the Divines of either party fully agree, are abundantly sufficient, both for the salvation of a Christian man, and for the establishment of complete and permanent peace in the Churches of God. Those which remain, I should be loath to see ranked among the *unlearned questions* of the Apostle; 2 Tim. ii. 23; certainly they are of that description, that they may not improperly be referred for nicer discussion to the Schools of Theology: but they are such as should by no means be permitted to disturb the tranquillity either of the bosom of a Christian, or of the holy Church of God. Why do we make profession of Christian charity, if we continue pertinaciously to refuse allowing mutual indulgence

lasticis problematibus discrepantiam fratribus mutuò indulgere pertinaciter usque detrectemus? qui probè noverimus, quàm graves, horum respectu, errores (modo tales concedunturur) Servator noster benignissimus, in suis ipsius domesticis, silenter præterierit, mitissimèque tolerârit?

Tria omnino sunt, in quibus dissidere profitentur gravissimi utriusque partis Theologi:—

Primum illud est: sitne Dominus Jesus, non solùm juxta Divinam, sed etiam humanam naturam, vi unionis personalis, verè omniscius, omnipotens, omnipræsens? Esse quidem Dominum Jesum (Deum scil. et hominem) in utrâque naturâ suâ omniscium, omnipotentem, et omnipræsentem, utrisque in confesso est. Hôc dato, illud *Juxta* purè scholasticum est: quousque nimirum se extendat virtus unionis illius hypostaticæ, silet Spiritus, tutò nescit Christianus. Disputent, si volunt, Doctores, et problemate hôc ingenia, quantùm lubet, exerceant. Sat erit homini Christiano, ut sciat, habere se Servatorem, *Θεάνθρωπον*, cui omnia hæc divina attributa verè competant. Sed et Theologi ipsi habent in quo acquiescant, dummodo concessum hoc utrinque fuerit; etiam humanam naturam personaliter omnisciam, omnipræsentem, omnipotentem esse: quod nos omnes rotundè profiteri non dubitamus. O nos, osores pacis, si adhuc mavelimus litigare! In his omnibus, utinam animis nostris insideret illa Joh. Gersonis saluberrima distinctio: esse quædam de necessitate fidei, quædam verò de fidei devotione: de illis dubitare nefas; de his, absque omni periculo, vel *ἐπέχειν*, vel aliter sentire licet.

Secundum est de modo percipiendi Christum in Eucharistiâ. Inibi scilicet verè ac realiter exhiberi et manducari corpus Christi, unàque cum terrenis hisce elementis accipi, fatentur utrique. De indignis tantùm quæstio est. Indigna verò lis, quæ pacem publicam interturbet! Facilè concedimus utrique, etiam indignos manducare istud, quod, unione Sacramentali, corpus Christi est; ac proinde *reos esse corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi;* 1 Cor. xi. 27. Quid nunc ultra de orali indignorum manducatione litem movemus? Illud nempe curent Christiani, ut ipsi dignè communicent; de indignorum participatione parum solliciti sint. Quousque verò se extendat vis

among brethren for this slight difference that arises in the disputations of the Schools? while we know, moreover, how grievous errors, (for errors we grant they are,) in respect of these matters, our most gracious Saviour silently passed over, and most tenderly endured, even among those who lodged under the same roof with himself?

There are altogether three points, on which the most grave Divines of either party profess to differ:—

THE FIRST is this: whether our Lord Jesus is, not only according to his divine, but also according to his human nature, by virtue of personal union, truly omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent? That the Lord Jesus (being both God and man) is in either nature, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, is allowed on both sides. This granted, that word, *According to*, is merely the phraseology of the Schools: for how far the virtue of that hypostatical union extends itself, the Holy Ghost says nothing, and the Christian can safely afford to remain in ignorance. Let Professors, if they choose, dispute, and exercise their skill, as far as may be agreeable, on this problem. It will be enough for the Christian to know, that he has a Saviour, God made man, with whom truly consist all these attributes of deity. But even Theologians themselves have something to agree upon, so long as this be conceded on both sides; that the human, as well as the divine nature, is personally omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent: a profession, which we hesitate not boldly and openly to avow. Oh, what haters must we be of peace, if we are still determined to contend! I would that, in all these cases, that most wholesome distinction drawn by John Gerson might rest upon our minds: that some things are of the necessity of faith, and some things of the devotion of faith; that on the former it is sin to doubt, but that on the latter a man may either hesitate or dissent without any danger.

THE SECOND point concerns the manner of apprehending Christ in the Eucharist. That in that ordinance the body of Christ is really and truly exhibited and eaten, and so, in conjunction with the elements of the earth, received, both parties acknowledge. The question is limited to the case of unworthy communicants: and verily, an unworthy strife it is, which tends only to disturb the public peace! Both of us readily grant, that even the unworthy eat that, which, by Sacramental union, is the body of Christ; and are therefore *guilty of the body and blood of Jesus Christ;* 1 Cor xi. 27. Why do we now unnecessarily stir up strife about the oral manducation of the unworthy? The concern of Christians ought to be, that they may communicate worthily themselves; and then they need not trouble themselves much about the participation of the unworthy. How

unionis istius Sacramentalis, terminusque modi manducationis, sive oralis, sive spiritualis, litigent in scholis Theologi: non est quòd Christiani istud nimis anxiè disquirant; non est quòd, dum tam curiosa hæc opinionum momenta nobis mutuò indulgere recusamus, pax Ecclesiæ violetur.

Tertium est fatale illud Prædestinationis theorema, de quo variè sententiam suam exprimunt utriusque partis Theologi; modestè quidem prudenterque. In plurimis maximisque conspirant utrorumque judicia: nempe, liberrimam gratuitamque esse miserentis Dei Electionem; nullam, in electis, aut causam aut occasionem invenisse Deum, cujus intuitu hi potiùs quàm illi eligerentur: sed ab æterno Deum, in peccatis et infidelitate perseverantes, ad æternam damnationem prædestinâsse et reprobâsse; non rigido aliquo et absoluto decreto, absque omni respectu peccati, sed justissimo suo judicio; ita ut omnis sive causa sive culpa in hominibus ipsis meritissimò quærenda sit. In illo hærent: quòd gravissimi Theologi Saxonici prævisionem fidei ac perseverantiæ præstituunt actui Electionis divinæ; præordinâsse quippe ab æterno Deum, quos prævidit in tempore credituros, etc. Certè inter omnes de Prædestinatione quæstiones, levissima illa est, quæ de ordine decreti solet agitari: quandoquidem nobis certum sit, uno et simplicissimo actu, totum hoc ab Infinito et Sapientissimo Rerum Moderatore peragi. Nihil certius est, quàm Deum prævidisse credituros, et salvandos prædestinâsse: detur hoc modò, quod iidem Saxonici non illibentes profitentur, Fidem unicum Dei ipsius donum, et quicquid boni in electis sit, ex merâ liberrimâ Dei gratiâ, quæ illis in Jesu Christo ab æterno data fuit, originaliter provenire; nihil profectò esse potest periculi in illâ Prævisionis sententiâ. Præviderit ab æterno Deus, quod ipse ab æterno dare decrevit in tempore credituris. Tuta sunt istîc omnia, nec est quòd iste contentionis funis ultra protrahatur.

In omnibus verò istis, exosculor piam hanc, ac verè fraternam, ἐπιεικείαν καὶ φιλησυχίαν. Sic nempe oportet Christianos, sic Theologos. Fallor, nisi modestia hæc, et tempestiva animorum sedatio, firmam perpetuamque Ecclesiæ pacem præsagiat. Annue tandem, ô Deus Pacis! Exaudi tuorum preces;

far the virtue of this Sacramental union reaches, and what are the respective limits of oral and spiritual manducation; these are topics, on which Divines may be left to battle in the Schools: there is no reason why Christians should discuss the subject with so much anxiety; there is no reason why, while we refuse mutually to indulge each other in these so minute and curious speculations, the peace of the Church should be violated.

THE THIRD is that fatal question of Predestination; on which the Divines of either party express their opinions differently; though both of them with modesty and discretion. On the most and greatest points, the judgments of both parties coincide: to wit, that Election is the free and gratuitous act of a compassionate God; that God found no cause or occasion in the elect, at the sight of which, they, rather than others, should be chosen: but that God from eternity predestinated and reprobated to eternal damnation those who abide in sin and unbelief; yet not by any rigid and absolute decree, without respect of sin, but according to his own most just judgment; so that the whole cause, and the whole blame, is most properly to be sought in men themselves. This is the point, on which they quarrel: that the most venerable Divines of Saxony make the foreknowledge of faith and perseverance antecedent to the act of divine Election; that is to say, that God foreordained from eternity such as he foresaw would in time believe, &c. Certainly, among all the questions relative to Predestination, that is the least considerable, which is so often agitated, concerning the order of the decree: forasmuch as we know undoubtedly, that, by a single and most simple act, the whole of this transaction is accomplished by the Infinite and Most Wise Ruler of events. Nothing is more certain, than that God foresaw those that would believe, and predestinated them to salvation: only let this be granted, which the same Divines of Saxony are not unwilling to confess, That faith is the alone gift of God himself, and that whatsoever good there is in the elect, comes originally of the mere and most free grace of God, which was given them from eternity in Christ Jesus; and surely there can be no danger in that doctrine of Prevision. God may be said to have foreseen from eternity, what he himself decreed from eternity to give to those who should believe in time. Here, all things are safe, nor is there any reason why this cord of contention should be extended further.

In all these things, however, I welcome this pious and truly brotherly meekness and love of rest. So should all Christians, so should all Divines be. If I am not much mistaken, this modesty, and seasonable quieting of the minds of men, presages a firm and lasting peace to the Church. Be favourable unto us at length, O God of Peace! Hear the supplications of thy

faxisque, ut sit Christianis omnibus cor unum, via una, donec, per Te Viam, perducamur ad Te Vitam! Amen, Amen.

Ita supplex assiduè et adnixè vovet,

JOS. EXON.

Datum in Palatio Exon:
Februarii 25, 1634.

Miserat ad Dominum Episcopum Exoniensem postmodùm idem D. Johannes Duræus exemplar Decreti cujusdam pii ac pacifici, in Conventu Ordinum Francofurtensi communibus votis hâc de re sanciti ac promulgati; petieratque ipsius de modo ac ratione promovendi hujus sacri negotii judicium; tulitque subinde hoc responsum:—

VIRO

INTEGERRIMO, DOCTISSIMO, AMICISSIMO,

D. JOHANNI DURÆO,

SALUTEM PLURIMAM.

NON sine summâ voluptate animi perlegi, mî Duræe, apographum Decreti illius Irenici, quod illustres Ordines ac Deputati Evangelici, in Francofurtensi Conventu, nuper unanimes consignârunt: quo nihil (ut mihi quidem videtur) prudentius, nihil religiosius excogitari potuit. Neque video quid (uti se res habent) vel sperari ultra potuerit; vel paci publicæ (quam tantopere sitimus boni omnes) provehendæ accommodatius proponi statuive. Sic nempe oportuit Sanctos Ecclesiæ cives, sic pios proceres, Christiani orbis concordiæ ac saluti studiosè providere. Benedictus verò sit boni omnis Largitor, pacis Author, Deus, qui salutares hasce curas, ac sana consilia, nobilissimis istorum pectoribus ingesserit! Idemque Summus Optimusque

people; and grant that all Christians may have one heart, one way; until, through Thee, who art the Way, we are brought to Thee, who art the Life! Amen, Amen.

Such is the constant and earnest wish of a suppliant,

JOS. EXON.

Given in the Palace at Exeter,
February 25, 1634.

The same John Dury had afterwards sent to the Lord Bishop of Exeter a copy of a certain pious and peaceable Decree, sanctioned and published, according to general agreement on this matter, by a Convention of Clergy at Frankfort; and, having asked his judgment on the method and way of promoting this good work, received, soon after, the following reply:—

TO MY

MOST APPROVED AND LEARNED FRIEND,

JOHN DURY,

ABUNDANCE OF HEALTH.

It was not without the greatest pleasure, that I perused, friend Dury, the copy of that Pacificatory Decree, which the illustrious Orders and Deputies of the Church signed unanimously, at the late Convention of Frankfort: than which (to my mind, at least) nothing could have been devised more wise, nothing more devout. Nor do I see what could have been even expected (in the present state of things) beyond; or what proposed and ordained, more conducive to the object which we and all good men so vehemently desire, the establishment of the public peace. This was the very way for the holy citizens and pious rulers of the Church, to provide industriously for the concord and safety of the Christian world. But blessed be God, the Dispenser of all good, the Author of Peace, for inspiring the generous bosoms of these men, with concerns so salutary, and counsels so sound! And may the same Most

rerum Arbiter, opus suum tam auspicatò inchoatum, perficere tandem velit feliciter, et coronare! Preces certè nostræ non unquam deerunt, non deerunt conatus qualescunque; nec scio quâ spe erectus mihi animus, optatissimum sacro huic incœpto exitum paulo fidentiùs videtur præsagire.

Enimverò quantilla sepes est, quâ modò disterminamur! Easdem Scripturas, eadem Symbola, eandem Confessionem Augustanam, Evangelici omnes approbamus; uni modo Articulo sensus ita ambiguè sonat, ut ne ipse quidem author satis tutò literæ acquiescendum censuerit. Fundamentum Christianæ fidei nobis omnibus unum, idem, integrum, et inconcussum: nullum inibi saxum, nulla cœmenti particula est, de quâ lis moveri aut solet, aut potest. Superstruuntur huic theoremata quædam Scholastico-Theologica, de quibus solis adeò ferociter depugnamus. Hæc verò quid tandem ad hominem Christianum? quid ad salutem? Quàm tutæ fuissent res Christianæ, quàm pacatæ, si ista curiosorum hominum problemata argutæque minutiæ nunquam extitissent; si, generalioribus quibusdam exprimendæ veritatis formulis contenta, Doctorum ingenia Sacram Theologiam non ita nimium subtiliter cribrâssent ilicet. Postquam verò tam infeliciter mota sunt hæc, non inutilitia modò, sed utrique parti perquàm damnosa, certamina; quid tandem componendis hisce motibus conducibilius suaderi potest, quàm ut ad primævam simplicitatem, publicæ authoritatis interventu, Christianæque Ecclesiæ communi consensu, fides reducatur? doceaturque orbis Christianus, in hâc multiplici credendorum farragine, prudenter distinguere inter genuinos fidei articulos, et parùm necessaria Scholasticarum conclusionum adjectamen? quod in hôc quidem ipso negotio haud nimis difficile fuerit.

De fundamento quidem fidei illud est quàm maximè; Christus et Deus est et homo: sed et illud; Christus, Deus et homo, verè est omnisciens, omnipotens, omnipræsens. Jam si quis insuper addiderit; Jesus Christus, etiam juxta humanam naturam, omniscius, omnipræsens, omnipotens est; certè illud *Juxta* procul abesse videtur à fundamento. Scholasticum quiddam est, ad Theologiæ licentiatos relegandum: non est quòd Christianæ plebeculæ salus ab hôc tam subtili articulo suspendatur. Illane ut scire possit, aut verò debeat, quòusque unionis hypostaticæ virtus sese extendat? qui sint Theanthro-

High and Holy Disposer of affairs be pleased at length successfully to consummate and crown his own work, so auspiciously begun! Never assuredly shall our prayers, never shall our endeavours, such as they are, be wanting; while my mind, elevated I know not by what hope, seems, with some excess of confidence, to prognosticate the very end we wish for this our righteous undertaking.

For let us observe, how small a barrier it is, by which we are now parted! We all, as Protestants, unanimously approve the same Scriptures, the same Creeds, the same Confession of Augsburg; in one Article alone the sense sounds so ambiguously, that the very person who drew it up scarcely thought it safe to trust in the letter of it. The foundation of the Christian faith stands the same, unbroken and unshaken, to every one of us: there is not a stone, there is not a particle of mortar there, on which a disagreement is either wont, or able, to be raised. On this are built certain propositions, which may be termed Scholastico-Theological; and it is about these, and these alone, we fight so fiercely. And yet what are these, after all, to a Christian man? what, to our salvation? How safe, how tranquil would Christendom have been, if those devices and subtle trifles of inquisitive men had never been brought into existence; if the minds of the learned, content with some more general forms of expressing the truth, had not sifted the science of Theology so fine. Since, however, these contentions, though not only useless, but highly pernicious to either party, have been mooted; what course can be recommended, more likely to compose these differences, than that our creed, by the intervention of public authority, and the common consent of the Church of Christ, be restored to primitive simplicity? and that the Christian world be taught, in this abundant medley of things to be believed, wisely to distinguish between genuine articles of faith, and the needless admixture of Scholastic conclusions? which, in this instance, would be an achievement of no great difficulty.

There is no article of faith that more eminently partakes of the nature of a fundamental, than this; Christ is both God and man: and this again; Christ, both God and man, is truly omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent. Now, should any one further add; Jesus Christ, according to his human nature also, is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent; certainly that expression, *According to*, seems to be very far from a fundamental position. It is an expression of the Schools, to be referred to licentiates in Divinity: and there is no reason why the salvation of the flock of Christ should be made to depend on an article so curious as this. Is it possible that they should be competent, or in duty bound, to know, how far the virtue of the hypostatical

picarum sive facultatum, sive operationum limites? Certè, si isthoc scitu omnibus necessarium statuisset Deus, non minùs clarè tam fundamentale mysterium Ecclesiæ revelâsset. De veritate rei non dissero, (neque enim institui mei est;) dissero de credendi necessitate. Humana paululùm conferamus divinis: (quamquam quæ terræ cum cœlo analogia est?) Ex animâ et corpore, sibi unitis, constat homo. Suæ sunt interim utrique parti proprietates actionesque, quæ subjecto communiter (idque jure bono) attribui solent. Homo sentit, intelligit, edit, ambulat, dormit, moritur. Suggerit hoc nobis, sive ratio, sive sensus, irrefragabiliter. Quisquamne idcirco dixerit, Sed et illud sciendum æquè: homo juxta corpus sentit et intelligit; juxta animam, edit, ambulat, dormit, moritur? Sanè, ut se habet ad intelligibilia ratio, sic fides ad spiritualia et divina. Novi equidem quantum sit in subjecto discriminis: rei tamen (etiam si fieri posset) credendæ cognoscendæve, necessitas haud minùs impar.

Veritatis ergo quod certissimum, quod creditu necessarium, apertèque fundamentale est, amplexemur profiteamurque unanimes: de reliquis exerceant se (si lubet) Theologorum ingenia; non interim nimis solicita sit plebs Christiana. Quòd si paci publicæ quicquam conducere videbitur, ut ad ipsas exprimendi formulas quàm proximè accedamus; dixerimus modò (quod ex Innocentio et Scholasticis citavit olim Hier. Zanchius) etiam humanam Christi naturam esse, secundum esse suum personale, omnipræsentem, etc. Non video, quin pars utraque libenter suffragari et possit, et velit. Figatur isthîc pes; nec ultra liceat alterutri procedere: in tuto sumus.

In negotio Eucharistico, certum illud est, ac de fundamento, ipsum verum et essentiale Christi corpus et sanguinem verè adesse, exhiberi, percipi, in Sacrâ illâ Cœnâ: corporaliterne verò in pane ac vino præsens sit, oraliterne (vel ab impiis et indignis) vi elementorum benedictorum supernaturali percipiatur, Theologicæ disquisitionis est: atqui ejusmodi, quæ, testibus Luthero, Melancthone, Justo Jonâ, Osiandro, Brentio, Ste-

[a] Zanch. Judicium de Dissidio Cœnæ, in fine Miscellaneorum. Quod idem probatur à Zwinglio, ibidem citato. Vide etiam Fieldium nostratem in lib.

union extends? what are the limits of faculty or operation in God made man? Surely, if God had appointed this, as necessary to be known of all men, he would no less clearly have revealed so fundamental a mystery to the Church. The truth of the position I discuss not, nor is it any part of my design to do so; I discuss merely the necessity of believing it. Let us for a moment compare things human with things divine: (though what analogy is there between earth and heaven?) Man consists of soul and body united together. To either part, meanwhile, belong its own properties and actions, which are attributed in common (and rightly too) to man who is the subject of them. It is man, who thinks, understands, eats, walks, sleeps, dies. Our reason, or our sense, (call it which you will) incontrovertibly suggests this conclusion. Would any one therefore pretend to say, But this should be known as well: that man thinks and understands according to his body; eats, walks, sleeps, dies, according to his soul? Now, then: the place which reason occupies in reference to things intelligible, faith occupies in reference to things spiritual and divine. I know indeed how great a difference is at stake in that which is the subject: still the necessity of believing or understanding the thing (even were it possible) is not the less disproportionate.

Whatever portion of truth, then, is positively certain, whatever necessary to be believed, and evidently fundamental, that let us unanimously embrace and profess: on other parts, let Divines employ their talents, if they please; but let not the generality of Christians feel too much anxiety. But if it shall seem to conduce at all to the public peace, that we should approach as near as possible to the very forms of expression; let us just say (as Jerome Zanchius[a] formerly quoted from Innocentius and the Schoolmen) that the human nature of Christ also is, according to its own personal existence, omnipresent, &c. I see not, but that each party must be alike able and willing cheerfully to yield consent. Here, then, let our foot be fixed; nor let either of us be allowed to move another step: and we are safe.

In the matter of the Eucharist, that is a certain and fundamental tenet, that the very true and essential body and blood of Christ are truly present, exhibited, and received, in that Holy Supper: but whether it be present corporeally in the bread and wine, or whether it be orally received (even of the ungodly and unworthy) by supernatural virtue of the consecrated elements; this is a subject of Theological disquisition: yet of such sort, as, by the testimony of Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas,

3. de Eccles. c. 35 et 42. et in Append. part. 1. Respons. ad 2dum cap. Higgonii; ubi etiam citant. Pic. Mirand. Cajetan. aliique.

phano Agricolâ; sed et Œcolampadio, Zwinglio, Bucero, Hedione; ne dilectionem quidem Christianam violare debeat. Scilicet inita fuit hôc omine celebris illa Concordia Marpurgensis, Anno Dom. 1529. Sed et illud sempiternâ memoriâ dignum, quod de Conventu Witebergensi (Anno 1536) retulit Ludovicus Rabus, Ulmensis Pastor, in suâ Martyrum Historiâ. Cui concipit, qui jam tum præsens erat, Joannes Swiccius, Pastor Constantiensis, (citante Hospiniano,) habeturque in scriptis Buceri Anglicanis. Intererant illi, ex unâ quidem parte, Capito, Bucerus, Musculus, et reliqui civitatum Imperii præcipuarum, è superiore Germaniâ melioris notæ Theologi: ex alterâ, Lutherus, Philippus, Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, doctoresque alii et concionatores Witebergenses. Post aliquot verò expostulationes, sermonesque varios ultrò citròque habitos, quibus utraque pars sententiam suam liberè candidèque explicâsset; tandem Lutherus (cum suis paululum regressis collatâ re) in hæc verba desiit:—" Si creditis, et docetis, in Sacrâ Cœnâ verum corpus et verum sanguinem Domini exhiberi, dari, et sumi, et non panem et vinum tantùm; et quòd perceptio et exhibitio hæc verè fiat, et non imaginariè: inter nos convenit; vosque agnoscimus et recipimus, ut charos fratres in Domino." Asseruerunt istud clarè lubenterque Bucerus, Capito, reliqui: junctis manibus, discessum est. Nempe tranquillæ jam tum erant aquæ, nec quibus ventorum turbis agitatæ; atque ideo ipsam veritatis faciem clarissimè repræsentârunt. Quin nos æquè jam serò sapimus? Quin procellosa illa, quæ postmodum secuta sunt, tempora prætervecti, in veteri hôc tutoque Concordiæ portu acquiescimus?

De re Prædestinationis, sub quot quantisque voluminibus ingemescit Christi Ecclesia! Ubi nos orbemque Christianum litigiosis calamis fatagaverimus, illud constabit omnibus cognoscendum credendumque:—

1. Deum quosdam ex mero suo beneplacito, ab eterno, et immutabiliter, elegisse.
2. Neminem à Deo electum, salvandumve esse, qui non idem credit in Jesum Christum, inque fide hâc perseverat.

3. Neminem in Christum credere posse, nisi cui hoc Deus efficaci Spiritûs sui gratiâ donaverit, et inoperatur.

Osiander, Brentius, Stephen Agricola; also of Œcolampadius, Zwingle, Bucer, Hedion; ought to inflict no injury on Christian love. In fact, it was with this very view that the celebrated Agreement of Marpurg was contracted, in the year of our Lord, 1529. And that again is worthy to be remembered for ever, which Louis Rabus, a Minister of Ulm, has recorded of the Assembly of Wittemberg, (in the year 1536,) in his History of the Martyrs. With whom agrees John Swiccius, Minister of Constance, who was present at the very time; who is cited by Hospinian, and is adduced in the English writings of Bucer. At that Assembly there were present, of the one party, Capito, Bucer, Musculus, and the rest of the more famous Divines from the chief cities of the Empire in Upper Germany: of the other party, Luther, Philip, Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, and other doctors and preachers of Wittemberg. Accordingly, after some expostulations, and various discourses held on either side, in which each party delivered his opinion freely and candidly; Luther at length, having retired and conferred a short time with his friends, closed the subject in these words:—"If ye believe and teach that, in the Holy Supper, the true body and true blood of the Lord, and not bread and wine alone, are presented, and given, and taken; and that this receiving and offering are really, and not representatively, made: then is there an agreement between us, and we acknowledge and receive you as dear brethren in the Lord." The same thing Bucer, Capito, and the rest asserted, distinctly and cheerfully: so they shook hands, and separated. Then forsooth were the waters quiet, being disturbed by no agitations of the winds; and therefore reflected they the form of truth most clearly. Why are not we now, at this late hour, as wise as they were? Why have we not sailed by those stormy seasons which afterwards ensued, and taken shelter in the ancient and secure haven of Peace?

On the subject of Predestination, under how many, and how ponderous volumes is the Church of Christ groaning! When we have fairly exhausted ourselves and the whole Christian world with the quarrels of our pens, the following will remain as articles of recognition and belief to all men[b]:—

1. That God, of his own mere will and pleasure, has chosen some from eternity, and unchangeably.

2. That no one has been chosen of God, or will be saved, but that the same believes in Jesus Christ, and perseveres in this faith.

3. That no one can believe in Christ, but he to whom God has given this gift, and in whom God now promotes this work, by the effectual grace of his Spirit.

[b] Capita hæc utrobique in hôc Colloquio concessa sunt.

4. Deum neminem damnâsse, aut verò reprobâsse, nisi intuitu peccati: ita ut sola culpa et causa damnationis sit in hominibus; causa verò electionis et salutis in merâ Dei gratiâ.

Totum vero hoc utrique parti in confesso est. Infinitæ sunt, sat scio, de capite hôc disquisitiones: stet sua cuique sententia, per me licet; ego nemini præjudico. Me quod attinet, si quis quid de re totâ sentiam quæsierit, Articulis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, atque sententiæ Theologorum nostræ Britanniæ in Synodo (cui interfui) Dordracenâ suffragantium, adhærescere rotundè profiteor. Sed quid aliud est in arduo hôc negotio, (præter communem concessæ veritatis simplicitatem,) quod plebi Christianæ tantum molestiæ facessere debeat? De reliquis disserant in Scholis Theologi; fas sileant pulpita. Quàm et eædem, et graviores, in Ecclesiâ Romanâ extant controversiæ; quæ tamen (prout cautè prudenterque res geritur) pacem publicam neutiquam soleant violare! Sapere nos doceant, vel qui odisse profitentur! Quòd si Christiani orbis Domini, pro suâ authoritate, decernerent, et moderata Theologorum ingenia sibi statuerent, hosce (non nimis quidem angustos) controversæ tractationis limites; certa foret stabilisque concordia, pacata ac felix Ecclesia: victrix denique veritas de communi hoste triumpharet.

Isthoc verò ut, pro votis, fiat, prudentissimè quidem Illustres Ordines Legatique proposuerunt suaseruntque indicendum, literisque invitatoriis rogandum, communiorem quendam Theologorum pacificorum Conventum: amicissimi illius, nunquamque satis laudati, Colloquii Lipsiaci prosecutionem æquè modestam sententiarum etiam à notatissimis quibusque absentibus Doctoribus transmissionem: definienda, quæ salutis basin concernunt, religionis capita; seponenda reliqua, adque Scholas, si opus fuerit, releganda: imperandam interim et linguis, et calamis, sive moderationem, sive taciturnitatem; preces utrinque publicas pro sanctissimi negotii successu devotè concipiendas. Fiant ista modò, recto corde, in timore Domini, non est quod de felici exitu dubitemus. Dei negotium est; ille non deerit sibi.

Tu verò, mî Duræe, qui incœptum hoc (Deo, angelis, ho-

4. That God has neither condemned, nor even reprobated any one, except on the view of sin: so that the whole blame and cause of damnation is in men, while the cause of election and salvation is in the mere grace of God.

Now, all this is confessed by either party. The disquisitions that may arise upon the subject, I well know, are infinite: let every man, so far as I am concerned, hold his own opinion; I forestal not judgment against any man. As regards myself, should any ask what I think of the whole matter, I profess, without hesitation, to adhere to the Articles of the English Church, and the judgment of our British Divines, who delivered their suffrages at the Synod (where I was also present) held at Dort. But what else is there, in this difficult business, (beyond the simplicity of truth commonly conceded,) which ought to occasion so much trouble to the Christian community? On every other point let Divines contend in the Schools; the pulpits may surely be allowed to hold their peace. How do the same, and even graver controversies subsist in the Church of Rome; but which (so cautiously and prudently are things there managed) by no means prevail to interrupt the public peace! Let us learn wisdom even of those who profess to hate us! But should the Rulers of the Christian world, according to their authority, resolve to sanction, and our moderate Divines to establish, these limitations (which are surely broad enough) for controversial engagement; we should soon have a sure and steady concord, a pacified and happy Church: while truth, above all, would achieve her triumphant victory over the common enemy.

But that this may come to pass according to our wishes, the Illustrious Clergy and Deputies have most wisely proposed and recommended, that a more public Assembly of Divines, who desire peace, should be arranged, and their attendance summoned by letters of invitation: that the recommendations of that most amicable Conference of Leipsic (of which enough can never be said in commendation) be followed out in a spirit of similar modesty: that the opinions of all the Professors of greatest note, though absent, be transmitted: that the heads of religion, which concern the ground of salvation, be defined; that the rest be separated, and, if need be, referred to the Schools: that either moderation or silence be enjoined, meanwhile, both on tongues and pens; and that public prayer be devoutly offered up on both sides for the success of so righteous an undertaking. Were but these things done, in a right spirit, and in the fear of the Lord, we need not fear a favourable result. It is the business of God; and He will not be wanting to himself.

But you, my Dury, who have thus far prosecuted this de-

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